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THE KORAN

THE KORAN ·
OR,
ALCORAN OF MOHAMMED

WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES,

AND READINGS FROM

SAVARY'S VERSION,

ALSO

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE

BY

GEORGE SALE



WITH MAPS AND PLANS

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TO THE

RIGHT HON. JOHN LORD CARTERET

ONE OF THE LORDS OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

NOTWITHSTANDING the great honour and respect generally and deservedly paid to the memories of those who have founded states, or obliged a people by the institution of laws which have made them prosperous and considerable in the world, yet the legislator of the Arabs has been treated in so very different a manner by all who acknowledge not his claim to a divine mission, and by Christians especially, that were not your lordship's just discernment sufficiently known, I should think myself under a necessity of making an apology for presenting the following translation •

The remembrance of the calamities brought on so many nations by the conquests of the Arabians may possibly raise some indignation against him who formed them to empire, but this being equally applicable to all conquerors, could not, of itself, occasion all the detestation with which the name of Mohammed is loaded. He has given a new system of religion, which has had still greater success than the arms of his followers, and to establish this religion made use of an imposture, and on this account it is supposed that he must of necessity have been a most abandoned villain, and his memory is become infamous. But as Mohammed gave his Arabs the best religion he could, as well as the best laws, preferab

at least, to those of the ancient pagan lawgivers, I confess I cannot see why he deserves not equal respect—though not with Moses or Jesus Christ, whose laws came really from Heaven, yet, with Minos or Numa, notwithstanding the distinction of a learned writer, who seems to think it a greater crime to make use of an imposture to set up a *new* religion, founded on the acknowledgment of one true God, and to destroy idolatry, than to use the same means to gain reception to rules and regulations for the more orderly practice of heathenism already established.

To be acquainted with the various laws and constitutions of civilized nations, especially of those who flourish in our own time, is, perhaps, the most useful part of knowledge wherein though your lordship, who shines with so much distinction in the noblest assembly in the world, peculiarly excels, yet as the law of Monammed, by reason of the odium it lies under, and the strangeness of the language in which it is written, has been so much neglected. I flatter myself some things in the following sheets may be new even to a person of your lordship's extensive learning, and if what I have written may be any way entertaining or acceptable to your lordship, I shall not regret the pains it has cost me

I join with the general voice in wishing your lordship all the honour and happiness your known virtues and merit deserve, and am with perfect respect,

MY LORD,

• Your lordship's most humble

And most obedient servant,

GEORGE SALE

TO THE READER

I IMAGINE it almost needless either to make an apology for publishing the following translation, or to go about to prove it a work of use as well as curiosity. They must have a mean opinion of the Christian religion, or be but ill grounded therein, who can apprehend any danger from so manifest a forgery and if the religious and civil institutions of foreign nations are worth our knowledge, those of Mohammed, the lawgiver of the Arabians, and founder of an empire which, in less than a century, spread itself over a greater part of the world than the Romans were ever masters of, must needs be so, whether we consider their extensive obtaining, or our frequent intercourse with those who are governed thereby. I shall not here inquire into the reasons why the law of Mohammed has met with so unexampled a reception in the world (for they are greatly deceived who imagine it to have been propagated by the sword alone), or by what means it came to be embraced by nations which never felt the force of the Mohammedan arms, and even by those which stripped the Arabians of their conquests, and put an end to the sovereignty and very being of their Khalifs yet it seems as if there was something more than what is vulgarly imagined, in a religion which has made so surprising a progress. But whatever use an impartial version of the Koran may be of in other respects, it is absolutely necessary to undeceive those who, from the ignorant or unfair translations which have appeared, have entertained too favourable an opinion of the original, and also to enable us effectually to expose the imposture none of those who have hitherto undertaken that province not excepting Dr Prideaux himself, having succeeded to the satisfaction of the judicious, for want of being complete masters of the controversy. The writers of the Romish communion, in particular, are so far from having done any service in their refutations of Mohammedism, that by endeavouring to defend their idolatry and other superstitions, they have rather contributed to the increase of that aversion which the Mohammedans in general have to the Christian religion, and given them great advantages in the dispute. The protestants alone are able to attack the Koran with success, and for them, I trust, Providence has reserved the glory of its overthrow. In the mean time, if I might presume to lay down rules to be observed by those who attempt the conversion of the Mohammedans, they should be the same which the learned and worthy bishop Kidder* has prescribed for the conversion of the Jews, and which may, *mutatis mutandis*, be equally applied to the former, notwithstanding the despicable opinion that writer, for want of being better acquainted with them, entertained of those people, judging them scarce fit to be argued with. The first of these rules is, To avoid compulsion, which though it be not in our power to employ at present, I hope will not be made use of when it is. The second is, To avoid teaching doctrines against common sense, the Mohammedans not being such fools (whatever we may think of them) as to be gained over in this case. The worshipping of images and the doctrine of transubstantiation are great stumbling-blocks

* In his *Demonstr. of the Messiah*, part 3, chap. 2.

to the Mohammedans, and the church which teacheth them is very unfit to bring those people over. The third is, To avoid weak arguments for the Mohammedans are not to be converted with these, or hard words. We must use them with humanity, and dispute against them with arguments that are proper and cogent. It is certain that many Christians, who have written against them, have been very defective this way many have used arguments that have no force, and advanced propositions that are void of truth. This method is so far from convincing that it rather serves to harden them. The Mohammedans will be apt to conclude we have little to say, when we urge them with arguments that are trifling or untrue. We do but lose ground when we do this, and instead of gaining them, we expose ourselves and our cause also. We must not give them ill words neither, but must avoid all reproachful language, all that is sarcastical and biting this never did good from pulpit or press. The softest words will make the deepest impression, and if we think it a fault in them to give ill language, we cannot be excused when we imitate them. The fourth rule is, Not to quit any article of the Christian faith to gain the Mohammedans. It is a fond conceit of the Socinians that we shall upon their principles be most like to prevail upon the Mohammedans it is not true in matter of fact. We must not give up any article to gain them but then the church of Rome ought to part with many practices and some doctrines. We are not to design to gain the Mohammedans over to a system of dogmas, but to the ancient and primitive faith. I believe nobody will deny but that the rules here laid down are just the latter part of the third, which alone my design has given me occasion to practise, I think so reasonable, that I have not in speaking of Mohammed or his Korân, allowed myself to use those opprobrious appellations, and unmannerly expressions, which seem to be the strongest arguments of several who have written against them. On the contrary, I have thought myself obliged to treat both with common decency, and even to approve such particulars as seemed to me to deserve approbation for how criminal soever Mohammed may have been in imposing a false religion on mankind, the praises due to his real virtues ought not to be denied him, nor can I do otherwise than applaud the candour of the pious and learned Spanhemius, who though he owned him to have been a wicked impostor, yet acknowledged him to have been richly furnished with natural endowments, beautiful in his person, of a subtle wit agreeable behaviour, showing liberality to the poor, courtesy to every one, fortitude against his enemies, and above all a high reverence for the name of God, severe against the perjured, adulterers, murderers, slanderers, prodigals, covetous, false witnesses, &c., a great preacher of patience, charity, mercy, beneficence, gratitude, honouring of parents and superiors, and a frequent celebrator of the divine praises.*

Of several translations of the Korân now extant, there is but one which tolerably represents the sense of the original, and that being in Latin, a new version became necessary, at least to an English reader. What Bibbinder published for a Latin translation of that book

* Id certum, naturalibus egregiè dotibus instructum Muhammedem, formâ præstanti, ingenio callido, moribus facietis, ac præ se ferentem liberalitatem in egenos, comitatem in singulos, fortitudinem in hostes, ac præ cæteris reverentiam divini nomen. — Severus fuit in perjuros, adulteros, homicidas, obrectatores, prodigos, avaros, falsos testes, &c. Magnus idem patientiæ, charitatis, misericordiæ, bene-gratitudinis, honoris in parentes ac superiores præco, ut et divinarum
—*Hist. Eccles. sec 7, c. 7, lem. 5, et 7*

deserves not the name of a translation, the unaccountable liberties therein taken, and the numberless faults, both of omission and commission, leaving scarce any resemblance of the original. It was made near six hundred years ago, being finished in 1143, by Robertus Retenensis, an Englishman, with the assistance of Hermannus Dalmata, at the request of Peter, abbot of Clugny, who paid them well for their pains.

From this Latin version was taken the Italian of Andrea Arrivabene, notwithstanding the pretences in his dedication of its being done immediately from the Arabic,* wherefore it is no wonder if the transcript be yet more faulty and absurd than the copy †

About the end of the fifteenth century, Johannes Andreas, a native of Xativa in the kingdom of Valencia, who from a Mohammedan doctor became a Christian priest, translated not only the Korân, but also its glosses, and the seven books of the Sonna, out of Arabic into the Arragonian tongue, at the command of Martin Garcia, ‡ bishop of Barcelona, and inquisitor of Arragon. Whether this translation were ever published or not I am wholly ignorant, but it may be presumed to have been the better done for being the work of one bred up in the Mohammedan religion and learning, though his refutation of that religion, which has had several editions, gives no great idea of his abilities.

Some years within the last century, Andrew du Ryer, who had been consul of the French nation in Egypt, and was tolerably skilled in the Turkish and Arabic languages, took the pains to translate the Korân into his own tongue but his performance, though it be beyond comparison preferable to that of Retenensis, is far from being a just translation, there being mistakes in every page besides frequent transpositions, omissions, and additions, § faults unpardonable in a work of this nature. And what renders it still more incomplete is, the want of notes to explain a vast number of passages, some of which are difficult, and others impossible to be understood, without proper explications, were they translated ever so exactly, which the author is so sensible of that he often refers his reader to the Arabic commentators.||

The English version is no other than a translation of Du Ryer's, and that a very bad one, for Alexander Ross, who did it, being utterly unacquainted with the Arabic, and no great master of the French, has added a number of fresh mistakes of his own to those of Du Ryer, not to mention the meanness of his language, which would make a better book ridiculous.

* His words are "Questo libro, che già havevo a commune utilità di molti fatto dal proprio testo Arabo tradurre nella nostra volgar lingua Italiana," &c. And afterwards "Questo è l'Akorano di Macometto, il quale, come ho già detto, ho fatto dal suo idioma tradurre, &c."

† Vide Joseph. Scalig. Epist. 361 et 362, et Selden de Success. ad Leges Ebræor. p. 9

‡ J. Andreas, in Pref. ad Tractat. suum de Confusione Sectæ Mahometanæ.

§ Vide Windet. de Vita Functorum statu, sect. 9

|| "If," says Savary, 'the Koran, which is extolled throughout the East for the perfection of its style, and the magnificence of its imagery, seems, under the pen of Du Ryer, to be only a dull and tiresome rhapsody, the blame must be laid on his manner of translating. This book is divided into verses, like the Psalms of David. This kind of writing, which was adopted by the prophets, enables prose to make use of the bold terms and the figurative expressions of poetry. Du Ryer, paying no respect whatever to the text, has connected the verses together, and made of them a continuous discourse. To accomplish this misshapen assemblage, he has had recourse to frigid conjunctions, and to trivial phrases, which, destroying the dignity of the ideas, and the charm of the diction, render it impossible to recognise the original. While reading his translation, no one could ever imagine that the Korân is the masterpiece of the Arabic language, which is fertile in fine writers; yet this is the judgment which antiquity has passed on it."

In 1698, a Latin translation of the Korân, made by Father Lewis Marracci, who had been confessor to Pope Innocent XI., was published at Padua, together with the original text, accompanied by explanatory notes and a refutation. This translation of Marracci's, generally speaking, is very exact, but adheres to the Arabic idiom too literally to be easily understood, unless I am much deceived, by those who are not versed in the Mohammedan learning*. The notes he has added are indeed of great use, but his refutations, which swell the work to a large volume, are of little or none at all, being often unsatisfactory, and sometimes impertinent. The work, however, with all its faults, is very valuable, and I should be guilty of ingratitude, did I not acknowledge myself much obliged thereto, but still, being in Latin, it can be of no use to those who understand not that tongue.

Having therefore undertaken a new translation I have endeavoured to do the original impartial justice, not having, to the best of my knowledge, represented it, in any one instance, either better or worse than it really is. I have thought myself obliged, indeed, in a piece which pretends to be the Word of God, to keep somewhat scrupulously close to the text, by which means the language may, in some places, seem to express the Arabic a little too literally to be elegant English but this, I hope, has not happened often, and I flatter myself that the style I have made use of will not only give a more genuine idea of the original than if I had taken more liberty (which would have been much more for my ease), but will soon become familiar for we must not expect to read a version of so extraordinary a book with the same ease and pleasure as a modern composition.

In the notes my view has been briefly to explain the text, and especially the difficult and obscure passages, from the most approved commentators, and that generally in their own words, for whose opinions or expressions, where liable to censure, I am not answerable, my province being only fairly to represent their expositions, and the little I have added of my own, or from European writers, being easily discernible. Where I met with any circumstance which I imagined might be curious or entertaining, I have not failed to produce it.

The Preliminary Discourse will acquaint the reader with the most material particulars proper to be known previously to the entering on the Koran itself, and which could not so conveniently have been thrown into the notes. And I have taken care, both in the Preliminary Discourse and the notes, constantly to quote my authorities and the writers to whom I have been beholden, but to none have I been more so than to the learned Dr Pocock, whose *Specimen Historiæ Arabum* is the most useful and accurate work that has been hitherto published concerning the antiquities of that nation, and ought to be read by every curious inquirer into them.

As I have had no opportunity of consulting public libraries, the manuscripts of which I have made use throughout the whole work have been such as I had in my own study, except only the Commentary of al Beidâwî, and the Gospel of St. Barnabas. The first belongs to the library of the Dutch church in Austin Friars, and for the use of it I have been chiefly

* Of Marracci's translation Savary says: "Marracci, that learned monk, who spent for years in translating and refuting the Korân, proceeded on the right system. He divided it into verses, according to the text, but, neglecting the pre-

* Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere, fidus
Interpres, &c

He translated it literally. He has not expressed the ideas of the Koran, but translated the words of it into barbarous Latin. Yet, though all the beauties of the original are lost in this translation, it is preferable to that by Du Ryer."

indebted to the Rev Dr Bolton, one of the ministers of that church, the other was very obligingly lent me by the Rev Dr Holme, rector of Hedley in Hampshire, and I take this opportunity of returning both those gentlemen my thanks for their favours. The merit of al Beidâwî's Commentary will appear from the frequent quotations I have made thence, but of the gospel of St. Barnabas (which I had not seen when the little I have said of it in the Preliminary Discourse,* and the extract I had borrowed from M. de la Monnoye and Mr Toland,† were printed off), I must beg leave to give some further account.

The book is a moderate quarto, in Spanish, written in a very legible hand, but a little damaged towards the latter end. It contains two hundred and twenty-two chapters of unequal length, and four hundred and twenty pages, and is said, in the front, to be translated from the Italian, by an Arragonian Moslem, named Mostafa de Aranda. There is a preface prefixed to it, wherein the discoverer of the original MS., who was a Christian monk, called Fra Marino, tells us, that having accidentally met with a writing of Irenæus (among others), wherein he speaks against St. Paul, alleging for his authority the gospel of St. Barnabas, he became exceedingly desirous to find this gospel, and that God, of his mercy, having made him very intimate with Pope Sixtus V, one day, as they were together in that Pope's library, his holiness fell asleep, and he, to employ himself, reaching down a book to read, the first he laid his hand on proved to be the very gospel he wanted: overjoyed at the discovery, he scrupled not to hide his prize in his sleeve, and on the Pope's awaking, took leave of him, carrying with him that celestial treasure, by reading of which he became a convert to Mohammedism.

This gospel of Barnabas contains a complete history of Jesus Christ from his birth to his ascension, and most of the circumstances of the four real gospels are to be found therein, but many of them turned, and some artfully enough, to favour the Mohammedan system. From the design of the whole, and the frequent interpolations of stories and passages wherein Mohammed is spoken of and foretold by name, as the messenger of God, and the great prophet who was to perfect the dispensation of Jesus, it appears to be a most barefaced forgery. One particular I observe therein induces me to believe it to have been dressed up by a renegade Christian, slightly instructed in his new religion, and not educated a Mohammedan (unless the fault be imputed to the Spanish, or perhaps the Italian translator, and not to the original compiler), I mean the giving to Mohammed the title of Messiah, and that not once or twice only, but in several places: whereas the title of the Messiah, or, as the Arabs write it, al Masih, i. e., Christ, is appropriated to Jesus in the Korân, and is constantly applied by the Mohammedans to him, and never to their own prophet. The passages produced from the Italian MS by M. de la Monnoye are to be seen in this Spanish version almost word for word.

But to return to the following work. Though I have freely censured the former translations of the Korân, I would not therefore be suspected of a design to make my own pass as free from faults. I am very sensible it is not, and I make no doubt but the few who are able to discern them, and know the difficulty of the undertaking, will give me fair quarter. I likewise flatter myself that they, and all considerate persons, will excuse the delay which has happened in the publication of this work, when they are informed that it was carried on at leisure times only, and amidst the necessary avocations of a troublesome profession.

* Sect. iv p 53.

† In not. ad cap 3, p. 42.

ADVERTISEMENT

THE present Edition of Sale's Translation of the Koran will, it is hoped, be found to possess some advantages over every other. Many useful notes, and several hundred various readings, are added from the French version by Savary. Of the various readings, the major part give a different meaning from that which is adopted by the English translator, while the others, though agreeing with his idea of the text, are more poetically expressed. Great care has been taken to prevent the work from being disfigured by typographical errors, which are peculiarly objectionable in a work of this kind, because they render it unsafe to be consulted. A Sketch of the Life of Sale is also prefixed, which, though brief, contains several particulars not hitherto stated by any of his biographers, and vindicates, and it is believed satisfactorily, his memory from some aspersions that have been illiberally cast upon it by the prejudiced or the ignorant.

A SKETCH

LIFE OF GEORGE SALE.

OF the life of GEORGE SALE, a man of extensive learning, and considerable literary talent, very few particulars have been transmitted to us by his contemporaries. He is said to have been born in the county of Kent, and the time of his birth must have been not long previous to the close of the seventeenth century. His education he received at the King's School, Canterbury. Voltaire, who bestows high praise on the version of the Korân, asserts him to have spent five and twenty years in Arabia, and to have acquired in that country his profound knowledge of the Arabic language and customs. On what authority this is asserted it would now be fruitless to endeavour to ascertain. But that the assertion is an erroneous one, there can be no reason to doubt, it being opposed by the stubborn evidence of dates and facts. It is almost certain that Sale was brought up to the law, and that he practised it for many years, if not till the end of his career. He is said, by a co-existing writer, to have quitted his legal pursuits, for the purpose of applying himself to the study of the eastern and other languages, both ancient and modern. His guide through the labyrinth of the oriental dialects was Mr Dadichi, the king's interpreter. If it be true that he ever relinquished the practice of the law, it would appear that he must have resumed it before his decease, for, in his address to the reader, prefixed to the Koran, he pleads, as an apology for the delay which had occurred in publishing the volume, that the work "was carried on at leisure times only, and amidst the necessary avocations of a troublesome profession." This alone would suffice to show that Voltaire was in error. But to this must be added, that the existence of Sale was terminated at an early period, and that, in at least his latter years, he was engaged in literary labours of no trifling magnitude. The story of his having, during a quarter of a century, resided in Arabia, becomes, therefore, an obvious impossibility, and must be dismissed to take its place among those fictions by which biography has often been encumbered and disgraced.

Among the few productions of which Sale is known to be the author, a part of "The General Dictionary," in ten volumes, folio. To the translation of Bayle, which is incorporated with this voluminous work, is stated to have been a large contributor.

When the plan of the Universal History was arranged, Sale was one of those who were selected to carry it into execution. His coadjutors were

Swinton, eminent as an antiquary, and remarkable for absence of mind, Shalvocke, originally a naval officer, the well informed, intelligent, and laborious Campbell, that singular character, George Psalmanazar, and Arnold Bower, who afterwards became an object of unenviable notoriety. The portion of the history which was supplied by Sale comprises "The introduction, containing the Cosmogony, or Creation of the World," and the whole, or nearly the whole, of the succeeding chapter, which is the narrative of events from the creation to the flood. In the performance of his task, he displays a thorough acquaintance with his subject and his style, though not polished into elegance, is neat and perspicuous. In a French biographical dictionary, of anti liberal principles, a writer accuses him of having adopted a system hostile to tradition and the Scriptures, and composed his account of the Cosmogony with the view of giving currency to his heretical opinions. Either the accuser never read the article which he censures, or he has wilfully misrepresented it, for it affords the fullest contradiction to the charge, as does also the sequent chapter, and he must, therefore, be contented to choose between the pleasure of being a slanderer through blundering and reckless ignorance, or through sheer malignity of heart.

Though his share in these publications affords proof of the erudition and ability of Sale, it probably would not alone have been sufficient to preserve his name from oblivion. His claim to be remembered rests principally on his version of the Koran, which appeared in November 1734, in quarto volume, and was inscribed to Lord Carteret. The dedication does not disgrace himself by descending to that fulsome adulatory style which was then too frequently employed in addressing the great. As a translator, he had the field almost entirely to himself, there being at that time no English translation of the Mohammedan civil and spiritual code, except a bad copy of the despicable one by Du Ryer. His performance was universally and justly approved of, still remains in repute, and is not likely to be superseded by any other of the kind. It may perhaps be regretted, that he did not preserve the division into verses, a Savary has since done, instead of connecting them into a continuous narrative. Some of the poetical spirit is unavoidably lost by the change. But this is all that can be objected to him. It is, I believe, admitted, that he is in no common degree faithful to his original, and his numerous notes, and Preliminary Discourse, manifest such a perfect knowledge of Eastern habits, manners, traditions, and laws, as could have been acquired only by an acute mind, capable of submitting to years of patient toil.

But, though his work passed safely through the ordeal of criticism, it has been made the pretext for a calumny against him. It has been declared, that he puts the Christian religion on the same footing with the Mohammedan, and some charitable persons have even supposed him to have been a disguised professor of the latter. The origin of this slander we may trace back to the strange obliquity of principles, and the blind merciless rage which are characteristic of bigotry. Sale was not one of those who imagine that the end sanctifies the means, and that the best interests of mankind can be advanced by violence, by railing, or by deviating from the laws of truth, in order to blacken an adversary. He enters into the consideration of the character of Mohammed with a calm philosophic spirit, repeatedly censuring his imposture, touching upon his artifices and inventions, but doing justice to him on those points on which the pretended prophet is really worthy of praise. The rules which he addresses to the reader, he lays down for the conversion of Mr

hammadans, are dictated by sound sense and amiable feelings. They are, however, not calculated to satisfy those who think the sword and the fagot to be the only proper instruments for the extirpation of heresy. That he places Islamism on an equality with Christianity is a gross falsehood. "As Mohammed," says he, "gave his Arabs the best religion he could, preferable, at least, to those of the ancient pagan lawgivers, I confess I cannot see why he deserves not equal respect, though not with Moses or Jesus Christ, whose laws came really from heaven, yet with Minos or Numa, notwithstanding the distinction of a learned writer, who seems to think it a greater crime to make use of an imposture to set up a new religion, founded on the acknowledgment of one true God, and to destroy idolatry, than to use the same means to gain reception to rules and regulations for the more orderly practice of heathenism already established." This, and no more, is "the very head and front of his offending," and from this it would, I think, be difficult to extract any proof of his belief in the divine mission of Mohammed. If the charge brought against him be not groundless, he must have added to his other sins that of being a consummate hypocrite, and that, too, without any obvious necessity, he having been, till the period of his decease, a member of the Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge.

In 1736 a society was established for the encouragement of learning. It comprehended many noblemen, and some of the most eminent literary men of that day. Sale was one of the founders of it, and was appointed on the first committee. The meetings were held weekly, and the committee decided upon what works should be printed at the expense of the society, or with its assistance, and what should be the price of them. When the cost of printing was repaid, the property of the work reverted to the author. This establishment did not, I imagine, exist for any length of time. The attention of the public has been recently called to a plan of a similar kind.

Sale did not long survive the carrying of this scheme into effect. He died of a fever, on the 13th of November, 1736, at his house in Surrey street, Strand, after an illness of only eight days, and was buried at St. Clement Danes. He was under the age of forty when he was thus suddenly snatched from his family, which consisted of a wife and five children. Of his sons, one was educated at New College, Oxford, of which he became Fellow, and he was subsequently elected to a Fellowship in Winchester College. Sale is described as having had "a healthy constitution, and a communicative mind in a comely person." His library was valuable, and contained many rare and beautiful manuscripts in the Persian, Turkish, Arabic, and other languages, a circumstance which seems to show that poverty, so often the lot of men whose lives are devoted to literary pursuits, was not one of the evils with which he was compelled to encounter.

R. A. DAVENPORT

CONTENTS

A TABLE

THE SECTIONS OF THE PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

Sect	Page
1.—Of the Arabs before Mohammed or, as they express it, in the <i>Time of Ignorance</i> , their History, Religion, Learning and Customs	1
2.—Of the State of Christianity, particularly of the Eastern Churches, and of Judaism, at the time of Mohammed's appearance, and of the methods taken by him for the establishing his Religion and the circumstances which concurred thereto	23
3.—Of the Koran itself the Peculiarities of that book, the Manner of its being written and published, and the general design of it	40
4.—Of the Doctrines and positive precepts of the Koran which relate to Faith and Religious Duties	50
5.—Of certain negative Precepts in the Koran	67
6.—Of the Institutions of the Koran in Civil Affairs	94
7.—Of the Months commanded by the Koran to be kept sacred, and of the setting apart Friday for the especial service of God	105
8.—Of the principal Sects among the Mohammedans, and of those who have pretended to Prophecy among the Arabs, or since the time of Mohammed	107

A TABLE OF THE CHAPTERS

OF

THE KORAN *

1.—Intitl'd, The Preface, or Introduction containing verses	1
2.—Intitl'd, The Cow containing 286 verses	2
3.—Intitl'd, The Family of Imrân; containing 200 (199) verses	36
4.—Intitl'd, Women containing 175 verses	59
5.—Intitl'd, The Table containing 120 verses	81
6.—Intitl'd, Cattle (<i>Flocks</i>) containing 165 verses	98
7.—Intitl'd, Al Araf containing 206 (205) verses	116
8.—Intitl'd, The Spoils containing 76 verses	138
9.—Intitl'd, The Declaration of Immunity (<i>Conversion</i>) containing 39 (30) verses	148
10.—Intitl'd, Jonas containing 109 verses	15
11.—Intitl'd, Hud containing 123 verses	165
12.—Intitl'd, Joseph containing 111 verses	187
13.—Intitl'd, Thunder containing 43 verses	200
14.—Intitl'd, Abraham containing 52 verses	204
15.—Intitl'd, Al Hejr containing 50 (100) verses	209
16.—Intitl'd, The Bee (<i>The Bees</i>) containing verses	214
17.—Intitl'd, The Night Journey containing 110 (111) verses	226
18.—Intitl'd, The Cave containing 111 (110) verses	237
19.—Intitl'd, Mary containing 80 (94) verses	248
20.—Intitl'd, T H containing 134 (135) verses	256
21.—Intitl'd, The Prophets containing 112 verses	264
22.—Intitl'd, The Pilgrimage containing 78 verses	273
23.—Intitl'd, The True Believers containing 118 verses	281
24.—Intitl'd, Light containing 74 (64) verses	287
25.—Intitl'd, Al Furkan (<i>The Aorin</i>) containing 77 verses	296
26.—Intitl'd, The Poets containing 227 (228) verses	301
27.—Intitl'd, The Ant; containing 43 (95) verses	309
28.—Intitl'd, The Story (<i>The History</i>) containing 81 (88) verses	316
29.—Intitl'd, The Spider containing 69 verses	323
30.—Intitl'd, The Greeks; containing 60 verses	332
31.—Intitl'd, Lokmân containing 34 verses	335
32.—Intitl'd, Adoration, containing 29 (30) verses	338
33.—Intitl'd, The Confederates (<i>The Conspirators</i>) containing 73 verses	341
34.—Intitl'd, Saba containing 54 verses	351
35.—Intitl'd, The Creator (<i>The Angels</i>) containing 41 verses	367
36.—Intitl'd, Y S. (L S.) containing 53 verses	361
37.—Intitl'd, Those who rank themselves in Order (<i>The Classes</i>) containing 182 verses	368
38.—Intitl'd, S containing 86 (88) verses	371
39.—Intitl'd, The Troops containing 75 verses	377
40.—Intitl'd, The True Believer containing 85 verses	383
41.—Intitl'd, Are distinctly explained (<i>The Explanation</i>) containing 54 (85) verses	389
42.—Intitl'd, Consultation (<i>The Council</i>) containing 53 verses	398
43.—Intitl'd, The Ornaments of Gold (<i>Dress</i>) containing 89 verses	397
44.—Intitl'd, Smoke containing 57 (59) verses	402
45.—Intitl'd, The Kneeling containing 36 verses	404
46.—Intitl'd, Al Ahkaf containing 35 verses	406
47.—Intitl'd, Mohammed (<i>The Battle</i>) containing 38 (4) verses	410
48.—Intitl'd, The Victory containing 29 verses	413
49.—Intitl'd, The Inner Apartments (<i>The Sanctuary</i>) containing 18 verses	417
50.—Intitl'd, K; containing 45 verses	420
51.—Intitl'd, The Dispersing (<i>The Breath of the Winds</i>), containing 90 verses	423
52.—Intitl'd, The Mountain containing 48 (49) verses	424

The titles and figures within parentheses are those which are given in the translation by SAVARY

Page.		Page.
63.—	Intituled, The Star; containing 61 verses	427
64.—	Intituled, The Moon; containing 55 verses	429
65.—	Intituled, The Merciful; containing 78 verses	432
66.—	Intituled, The Inevitable (<i>The Judgment</i>) containing 99 (96) verses	434
67.—	Intituled, Iron containing 29 verses	438
68.—	Intituled, She who disputed (<i>The Complaint</i>) containing 32 verses	439
69.—	Intituled, The Emigration (<i>The Assembly</i>); containing 24 (25) verses	443
70.—	Intituled, She who is tried (<i>The Proof</i>); containing 13 verses	446
71.—	Intituled, Battle Array (<i>The Array</i>) containing 14 verses	449
72.—	Intituled, The Assembly (<i>Friday</i>); containing 11 verses	450
73.—	Intituled, The Hypocrites (<i>The Impious</i>) containing 11 verses	451
74.—	Intituled, Mutual Decelt (<i>Knavery</i>) containing 18 verses	452
75.—	Intituled, Divorce containing 12 verses	454
76.—	Intituled, Prohibition containing 12 verses	455
77.—	Intituled, The Kingdom containing 30 verses	459
78.—	Intituled, The Pen containing 53 verses	460
79.—	Intituled, The Infallible (<i>The Inevitable Day</i>) containing 52 verses	462
80.—	Intituled, The Steps (<i>The Classes or The Orders</i>) containing 44 verses	464
81.—	Intituled, Noah containing 28 verses	466
82.—	Intituled, The Genii containing 38 verses	467
83.—	Intituled, The Wrapped up (<i>The Prophet clothed in his Dress</i>); containing 19 (20) verses	469
84.—	Intituled, The Covered (<i>The Mantle</i>) containing 35 verses	471
85.—	Intituled, The Resurrection containing 40 verses	473
86.—	Intituled, Man containing 31 (30) verses	474
87.—	Intituled, Those which are sent (<i>The Messengers</i>) containing 50 verses	476
88.—	Intituled, The News (<i>The Important News</i>) containing 40 (41) verses	477
89.—	Intituled, Those who tear forth (<i>The Ministers of Vengeance</i>) containing 46 (47) verses	478
90.—	Intituled, He frowned (<i>The Frowning Brow</i>) containing 42 verses	479
91.—	Intituled, The Folding up (<i>The Darkness</i>) containing 21 (28) verses	480
92.—	Intituled, The Cleaving asunder (<i>The Breaking</i>) containing 19 verses	482
93.—	Intituled, Those who give short Measure or Weight (<i>The Unjust Measure</i>) containing 36 verses	482
94.—	Intituled, The Rending in sunder (<i>The Opening</i>) containing 23 (25) verses	484
95.—	Intituled, The Celestial Signs containing 22 verses	485
96.—	Intituled, The Star which appeared by Night (<i>The Nocturnal Star</i>) containing 1 verses	486
97.—	Intituled, The Most High containing 19 verses	486
98.—	Intituled, The Overwhelming (<i>The Gloomy Veil</i>) containing 26 (27) verses	487
99.—	Intituled, The Day break containing 30 verses	488
100.—	Intituled, The Territory (<i>The City</i>) containing 20 verses	490
101.—	Intituled, The Sun containing 15 (16) verses	491
102.—	Intituled, The Night containing 21 verses	491
103.—	Intituled, The Brightness (<i>The Sun in his Meridian</i>) containing 11 verses	492
104.—	Intituled, Have we not opened (<i>The Expanding</i>) containing 8 verses	493
105.—	Intituled, The Fig (<i>The Fig-tree</i>) containing 8 verses	493
106.—	Intituled, Congealed Blood (<i>The Union of the Seres</i>) containing 19 verses	494
107.—	Intituled, Al Kadr (<i>The Celebrated Night</i>) containing 5 verses	496
108.—	Intituled, The Evidence containing 8 verses	496
109.—	Intituled, The Earthquake containing 8 verses	496
110.—	Intituled, The War Horses which ran swiftly (<i>The Coursers</i>) containing 11 verses	497
111.—	Intituled, The Striking (<i>The Day of Calamities</i>) containing 10 (8) verses	497
112.—	Intituled, The Emulous Desire of Multiplying (<i>The Love of Gain</i>) containing 8 verses	498
113.—	Intituled, The Afternoon containing 3 verses	498
114.—	Intituled, The Slanderer; containing 9 verses	499
115.—	Intituled, The Elephant containing 5 verses	499
116.—	Intituled, Korah (<i>The Korashites</i>) containing 4 verses	501
117.—	Intituled, Necassar (<i>The Succouring Hand</i>) containing 7 verses	501
118.—	Intituled, Al Cowthar; containing 3 verses	502
119.—	Intituled, The Unbelievers containing 6 verses	503
120.—	Intituled, Assistance; containing 3 verses	503
121.—	Intituled, Abu Lahab; containing 5 verses	504
122.—	Intituled, The Declaration of God's Unity (<i>Unity</i>); containing 4 verses	504
123.—	Intituled, The Day break (<i>The God of Morning</i>) containing 5 verses	505
124.—	Intituled, Men containing 6 verses	505

THE

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

SECTION I.

OF THE ARABS BEFORE MOHAMMED, OR, AS THEY EXPRESS IT, IN THE TIME
OF IGNORANCE, THEIR HISTORY, RELIGION, LEARNING, AND CUSTOMS.

THE Arabs, and the country they inhabit, which themselves call *Jezirat al Arab*, or the Peninsula of the Arabians, but we Arabia, were so named from *Araba*, a small territory in the province of *Tehûma*,¹ to which *Yarab* the son of *Kahtân*, the father of the ancient Arabs, gave his name, and where, some ages after, dwelt *Ismael* the son of *Abraham* by *Hagar*. The Christian writers for several centuries speak of them under the appellation of Saxons, the most certain derivation of which word is from shark, the east, where the descendants of *Joctan*, the *Kahtân* of the Arabs, are placed by *Moses*,² and in which quarter they dwelt in respect to the Jews.³

The name of Arabia (used in a more extensive sense) sometimes comprehends all that large tract of land bounded by the river *Euphrates*, the *Persian Gulf*, the *Sindian*, *Indian*, and *Red Seas*, and part of the *Mediterranean* above two-thirds of which country, that is, Arabia properly so called, the Arabs have possessed almost from the flood, and have made themselves masters of the rest, either by settlements, or continual incursions, for which reason the *Turks* and *Persians* at this day call the whole *Arabistân*, or the country of the Arabs.

But the limits of Arabia, in its more usual and proper sense, are much narrower as reaching no farther northward than the *Isthmus*, which runs from *Aila* to the head of the *Persian Gulf*, and the borders of the territory of *Cûfa*, which tract of land the *Greeks* nearly comprehended under the name of *Arabia the Happy*. The eastern geographers make *Arabia Petræa* to belong partly to *Egypt*, and partly to *Shâm* or *Syria*, and the *Desert Arabia* they call the deserts of *Syria*.⁴

Proper Arabia is by the oriental writers generally divided into five provinces,⁵ viz. *Yaman*, *Hejâz*, *Tehâma*, *Najd*, and *Yamâma*, to which some add *Bahreïn*, as a sixth, but this province the more exact make part of

¹ Pocock, Specim. Hist. Arab. 33.
33, 34.

⁴ Golius ad Alfragan. 78, 79

² Gen. x. 30.

³ See Pocock, Specim.

⁵ Strabo says Arabia Felix was in his time divided into five kingdoms lib. 16. p. 1129.

Irak^a others reduce them all to two, Yaman and Hejáz, the last including the three other provinces of Tehâma, Najd, and Yamâma.

The province of Yaman, so called either from its situation to the right hand, or south of the temple of Mecca, or else from the happiness and verdure of its soil, extends itself along the Indian Ocean from Aden to Cape Rasalgat, part of the Red Sea bounds it on the west and south sides, and the province of Hejáz on the north.¹ It is subdivided into several lesser provinces, as Hadramaut, Shuhr, Omân, Najrân, &c. of which Shuhr alone produces the frankincense.² The metropolis of Yaman is Sanaa, a very ancient city, in former times called Ozal, and much celebrated for its delightful situation, but the prince at present resides about five leagues northward from thence, at a place no less pleasant, called Hîsn almawâheb, or the Castle of delights.³

This country has been famous from all antiquity for the happiness of its climate, its fertility and riches,⁴ which induced Alexander the Great, after his return from his Indian expedition, to form a design of conquering it, and fixing there his royal seat, but his death, which happened soon after, prevented the execution of this project.⁵ Yet in reality, great part of the riches which the ancients imagined were the produce of Arabia, came really from the Indies, and the coasts of Africa, for the Egyptians, who had engrossed that trade, which was then carried on by way of the Red Sea, to themselves, industriously concealed the truth of the matter, and kept their ports shut, to prevent foreigners penetrating into those countries, or receiving any information thence and this precaution of theirs on the one side, and the deserts, unpassable to strangers, on the other, were the reason why Arabia was so little known to the Greeks and Romans. The delightfulness and plenty of Yaman are owing to its mountains, for all that part which lies along the Red Sea is a dry, barren desert, in some places ten or twelve leagues over, but in return bounded by those mountains which, being well watered, enjoy an almost continual spring, and, besides coffee, the peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty and variety of fruits, and in particular excellent corn, grapes, and spices. There are no rivers of note in this country, for the streams which at certain times of the year descend from the mountains, seldom reach the sea, being for the most part drunk up and lost in the burning sands of that coast.⁶

The soil of the other provinces is much more barren than that of Yaman, the greater part of their territories being covered with dry sands, or rising into rocks, interspersed here and there with some fruitful spots, which receive their greatest advantages from their water and palm trees.

The province of Hejáz, so named because it divides Najd from Tehâma, is bounded on the south by Yaman and Tehâma, on the west by the Red Sea, on the north by the deserts of Syria, and on the east by the province of Najd.⁷ This province is famous for its two chief cities, Mecca and Medina, one of which is celebrated for its temple, and having given birth to Mohammed, and the other for being the place of his residence for the last ten years of his life, and of his interment.

Mecca, sometimes also called Becca, which words are synonymous, and signify a place of great concourse, is certainly one of the most ancient cities in the world it is by some⁸ thought to be the Meza of the scripture,⁹ a

^a Gol. ad Alfragan. 79

¹ La Roque, Voyage de l'Arab. heur 121.

² Gol.

ad Alfragan. 79, 87

³ Voyage de l'Arab. heur 232.

⁴ Vide Dionys. Peri.

egus. v. 227, &c.

⁵ Strabo, lib. 16. p. 1182. Arrian. 161.

⁶ Voyage de l'Arab.

heur. 121, 123, 153.

⁷ Vide Gol. ad Alfrag. 98. Abulfeda Descr Arab. p. 8.

⁸ Gen. x. 32.

⁹ R. Sandias in version. Arab. l'entat. Sefer Juchasin. 135 b.

name not unknown to the Arabians, and supposed to be taken from one of Ismael's sons.⁷ It is seated in a stony and barren valley, surrounded on all sides with mountains.⁸ The length of Mecca, from south to north, is about two miles, and its breadth, from the foot of the mountain Ajyad to the top of another called Koukaân, about a mile.⁹ In the midst of this space stands the city, built of stone cut from the neighbouring mountains.¹ There being no springs at Mecca,² at least none but what are bitter and unfit to drink,³ except only the well Zemzem, the water of which, though far the best, yet cannot be drank for any continuance, being brackish, and causing eruptions in those who drink plentifully of it,⁴ the inhabitants are obliged to use rain-water which they catch in cisterns.⁵ But this not being sufficient, several attempts were made to bring water thither from other places by aqueducts, and particularly about Mohammed's time, Zobair, one of the principal men of the tribe of Koreish, endeavoured at a great expense to supply the city with water from Mount Arafat, but without success, yet this was effected not many years ago, being begun at the charge of a wife of Solimân the Turkish emperor.⁶ But, long before this, another aqueduct had been made from a spring at a considerable distance, which was, after several years' labour, finished by the Khalif al Moktader.⁷

The soil about Mecca is so very barren as to produce no fruits but what are common in the deserts, though the prince or Sharif has a garden well planted at his castle of Marbaa, about three miles westward from the city, where he usually resides. Having therefore no corn or grain of their own growth, they are obliged to fetch it from other places,⁸ and Hashem, Mohammed's great-grandfather, then prince of his tribe, the more effectually to supply them with provisions, appointed two caravans to set out yearly for that purpose, the one in summer, and the other in winter.⁹ These caravans of purveyors are mentioned in the Korân. The provisions brought by them were distributed also twice a year, viz. in the month of Rajeb, and at the arrival of the pilgrims. They are supplied with dates in great plenty from the adjacent country, and with grapes from Tavef, about sixty miles distant, very few growing at Mecca. The inhabitants of this city are generally very rich, being considerable gainers by the prodigious concourse of people of almost all nations at the yearly pilgrimage, at which time there is a great fair or mart for all kinds of merchandise. They have also great numbers of cattle, and particularly of camels; however, the poorer sort cannot but live very indifferently in a place where almost every necessary of life must be purchased with money. Notwithstanding this great sterility near Mecca, yet you are no sooner out of its territory than you meet on all sides with plenty of good springs and streams of running water, with a great many gardens and cultivated lands.¹

The temple of Mecca, and the reputed holiness of this territory, will be treated of in a more proper place.

Medina, which till Mohammed's retreat thither was called Yathreb, is a walled city about half as big as Mecca,² built in a plain, salt in many places, yet tolerably fruitful, particularly in dates, but more especially near the mountains, two of which, Ohod on the north, and Air on the south, are about two leagues distant. Here lies Mohammed interred³ in a mag-

⁷ Gol. ad Alfrag. 82. See Gen. xxv. 15. ⁸ Gol. ib. 96. See Pitts' account of the religion and manners of the Mohammedans, p. 96. ⁹ Sharif al Edrisi apud Poc. Specim. 122. ¹ Ibid. ² Gol. ad Alfragan. 99. ³ Sharif al Edrisi ubi supra, 124. ⁴ Ibid. and Pitts ubi supra, p. 107. ⁵ Gol. ad Alfrag. 99. ⁶ Ibid. ⁷ Sharif al Edrisi ubi supra. ⁸ Idem ib. ⁹ Poc. Specim. 51.

¹ Sharif al Edrisi ubi supra, 125. ² Id. Vulgè Geogr. Nubiensis, 5. ³ Though the notion of Mohammed's being buried at Mecca has been so long ex-

sufficient building, covered with a cupola, and adjoining to the east side of the great temple, which is built in the midst of the city.⁴

The province of Tehâma was so named from the vehement heat of its sandy soil, and is also called Gaur from its low situation, it is bounded on the west by the Red Sea, and on the other sides by Hejâz and Yaman, extending almost from Mecca to Aden.⁵

The province of Najd, which word signifies a rising country, lies between those of Yamâma, Yaman, and Hejâz, and is bounded on the east by Irak.⁶

The province of Yamâma, also called Arûd from its oblique situation, in respect of Yaman, is surrounded by the provinces of Najd, Tehâma, Bahire, Ômân, Shihr, Hadramaut, and Saba. The chief city is Yamâma, which gives name to the province it was anciently called Jaw, and is particularly famous for being the residence of Mohammed's competitor, the false prophet, Moselama.⁷

The Arabians, the inhabitants of this spacious country, which they have possessed from the most remote antiquity, are distinguished by their own writers into two classes, viz. the old lost Arabians, and the present.

The former were very numerous, and divided into several tribes, which are now all destroyed, or else lost and swallowed up among the other tribes, nor are any certain memoirs or records extant concerning them,⁸ though the memory of some very remarkable events and the catastrophe of some tribes have been preserved by tradition, and since confirmed by the authority of the Koran.

The most famous tribes amongst these ancient Arabians were Ad, Thâmûd, Tasm, Jadis, the former Jorham and Amalek.

The tribe of Ad were descended from Ad, the son of Aws,⁹ the son of Aram,¹ the son of Sem, the son of Noah, who, after the confusion of tongues, settled in al Ahkâf, or the wilding sands, in the province of Hadramaut, where his posterity greatly multiplied. Their first king was Shedâd the son of Ad, of whom the eastern writers deliver many fabulous things, particularly that he finished the magnificent city his father had begun, wherein he built a fine palace, adorned with delicious gardens, to embellish which he spared neither cost nor labour, purposing thereby to create in his subjects a superstitious veneration of himself as a God.² This garden or paradise was called the garden of Irem, and is mentioned in the Korân³ and often alluded to by the oriental writers. The city, they tell us, is still

ded, yet several modern writers, whether through ignorance or negligence I will not determine, have fallen into it. I shall here take notice only of two: one is Mr Smith who, having lived some time in Turkey seems to be inexcusable that gentleman in his *Epistoles de Moribus ac Institutis Turcarum*, no less than three mentions the Moham medans visiting the tomb of their prophet at Mecca, and once his being born at Medina, the reverse of which is true (see Ep 1 p 22 Ep 2 p 63 and 64). The other is the publisher of the last edition of Sir J Mandeville's *Travels*, who on his author's saying very truly (p. 50.) that the said tomb was at Methone (i. e. Medina) undertakes to correct the name of the town, which is something corrupted, by putting at the bottom of the page, Mecca. The Abbot de Vertot in his *History of the order of Malta* (vol. I. p. 410. ed. 8vo), seems also to have confounded these two cities together, though he had before mentioned Mohammed's sepulchre at Medina. However, he is certainly mistaken, when he says that one point of the religion, both of the Christians and Mohammedans, was to visit, at least once in their lives, the tomb of the author of their respective faith. Whatever may be the opinion of some Christians, I am well assured the Mohammedans think themselves under no manner of obligation in this respect.

⁴ *Geogr. ad Afrag.* 97. *Abulfeda Descr. Arab.* p. 40. ⁵ *Geogr. ubi supra*, 95.
⁶ *Geogr. ubi sup.* 94. ⁷ *Ib.* 95. ⁸ *Abulfarag.* p. 159. ⁹ *Or Uz.* Gen. x 22, 23.
 is son of Amelek, the son of Ham; but the other
 4 61. ¹⁰ *Vide Fund.* 498.

standing in the deserts of Aden, being preserved by providence as a monument of divine justice, though it be invisible, unless very rarely, when God permits it to be seen, a favour one Colabah pretended to have received in the reign of the Khalif Mo'awiyah, who sending for him to know the truth of the matter, Colabah related his whole adventure, that as he was seeking a camel he had lost, he found himself on a sudden at the gates of this city, and entering it saw not one inhabitant, at which being terrified, he stayed no longer than to take with him some fine stones which he showed the Khalif.⁴

The descendants of Ad in process of time falling from the worship of the true God into idolatry, God sent the prophet Hûd (who is generally agreed to be Heber)⁵ to preach to and reclaim them. But they refusing to acknowledge his mission, or to obey him, God sent a hot and suffocating wind, which blew seven nights and eight days together, and entering at their nostrils passed through their bodies,⁶ and destroyed them all, a very few only excepted, who had believed in Hud, and retired with him to another place.⁷ That prophet afterwards returned into Hadramaut, and was buried near Hecet, where there is a small town now standing called Kabr Hud, or the sepulchre of Hûd. Before the Adites were thus severely punished God, to humble them, and incline them to hearken to the preaching of his prophet, afflicted them with drought for four years, so that all their cattle perished, and themselves were very near it, upon which they sent Lokmân (different from one of the same name who lived in David's time) with sixty others to Mecca to beg rain, which they not obtaining, Lokmân with some of his company stayed at Mecca, and thereby escaped destruction, giving rise to a tribe called the latter Ad, who were afterwards changed into monkeys.⁸

Some commentators on the Korân⁹ tell us these old Adites were of prodigious stature, the largest being a hundred cubits high, and the least sixty, which extraordinary size they pretend to prove by the testimony of the Korân.¹

The tribe of Thamud were the posterity of Thamûd the son of Gather² the son of Aram, who falling into idolatry, the prophet Saleh was sent to bring them back to the worship of the true God. This prophet lived between the time of Hud and of Abraham, and therefore cannot be the same with the patriarch Selah, as M. d Herbelot imagines.³ The learned Bochart with more probability takes him to be Phaleg.⁴ A small number of the people of Thamud hearkened to the remonstrances of Sâleh but the rest requiring, as a proof of his mission, that he should cause a she-camel big with young to come out of a rock in their presence, he accordingly obtained it of God, and the camel⁵ was immediately delivered of a young one ready weaned, but they, instead of believing, cut the hainstrings of the camel and killed her, at which act of impiety God being highly displeased, three days after struck them dead in their houses by an earthquake and a terrible noise from heaven, which, some⁶ say, was the voice of Gabriel the archangel crying aloud, Die all of you Sâleh, with those who were reformed by him, were saved from this destruction, the prophet going into Palestine, and from thence to Mecca,⁷ where he ended his days.

This tribe first dwelt in Yaman, but being expelled thence by Hamyar

¹ D'Herbel. 51 ² The Jews acknowledge Heber to have been a great prophet. Seder Olam p. 2. ³ A. Beidawi. ⁴ Poc. Spec. 35, &c. ⁵ Ibid. 36. ⁶ Jallâlo Jâbir et Zamakhshari. ⁷ Ker. c. 7. ⁸ Or Gether Vide Gen. x. 23. ⁹ D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. 713. ¹⁰ Bochart. Geogr. Sac. ¹¹ See D'Herbel. 303. ¹² Ebn Shohnah.

the son of Saba,⁷ they settled in the territory of Hejr in the province of Hejâs, where their habitations out of the rocks, mentioned in the Korân,⁸ are still to be seen, and also the crack of the rock whence the camel issued, which, as an eye-witness⁹ hath declared, is sixty cubits wide. These houses of the Thamudites being of the ordinary proportion, are used as an argument to convince those of a mistake, who make this people to have been of a gigantic stature.¹

The tragical destructions of these two potent tribes are often insisted on in the Korân, as instances of God's judgment on obstinate unbelievers.

The tribe of Tasm were the posterity of Lûd the son of Sem, and Jadis of the descendants of Jether.² These two tribes dwelt promiscuously together under the government of Tasm, till a certain tyrant made a law, that no maid of the tribe of Jadis should marry, unless first deflowered by him,³ which the Jadisians not enduring, formed a conspiracy, and inviting the king and chiefs of Tasm to an entertainment, privately hid their swords in the sand, and in the midst of their mirth fell on them and slew them all, and extirpated the greatest part of that tribe, however, the few who escaped obtaining aid of the king of Yaman, then (as is said) Dhu Habshân Ebn Akrán,⁴ assaulted the Jadis and utterly destroyed them, there being scarce any mention made from that time of either of those tribes.⁵

The former tribe of Jorham (whose ancestor some pretend was one of the eighty persons saved in the ark with Noah, according to a Mohammedan tradition)⁶ was contemporary with Ad, and utterly perished.⁷ The tribe of Amalek were descended from Amalek the son of Eliphaz the son of Esau,⁸ though some of the oriental authors say Amalek was the son of Ham the son of Noah,⁹ and others the son of Azd the son of Sem.¹ The posterity of this person rendered themselves very powerful,² and before the time of Joseph, conquered the lower Egypt under their king Walid, the first who took the name of Pharaoh, as the eastern writers tell us,³ seeming by these Amelekites to mean the same people which the Egyptian histories call Phœnician shepherds.⁴ But after they had possessed the throne of Egypt for some descents, they were expelled by the natives, and at length totally destroyed by the Israelites.⁵

The present Arabians, according to their own historians, are sprung from two stocks, Kahtân, the same with Joctan the son of Eber,⁶ and Adnân descended in a direct line from Ismael the son of Abraham and Hagar, the posterity of the former they call al Arab al Arîba,⁷ i. e. the genuine or pure Arabs, and those of the latter al Arab al mostâreba, i. e. naturalized or insititious Arabs, though some reckon the ancient lost tribes to have been the only pure Arabians, and therefore call the posterity of Kahtân also Môtareba, which word likewise signifies insititious Arabs, though in a nearer degree than Mostâreba the descendants of Ismael being the more distant graff.

The posterity of Ismael have no claim to be admitted as pure Arabs,

¹ Poc. Spec. 57. ² Kor cap xv. ³ Abu Musa al Ashari. ⁴ Vide Poc. Spec. 37. ⁵ Abulfeda. ⁶ A like custom is said to have been in some manors in England, and also in Scotland, where it was called Culliage or Cullage, having been established by K. Ewen, and abolished by Malcolm III. See Bayle's Dict. Art. Sixte IV Rem. H. ⁷ Poc. Spec. 60. ⁸ Ibid 37, &c. ⁹ Ibid 38. ¹ Ebn Shohnah. ² Gen. xxxvi. 12. ³ Vide D'Herbelot, p. 110. ⁴ Ebn Shohnah. ⁵ Vide Numb. xxiv. 20. ⁶ Mirât Caisât. ⁷ Vide Joseph. cont. Apion. lib. i. ⁸ Vide Exod. xvii. 18, &c. 1 Sam. xv. 2, &c. Ib. xxvii. 8, 9. 1 Chron. iv. 42. ⁹ R. Saad. in vera. Arab. Pentat. Gen. x. 25. Some writers make Kahtân a descendant of Ismael, but against the current of oriental historians. See Poc. Spec. 20. ¹ An expression sometimes like to be of St. Paul's.

their ancestor being by origin and language an Hebrew, but having made an alliance with the Jorhamites, by marrying a daughter of Modad, and accustomed himself to their manner of living and language, his descendants became blended with them into one nation. The uncertainty of the descents between Ismael and Adnân, is the reason why they seldom trace their genealogies higher than the latter, whom they acknowledge as father of their tribes, the descents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted^a.

The genealogy of these tribes being of great use to illustrate the Arabian history, I have taken the pains to form a genealogical table from their most approved authors, to which I refer the curious.

Besides these tribes of Arabs, mentioned by their own authors, who were all descended from the race of Sem, others of them were the posterity of Ham by his son Cush, which name is in scripture constantly given to the Arabs and their country, though our version renders it Ethiopia, but strictly speaking the Cushites did not inhabit Arabia properly so called, but the banks of the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, whither they came from Chuzestan or Susiana, the original settlement of their father^b. They might probably mix themselves in process of time with the Arabs of the other race, but the eastern writers take little or no notice of them.

The Arabians were for some centuries under the government of the descendants of Kahtan, Yârab, one of his sons, founding the kingdom of Yaman, and Jorham, another of them, that of Hejaz.

The province of Yaman, or the better part of it, particularly the provinces of Saba and Hadramaut, was governed by princes of the tribe of Hamyar, though at length the kingdom was translated to the descendants of Calilan his brother, who yet retained the title of king of Hamyar, and had all of them the general title of Tobba, which signifies successor, and was affected to this race of princes, as that of Cæsar was to the Roman emperors, and Khalif to the successors of Mohammed. There were several lesser princes who reigned in other parts of Yaman, and were mostly, if not altogether, subject to the king of Hamyar, whom they called the great king, but of these history has recorded nothing remarkable or that may be depended upon^c.

The first great calamity that befell the tribes settled in Yaman was the inundation of Aram, which happened soon after the time of Alexander the Great, and is famous in the Arabian history. No less than eight tribes were forced to abandon their dwellings upon this occasion, some of which gave rise to the two kingdoms of Ghassân and Hira. And this was probably the time of the migration of those tribes or colonies which were led into Mesopotamia by three chiefs, Becr, Modar, and Rabia, from whom the three provinces of that country are still named Diyar Becr, Diyar Modar, and Diyar Rabia^d. Abdshems, surnamed Saba, having built the city from him called Saba, and afterwards Mareb, made a vast mound or dam^e to serve as a basin or reservoir to receive the water which came down from the mountains, not only for the use of the inhabitants, and watering their lands, but also to keep the country they had subjected in greater awe by being masters of the water. This building stood like a mountain above their city, and was by them esteemed so strong, that they were in no apprehension of its ever failing. The water rose to the height of almost twenty fathoms, and was kept in on every side by a work so solid, that many of the inhabitants had

^a Poc. Spec. p. 40. ^b Vide Hyde, Hist. Rel. veter. Persar. p. 37, &c. ^c Poc.

their houses built upon it. Every family had a certain portion of this water distributed by aqueducts. But at length God being highly displeased at their great pride and insolence, and resolving to humble and disperse them, sent a mighty flood, which broke down the mound by night while the inhabitants were asleep, and carried away the whole city with the neighbouring towns and people.⁴

The tribes which remained in Yaman after this terrible devastation still continued under the obedience of the former princes, till about 70 years before Mohammed, when the king of Ethiopia sent over forces to assist the Christians of Yaman against the cruel persecution of their king Dhu Nowâs, a bigoted Jew, whom they drove to that extremity that he forced his horse into the sea, and so lost his life and crown,⁵ after which the country was governed by four Ethiopian princes successively, till Sel.⁶ the son of Dhu Yazan of the tribe of Hamyar, obtaining succours from Khosrû Anushirwân king of Persia, which had been denied him by the emperor Heraclius, recovered the throne and drove out the Ethiopians, but was himself slain by some of them who were left behind. The Persians appointed the succeeding princes till Yaman fell into the hands of Mohammed, to whom Razan, or rather Badhan, the last of them, submitted, and embraced this new religion.⁷

This kingdom of the Hamyarites is said to have lasted 2020 years,⁸ or as others say above 3000,⁹ the length of the reign of each prince being very uncertain.

It has been already observed that two kingdoms were founded by those who left their country on occasion of the inundation of Aram: they were both out of the proper limits of Arabia. One of them was the kingdom of Ghassân. The founders of this kingdom were of the tribe of Arîd, who, settling in Syria Damascena near a water called Ghassân, thence took their name, and drove out the Dajassian Arabs of the tribe of Salih, who before possessed the country,¹⁰ where they maintained their kingdom 400 years, as others say 600, or, as Abulfeda more exactly computes, 616. Five of these princes were named Hâreth, which the Greeks write Aretas: and one of them it was whose governor ordered the gates of Damascus to be watched to take St. Paul.¹¹ This tribe were Christians, their last king being Jabalah the son of al Ayham, who, on the Arabs' successes in Syria, professed Mohammedism under the Khalif Omar, but receiving a disgust from him, returned to his former faith, and retired to Constantinople.¹²

The other kingdom was that of Hira, which was founded by Malec of the descendants of Cahlân¹³ in Chaldea or Irâk, but, after three descents, the throne came by marriage to the Lakhmuans, called also the Mondars (the general name of those princes), who preserved their dominion notwithstanding some small interruption by the Persians, till the Khalifat of Abubecr, when al Mondar al Maghrûr, the last of them, lost his life and crown by the arms of Khaled Ebn al Walid. This kingdom lasted 622 years eight months.¹⁴ Its princes were under the protection of the kings of Persia, whose lieutenants they were over the Arabs of Irâk, as the kings of Ghassân were for the Roman emperors over those of Syria.¹⁵

Jorham the son of Kahtân reigned in Hejâz, where his posterity kept the throne till the time of Ismael, but on his marrying the daughter of Modad, by whom he had twelve sons, Kidâr, one of them, had the crown

⁴ Geogr. Nubiens. p. 52. ⁵ See Prideaux's life of Moham. p. 61. ⁶ Poc. Spec. p. 63, 64. ⁷ Abulfeda. ⁸ Al Jannâbi and Ahmed Ebn Yusuf. ⁹ Poc. Spec. p. 76. ¹⁰ 2 Cor. xi. 32. Acts ix. 24. ¹¹ Vide Ockley's History of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 174. ¹² Poc. Spec. p. 66. ¹³ Ib. p. 74. ¹⁴ Ib. and Procop. in Pers. apud Photium, p. 71, &c.

resigned to him by his uncles the Jorhamites,⁶ though others say the descendants of Ismael expelled that tribe, who, retiring to Johamah, were, after various fortune, at last all destroyed by an inundation.⁷

Of the kings of Hamyar, Hira, Ghassân, and Jorham, Dr Pocock has given us catalogues tolerably exact, to which I refer the curious.⁸

After the expulsion of the Jorhamites, the government of Hejâz seems not to have continued for many centuries in the hands of one prince, but to have been divided among the heads of tribes, almost in the same manner as the Arabs of the desert are governed at this day. At Mecca an aristocracy prevailed, where the chief management of affairs till the time of Mohammed was in the tribe of Koreish, especially after they had gotten the custody of the Caaba from the tribe of Khozâh.⁹

Besides the kingdoms which have been taken notice of, there were some other tribes, which, in latter times, had princes of their own, and formed states of lesser note, particularly the tribe of Kenda,¹ but as I am not writing a just history of the Arabs, and an account of them would be of no great use to my present purpose, I shall waive any further mention of them.

After the time of Mohammed, Arabia was for about three centuries under the Khalifs his successors. But in the year 325 of the Hejri, great part of that country was in the hands of the Karmatians,² a new sect who had committed great outrages and disorders even in Mecca, and to whom the Khalifs were obliged to pay tribute, that the pilgrimage thither might be performed. Of this sect I may have occasion to speak in another place. Afterwards Yaman was governed by the house of Thabâta, descended from Ali the son-in-law of Mohammed, whose sovereignty in Arabia some place so high as the time of Charlemagne. However, it was the posterity of Ali or pretenders to be such who reigned in Yaman and Egypt so early as the tenth century. The present reigning family in Yaman is probably that of Ayub a branch of which reigned there in the thirteenth century, and took the title of Khalif and Imâm, which they still retain.³ They are not possessed of the whole province of Yaman,⁴ there being several other independent kingdoms there, particularly that of Fartach. The crown of Yaman descends not regularly from father to son, but the prince of the blood royal who is most in favour of the great ones, or has the strongest interest, generally succeeds.⁵

The governors of Mecca and Medina, who have always been of the race of Mohammed, also threw off their subjection to the Khalifs, since which time four principal families, all descended from Hasan the son of Ali, have reigned there under the title of Scharif, which signifies noble, as they reckon themselves to be on account of their descent. These are Banu Kâder, Banu Mûsa Thanî, Banu Hashem, and Banu Kitâda,⁶ which last family now is, or lately was in the throne of Mecca, where they have reigned above 500 years. The reigning family at Medina are the Banu Hashem, who also reigned at Mecca before those of Kitâda.⁷

The kings of Yaman, as well as the princes of Mecca and Medina, are absolutely independent,⁸ and not at all subject to the Turk, as some late authors have imagined.⁹ These princes often making cruel wars among themselves, gave an opportunity to Selim I and his son Solimân, to make themselves masters of the coasts of Arabia on the Red Sea, and of part of

⁶ Poc. Spec. p. 45. ⁷ Ib. p. 79. ⁸ Ib. p. 55 seq. ⁹ Vide Ib. p. 41, and Prideaux's Life of Moham. p. 2. ¹ Vide Poc. Spec. p. 79, &c. ² Vide Elmâcin. in vita al Râdi. ³ Voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 255. ⁴ Ib. 153, 273. ⁵ Ib. 234. ⁶ Ib. 142. ⁷ Ib. 145. ⁸ Ib. 142, 143. ⁹ Ib. 142, 143.

Yaman, by means of a fleet built at Sues but their successors have not been able to maintain their conquests, for, except the port of Jodda, where they have a Basha whose authority is very small, they possess nothing considerable in Arabia.¹⁰

Thus have the Arabs preserved their liberty, of which few nations can produce so ancient monuments, with very little interruption from the very deluge, for though very great armies have been sent against them, all attempts to subdue them were unsuccessful. The Assyrian or Median empires never got footing among them¹ The Persian monarchs, though they were their friends, and so far respected by them as to have an annual present of frankincense,² yet could never make them tributary,³ and were so far from being their masters, that Cambyses, on his expedition against Egypt, was obliged to ask their leave to pass through their territories,⁴ and when Alexander had subdued that mighty empire, yet the Arabians had so little apprehension of him, that they alone, of all the neighbouring nations, sent no ambassadors to him, either first or last, which, with a desire of possessing so rich a country, made him form a design against it, and had he not died before he could put it in execution,⁵ this people might possibly have convinced him that he was not invincible, and I do not find that any of his successors either in Asia or Egypt, ever made any attempt against them⁶ The Romans never conquered any part of Arabia properly so called, the most they did was to make some tribes in Syria tributary to them, as Pompey did one commanded by Sampsiceramus or Shams alkerâm who reigned at Hems or Emesa,⁷ but none of the Romans, or any other nations that we know of, ever penetrated so far into Arabia as Ælius Gallus under Augustus Cæsar,⁸ yet he was so far from subduing it, as some authors pretend,⁹ that he was soon obliged to return without effecting any thing considerable, having lost the best part of his army by sickness and other accidents.¹ This ill success probably discouraged the Romans from attacking them any more, for Trajan, notwithstanding the flatteries of the historians and orators of his time, and the medals struck by him, did not subdue the Arabs, the province of Arabia, which it is said he added to the Roman empire, scarce reaching farther than Arabia Petraea, or the very skirts of the country And we are told by one author,² that this prince marching against the Agarens, who had revolted, met with such a reception that he was obliged to return without doing any thing

The religion of the Arabs before Mohammed which they call the state of ignorance, in opposition to the knowledge of God's true worship revealed to them by their prophet, was chiefly gross idolatry, the Sabian religion having almost overrun the whole nation, though there were also great numbers of Christians, Jews, and Magians, among them

I shall not here transcribe what Dr Prideaux³ has written of the original of the Sabian religion, but instead thereof insert a brief account of the tenets and worship of that sect. They do not only believe one God, but produce many strong arguments for his unity, though they also pay an adoration to the stars, or the angels and intelligences which they suppose resides in them, and govern the world under the supreme Deity They endeavour to perfect themselves in the four intellectual virtues, and believe

¹⁰ Voy de l'Arabie heureuse p. 148. ¹ Diodor Sic. lib. 2. p. 131. ² Herodot. lib. 3. c. 97. ³ Idem lib. c. 91. Diodor ubi sup. ⁴ Herodot. lib. 3. c. 8 and 98. ⁵ Strabo, lib. 16. p. 1278. 1132. ⁶ Vide Diodor Sic ubi supra. ⁷ Strabo, lib. 16, p. 1002. ⁸ Dion Cassius lib. 53. p. m. 516. ⁹ Huet, Hist. du commerce et de la navigation des anciens, c. 50. ¹ See the whole expedition described at large by Strabo, lib. 16, p. 1126, &c. ² Xiphilii epit. ³ Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New Test. p. 1. b. iii.

the souls of wicked men will be punished for 9000 ages, but will afterwards be received to mercy. They are obliged to pray three times⁴ a day, the first, half an hour or less before sunrise, ordering it so that they may, just as the sun rises, finish eight adorations, each containing three prostrations,⁵ the second prayer they end at noon, when the sun begins to decline, in saying which they perform five such adorations as the former, and the same they do the third time, ending just as the sun sets. They fast three times a year, the first time thirty days, the next nine days, and the last seven. They offer many sacrifices, but eat no part of them, burning them all. They abstain from beans, garlick, and some other pulse and vegetables.⁶ As to the Sabian Kebra, or part to which they turn their faces in praying, authors greatly differ, one will have it to be the north,⁷ another the south, a third Mecca, and a fourth the star to which they pay their devotions,⁸ and perhaps there may be some variety in their practice in this respect. They go on Pilgrimage to a place near the city of Harran in Mesopotamia, where great numbers of them dwell, and they also have a great respect for the temple at Mecca, and the pyramids of Egypt,⁹ fancying these last to be the sepulchres of Seth, and of Enoch and Sabi his two sons, whom they look on as the first propagators of their religion, at these structures they sacrifice a cock and a black calf, and offer up incense.¹ Besides the book of Psalms, the only true scripture they read, they have other books which they esteem equally sacred, particularly one in the Chaldee tongue which they call the book of Seth, and is full of moral discourses. This sect say they took the name of Sabians from the above-mentioned Sabi, though it seems rather to be derived from שָׁבָא Saba² or the host of heaven, which they worship.³ Travellers commonly call them Christians of St John the Baptist, whose disciples also they pretend to be, using a kind of baptism, which is the greatest mark they bear of Christianity. This is one of the religions the practice of which Mohammed tolerated (on paying tribute), and the professors of it are often included in that expression of the Koran, those to whom the scriptures have been given, or literally, the people of the book.

The idolatry of the Arabs then as Sabians, chiefly consisted in worshipping the fixed stars and planets, and the angels and their images, which they honoured as inferior deities and whose intercession they begged, as their mediators with God. For the Arabs acknowledged one supreme God, the Creator and Lord of the universe, whom they call Allah Taala, the most high God, and their other deities, who were subordinate to him, they called simply al Ilahât, i. e. the goddesses, which words the Grecians not understanding, and it being their constant custom to resolve the religion of every other nation into their own, and find out gods of theirs to match the others, they pretend that the Arabs worshipped only two deities, Orotalt and Alilat, as those names are corruptly written, whom they will have to be the same with Bacchus and Urania, pitching on the former as one of the greatest of their own gods, and educated in Arabia, and on the other, because of the veneration shown by the Arabs to the stars.⁴

⁴ Some say seven. See D'Herbelot, p. 726, and Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p. 128.

⁵ Others say they use no incurvations or prostrations at all. Vide Hyde, ib.

⁶ Abulfarag, Hist. Dynast. p. 281, &c. ⁷ Idem ib. ⁸ Hyde, ubi supr. p. 124, &c.

⁹ D'Herbel. ubi supr. ¹ See Graves's Pyramidogr. p. 67. ² Vide Poc. Spec. p. 138. ³ Thabet Ebn Korrah a famous astronomer, and himself a Sabian, wrote a treatise in Syriac, concerning the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of this sect from which, if it could be recovered, we might expect much better information than any taken from the Arabian writers. Vide Abulfarag, ubi supr. ⁴ Vide Herodotus lib. 2. c. 8. Arrian. p. 16. 19. and Strab. lib. 16.

That they acknowledged one supreme God appears, to omit other proof, from their usual form of addressing themselves to him, which was this, "I dedicate myself to thy service, O God! I dedicate myself to thy service, O God! Thou hast no companion, except thy companion of whom, thou art absolute master, and of whatever is his."^a So that they suppose the idols not to be *sui juris*, though they offered sacrifices and other offerings to them, as well as to God, who was also often put off with the least portion, as Mohammed upbraids them. Thus when they planted fruit trees, or sowed a field, they divided it by a line into two parts, setting one apart for their idols, and the other for God, if any of the fruits happened to fall from the idols part into God's they made restitution, but if from God's part into the idols, they made no restitution. So when they watered the idol's grounds, if the water broke over the channels made for that purpose, and ran on God's part, they dammed it up again, but if the contrary, they let it run on, saying they wanted what was God's, but he wanted nothing.^b In the same manner, if the offering designed for God happened to be better than that designed for the idol, they made an exchange, but not otherwise.^c

It was from this gross idolatry, or the worship of inferior deities, or companions of God as the Arabs continue to call them, that Mohammed reclaimed his countrymen, establishing the sole worship of the true God among them, so that how much soever the Mohammedans are to blame in other points, they are far from being idolaters, as some ignorant writers have pretended.

The worship of the stars the Arabs might easily be led into, from their observing the changes of weather to happen at the rising or setting of certain of them,^d which, after a long course of experience, induced them to ascribe a divine power to those stars, and to think themselves indebted to them for their rains, a very great benefit and refreshment to their parched country this superstition the Koran particularly takes notice of.^e

The ancient Arabians and Indians, between which two nations was a great conformity of religious, had seven celebrated temples, dedicated to the seven planets, one of which in particular, called Beit Ghomdân was built in Sanaa the metropolis of Yaman, by Dahac, to the honour of al Zoharah or the planet Venus, and was demolished by the Khalif Othman,^f by whose murder was fulfilled the prophetic inscription set, as is reported, over this temple, viz. Ghomdan, he who destroyeth thee shall be slain.^g The temple of Mecca is also said to have been consecrated to Zohal or Saturn.^h

Though these deities were generally revered by the whole nation, yet each tribe chose some one as the more peculiar object of their worship.

Thus, as to the stars and planets, the tribe of Hamyar chiefly worshipped the sun, Misam,ⁱ al Dabarân or the bull's eye Lakhm and Jodâm, al Moshtari or Jupiter, Tav, Sohail or Canopus, Kais, Sirius or the dog-star, and Asad, Otâred or Mercury.^j Among the worshippers of Sirius, one Abu Cabsha was very famous, some will have him to be the same with Waheb, Mohammed's grandfather by the mother, but others say he was of the tribe of Khoziah. This man used his utmost endeavours to persuade the Koreish to leave their images and worship this star, for which reason Mohammed, who endeavoured also to make them leave their images, was

^a Al Shahrestani. ^b Nodhm al dorr. ^c Al Beidâwi. ^d Vide Poet. ^e Vide loc. Spec. p. 103. ^f Shahrestani. ^g Al Jannâbi. ^h Shahrestani. ⁱ This name seems to be corrupted, there being no such among the Arab tribes. Poet. Fouad. i. 180. ^j Abulfarag, p. 160.

by them nicknamed the son of Abu Cabsha.⁶ The worship of this star is particularly hinted at in the Korân.⁷

Of the angels or intelligences which they worshipped, the Korân⁸ makes mention only of three, which were worshipped under female names⁹ Allat, al Uzza, and Manah. These were by them called goddesses, and the daughters of God, an appellation they gave not only to the angels, but also to their images, which they either believed to be inspired with life by God, or else to become the tabernacles of the angels, and to be animated by them, and they gave them divine worship, because they imagined they interceded for them with God.

Allat was the idol of the tribe of Thakif who dwelt at Tayef, and had a temple consecrated to her in a place called Nakhlah. This idol al Mogheirah destroyed by Mohammed's order, who sent him and Abu Sofian on that commission in the ninth year of Hejra.¹ The inhabitants of Tayef, especially the women, bitterly lamented the loss of this their deity, which they were so fond of, that they begged Mohammed, as a condition of peace, that it might not be destroyed for three years, and not obtaining that, asked only a month's respite, but he absolutely denied it.² There are several derivations of this word, which the curious may learn from Dr Pocock.³ It seems most probably to be derived from the same root with Allah, to which it may be a feminine, and will then signify the goddess.

Al Uzza, as some affirm, was the idol of the tribes of Koreish and Kenanah,⁴ and part of the tribe of Salim⁵ others⁶ tell us it was a tree called the Egyptian thorn, or Acacia, worshipped by the tribe of Ghatfan, first consecrated by one Dhalem, who built a chapel over it, called Boss, so contrived as to give a sound when any person entered. Khaled Ebn Walid being sent by Mohammed in the eighth year of the Hejra, to destroy this idol, demolished the chapel, and cutting down this tree or image, burnt it he also slew the priestess, who ran out with her hair dishevelled, and her hands on her head as a suppliant. Yet the author who relates this, in another place says, the chapel was pulled down, and Dhalem himself killed by one Zohar, because he consecrated this chapel with design to draw the pilgrims thither from Mecca, and lessen the reputation of the Caaba. The name of this deity is derived from the root *azza*, and signifies the most mighty.

Manah was the object of worship of the tribes of Hodhail and Khozâah, who dwelt between Mecca and Medina, and, as some say,⁷ of the tribes of Aws, Khazraj, and Thakif also. This idol was a large stone,⁸ demolished by one Saad in the eighth year of the Hejra, a year so fatal to the idols of Arabia. The name seems to be derived from *mana*, to flow, from the flowing of the blood of the victims sacrificed to the deity, whence the valley of Mina,¹ near Mecca, had also its name, where the pilgrims at this day slay their sacrifices.²

Before we proceed to the other idols, let us take notice of five more, which, with the former three, are all that the Koran mentions by name, and they are Wadd, Sawâ, Yaghûth, Yaûk, and Nasr. These are said to have been antediluvian idols, which Noah preached against, and were afterwards

⁶ Poc. Spec. p. 132. ⁷ Cap. 53. ⁸ Ibid. ⁹ Ibid. ¹ Dr Prideaux mentions this expedition, but names only Abu Sofian, and mistaking the name of the idol for an appellation, supposes he went only to disarm the Tayefiens of their weapons and instruments of war. See his Life of Moham. p. 96. ² Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. p. 127. ³ Spec. p. 90. ⁴ Al Jauhari, apud eund. p. 91. ⁵ Al Shahrestani, ib. ⁶ Al Firauzabadi, ib. ⁷ Al Jauhari. ⁸ Al Shahrestani, Abulfeda, &c. ⁹ Al Radân, al Zawal bekani.

taken by the Arabs for gods, having been men of great merit and piety in their time, whose statutes they revered at first with a civil honour only, which, in process of time, became heightened to a divine worship.¹

Wadd was supposed to be the heaven, and was worshipped under the form of a man by the tribe of Calb in Daumat al Jandal.²

Sawā was adored under the shape of a woman, by the tribe of Hamadan,³ or, as others⁴ write, of Hodhail in Rohat. This idol, lying under water for some time after the deluge, was at length, it is said, discovered by the devil, and was worshipped by those of Hodhail, who instituted pilgrimages to it.⁵

Yaghūth was an idol in the shape of a lion, and was the deity of the tribe of Madhay and others who dwelt in Yaman.⁶ Its name seems to be derived from ghatha, which signifies to help.

Yāūk was worshipped by the tribe of Morād, or according to others, by that of Hamadan,⁷ under the figure of a horse. It is said he was a man of great piety, and his death much regretted, whereupon the devil appeared to his friends in a human form, and undertaking to represent him to the life, persuaded them, by way of comfort, to place his effigies in their temples, that they might have it in view when at their devotions. This was done, and seven others of extraordinary merit had the same honours shown them till at length their posterity made idols of them in earnest. The name Yauk probably comes from the verb aka, to prevent or avert.⁸

Nasr was a deity adored by the tribe of Hamyar, or at Dnu l Khalaḥ, in their territories, under the image of an eagle, which the name signifies.

There are, or were, two statues at Bamīyān, a city of Cabul in the Indies, fifty cubits high, which some writers suppose to be the same with Yaghūth and Yāūk, or else with Manah and Allat, and they also speak of a third standing near the others, but something less, in the shape of an old woman, called Nesrem or Nsar. These statues were hollow within, for the secret giving of oracles,⁹ but they seem to have been different from the Arabian idols. There was also an idol at Sumenat in the Indies, called Lat or al Lat, whose statue was fifty fathoms high, of a single stone, and placed in the midst of a temple supported by fifty-six pillars of massy gold, this idol Mahmud Ebn Sebeckeghin, who conquered that part of India, broke to pieces with his own hands.¹⁰

Besides the idols we have mentioned, the Arabs worshipped also great numbers of others, which would take up too much time to have distinct accounts given of them, and not being named in the Korān, are not so much to our present purpose, for besides that every housekeeper had his household god, or gods, which he last took leave of, and first saluted at his going abroad and returning home,¹¹ there were no less than 360 idols,¹² equalling in number the days of their year, in and about the Caaba of Mecca, the chief of whom was Hobal,¹³ brought from Belka in Syria, into Arabia, by Amru Ebn Lohai, pretending it would procure them rain when they wanted it.¹⁴ It was the statue of a man made of red agate, which having by some accident lost a hand, the Koreish repaired it with one of gold. He held in his hand seven arrows without heads or feathers, such as the Arabs used in divination.¹⁵ This idol is supposed to have been

¹ Korān, c. 71 Comment. Persic Vide Hyde de rei vet Pers. p. 133. ² Al Janhari, al Shahrestani. ³ Idem al Firauszabādi, and Safo ddn. ⁴ Al Firauszab. ⁵ Shahrestani. ⁶ Al Janhari. ⁷ Al Firauszabādi. ⁸ Poc. Spec. 94. ⁹ See Hyde de rei. vet. Pers. p. 132. ¹⁰ D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 512. ¹¹ Al Meestraf. ¹² Al Jannab. ¹³ Abulfed. Shahrest. &c. ¹⁴ Poc. Spec. 95.

the same with the image of Abraham,³ found and destroyed by Mohammed in the Caaba, on his entering it, in the eighth year of the Hejra, when he took Mecca,¹ and surrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferior deities, among whom, as some say, was Ismael with divinizing arrows in his hand also.⁴

Asáf and Nayelah, the former the image of a man, the latter of a woman, were also two idols brought with Hobal from Syria, and placed the one on mount Safá, and the other on mount Merwa. They tell us Asáf was the son of Amru, and Nayelah the daughter of Sahál, both of the tribe of Jorham, who committing whoredom together in the Caaba, were by God converted into stone,⁵ and afterwards worshipped by the Koreish, and so much revered by them, that though this superstition was condemned by Mohammed, yet he was forced to allow them to visit those mountains as monuments of divine justice.⁶

I shall mention but one idol more of this nation, and that was a lump of dough worshipped by the tribe of Hanifa, who used it with more respect than the papists do theirs, presuming not to eat it till they were compelled to it by famine.⁷

Several of their idols, as Manah in particular, were no more than large rude stones, the worship of which the posterity of Ismael first introduced, for as they multiplied, and the territory of Mecca grew too strait for them, great numbers were obliged to seek new abodes, and on such migrations it was usual for them to take with them some of the stones of that reputed holy land, and set them up in the places where they fixed, and these stones they at first only compassed out of devotion, as they had accustomed to do the Caaba. But this at last ended in rank idolatry, the Ismaelites forgetting the religion left them by their father so far as to pay divine worship to any fine stone they met with.⁸

Some of the pagan Arabs believed neither a creation past, nor a resurrection to come, attributing the origin of things to nature, and then dissolution to age. Others believed both, among whom were those, who when they died had their camel tied by their sepulchre, and so left without meat or drink to perish, and accompany them to the other world, lest they should be obliged, at the resurrection, to go on foot, which was reckoned very scandalous.⁹ Some believed a metempsychosis, and that of the blood near the dead person's brain, was formed a bird named Hamah, which once in a hundred years visited the sepulchre, though others say, this bird is animated by the soul of him that is unjustly slain, and continually cries, "Oscúni, Oscúni," that is, "Give me to drink," meaning of the murderer's blood, till his death be revenged, and then it flies away. This was forbidden by Mohammed to be believed.¹⁰

I might here mention several superstitious rites and customs of the ancient Arabs, some of which were abolished, and others retained by Mohammed, but I apprehend it will be more convenient to take notice of them hereafter occasionally, as the negative or positive precepts of the Korán, forbidding or allowing such practices, shall be considered.

Let us now turn our view from the idolatrous Arabs, to those among them, who had embraced more rational religions.

The Persians had, by their vicinity and frequent intercourse with the Arabians, introduced the Magian religion among some of their tribes, par-

¹ Poc. Spec. 97. ² Abulfeda. ³ Ebn al Athir al Jannab. &c. ⁴ Poc. Spec. 28.
⁵ Korán, cap. 2. ⁶ Al Mostatraf, al Jawhari. ⁷ Al Mostatraf, al Jannabi.
⁸ Abulfarag p. 160. ⁹ Vid. Poc. Spec. n. 135.

ticularly that of Tamin,* a long time before Mohammed, who was so far from being unacquainted with that religion, that he borrowed many of his own institutions from it, as will be observed in the progress of this work. I refer those who are desirous to have some notion of Magism to Dr Hyde's curious account of it,¹ a succinct abridgment of which may be read with much pleasure, in another learned performance.²

The Jews, who fled in great numbers into Arabia, from the fearful destruction of their country by the Romans, made proselytes of several tribes, those of Kenānah, al Hareth Ebn Caaba, and Kendah³ in particular, and in time became very powerful, and possessed of several towns and fortresses there. But the Jewish religion was not unknown to the Arabs, at least above a century before, Abu Carb Asad, taken notice of in the Korān,⁴ who was king of Yamau, about 700 years before Mohammed is said to have introduced Judaism among the idolatrous Hamyarites. Some of his successors also embraced the same religion, one of whom Yusef, surnamed Dhu Nowās,⁵ was remarkable for his zeal, and terrible persecution of all who would not turn Jews, putting them to death by various tortures, the most common of which was throwing them into a glowing pit of fire, whence he had the opprobrious appellation of the "Lord of the pit." This persecution is also mentioned in the Korān.⁶

Christianity had likewise made a very great progress among this nation, before Monammed. Whether St Paul preached in any part of Arabia, properly so called,⁷ is uncertain, but the persecutions and disorders which happened in the eastern church, soon after the beginning of the third century, obliged great numbers of Christians to seek for shelter in that country or liberty, who being for the most part of the Jacobite communion, that sect generally prevailed among the Arabs.⁸ The principal tribes that embraced Christianity were Hamyar, Ghassan, Rabia, Taghlab, Bahra, Ionūch,⁹ part of the tribes of Tay and Kodāa, the inhabitants of Najran, and the Arabs of Hira.¹ As to the two last it may be observed, that those of Najran became Christians in the time of Dhu Nowās,² and very probably, if the story be true, were some of those who were converted on the following occasion, which happened about that time, or not long before. The Jews of Hamyar challenged some neighbouring Christians to a public disputation, which was held *sub dio* for three days, before the king and his nobility, and all the people—the disputants being Gregentius, bishop of Tephra (which I take to be Dhafar) for the Christians, and Herbanus for the Jews. On the third day, Herbanus, to end the dispute, demanded that Jesus of Nazareth, if he were really living, and in heaven, and could hear the prayers of his worshippers, should appear from heaven in their sight, and they would then believe in him, the Jews crying out with one voice, "Shew us your Christ, alas, and we will become Christians." Whereupon after a terrible storm of thunder and lightning, Jesus Christ appeared in the air surrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, having a sword in his hand, and an inestimable diadem on his head, and spake these words over the heads of the assembly—"Behold I appear to you in your night, I, who was crucified by your fathers." After which the clouds received him from their sight. The Christians cried out, "Kyrie eleison,"

* Al Mostatraf. ¹ In his Hist. relig. vet. Persar. ² Dr Prideaux's Connect. of the Old and New Test. Part I. Book 4. ³ Al Mostatraf. ⁴ Chap. 50. ⁵ See before, a. 8. and Baronius annal. ad sect. 6. ⁶ Chap. 85. ⁷ See Gal. 1: 17. ⁸ Abul Fazl p. 149. ⁹ Al Mostatraf. ¹ Vide l'oc. Spec. p. 137. ² Al Janāab. apud Fazl. Spec. p. 63.

that is, "Lord, have mercy upon us!" but the Jews were stricken blind, and recovered not, till they were all baptized.⁵

The Christians at Hira received a great accession by several tribes, who fled thither for refuge from the persecution of Dhu Nowās. Al Nooman, surnamed Abu Kabūs, king of Hira, who was slain a few months before Mohammed's birth, professed himself a Christian on the following occasion. This prince, in a drunken fit, ordered two of his intimate companions, who, overcome with liquor, had fallen asleep, to be buried alive. When he came to himself, he was extremely concerned at what he had done, and to expiate his crime, not only raised a monument to the memory of his friends, but set apart two days, one of which he called the *unfortunate*, and the other the *fortunate* day, making it a perpetual rule to himself, that whoever met him on the former day should be slain, and his blood sprinkled on the monument, but he that met him on the other day should be dismissed in safety with magnificent gifts. On one of those unfortunate days, there came before him accidentally an Arab, of the tribe of Tay, who had once entertained this king, when fatigued with hunting, and separated from his attendants. The king, who could neither discharge him, contrary to the order of the day, nor put him to death, against the laws of hospitality, which the Arabians religiously observe, proposed, as an expedient, to give the unhappy man a year's respite, and to send him home with rich gifts, for the support of his family, on condition that he found a surety for his returning at the year's end, to suffer death. One of the prince's court, out of compassion, offered himself as his surety, and the Arab was discharged. When the last day of the term came, and no news of the Arab, the king, not at all displeased to save his host's life, ordered the surety to prepare himself to die. Those who were by represented to the king that the day was not yet expired, and therefore he ought to have patience till the evening, but in the middle of their discourse, the Arab appeared. The king, admiring the man's generosity, in offering himself to certain death, which he might have avoided by letting his surety suffer, asked him, what was his motive for so doing? to which he answered, that he had been taught to act in that manner, by the religion he professed and al Nooman demanding what religion that was, he replied—the Christian. Whereupon the king, desiring to have the doctrines of Christianity explained to him, was baptized, he and his subjects, and not only pardoned the man and his surety, but abolished his barbarous custom.⁶ This prince, however, was not the first king of Hira who embraced Christianity, al Mondar, his grandfather, having also professed the same faith, and built large churches in his capital.⁷

Since Christianity had made so great a progress in Arabia, we may consequently suppose they had bishops in several parts, for the more orderly governing of the churches. A bishop of Dhafār has been already named, and we are told that Najrān was also a bishop's see.⁸ The Jacobites (of which sect we have observed the Arabs generally were) had two bishops of the Arabs subject to their Mafriān, or metropolitan of the east, one was called the bishop of the Arabs absolutely, whose seat was for the most part at Akula, which some authors make the same with Cūfa,⁹ others a different town near Baghdād.¹⁰ The other had the title of Bishop of the Scenite Arabs, of the tribe of Tha'alab in Hira, or Hirta, as the Syrians call it, whose seat was in that city. The Nestorians had but one bishop, who presided

⁵ Vide Gregentii disput. cum Herbaso Judæo.

⁶ Al Meidani and Ahmed Ibn Yusef and Ibn Sa'ad.

over both these dioceses, of Hira and Akula, and was immediately subject to their patriarch.²

These were the principal religions which obtained among the ancient Arabs, but as freedom of thought was the natural consequence of their political liberty and independence, some of them fell into other different opinions. The Koreish, in particular, were infected with Zendicism,¹ an error supposed to have very near affinity with that of the Sadducees among the Jews, and, perhaps, not greatly different from deism, for there were several of that tribe, even before the time of Mohammed, who worshipped one God, and were free from idolatry,³ and yet embraced none of the other religions of the country.

The Arabians before Mohammed were, as they yet are, divided into two sorts, those who dwell in cities and towns, and those who dwell in tents. The former lived by tillage, the cultivation of palm-trees, breeding and feeding of cattle, and the exercise of all sorts of trades,⁴ particularly merchandizing,⁵ wherein they were very eminent, even in the time of Jacob. The tribe of Koreish were much addicted to commerce, and Mohammed, in his younger years, was brought up to the same business, it being customary for the Arabians to exercise the same trade that their parents did.⁶ The Arabs who dwelt in tents employed themselves in pasturage, and sometimes in pillaging of passengers, they lived chiefly on the milk and flesh of camels, they often changed habitations, as the convenience of water and of pasture for their cattle invited them, staying in a place no longer than that lasted, and then removing in search of other.⁷ They generally wintered in Irâk, and the confines of Syria. This way of life is what the greater part of Ismael's posterity have used, as more agreeable to the temper and way of life of their father, and is so well described by a late author,⁸ that I cannot do better than refer the reader to his account of them.

The Arabic language is undoubtedly one of the most ancient in the world, and arose soon after, if not at, the confusion of Babel. There were several dialects of it, very different from each other the most remarkable were that spoken by the tribes of Hamyar and the other genuine Arabs, and that of the Koreish. The Hamyaritic seems to have approached nearer to the purity of the Syriac than the dialect of any other tribe, for the Arabs acknowledge their father Yarab to have been the first whose tongue deviated from the Syriac (which was his mother tongue, and is almost generally acknowledged by the Asiatics to be the most ancient) to the Arabic. The dialect of the Koreish is usually termed the pure Arabic, or, as the Korân, which is written in this dialect, calls it, the perspicuous and clear Arabic, perhaps, says Dr Pocock, because Ismael, their father, brought the Arabic he had learned of the Jorhamites nearer to the original Hebrew. But the politeness and elegance of the dialect of the Koreish is rather to be attributed to their having the custody of the Caaba, and dwelling in Mecca, the centre of Arabia, as well more remote from intercourse with foreigners who might corrupt their language, as frequented by the Arabs from the country all around, not only on a religious account, but also for the composing of their differences, from whose discourse and verses

¹ Vide Assemani Bibl. Orient. T. 2. in Dissert. de Monophysitis; and p. 459.
² Al Mostairaf, apud Poc. Spec. p. 126. ³ Vide Reland. de Relig. Moham. p. 270, and Milliam de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 311. ⁴ These seem to be the same whom M. Le Roque calls Moora. Voy dans la Palestine, p. 110. ⁵ See Prideaux's Life of Moham. p. 6. ⁶ Strabo, lib. 16, p. 1122. ⁷ Ib. lib. 16, p. 1064. ⁸ Le Roque, Voyage dans la Palestine, p. 109, &c.

they took whatever words or phrases they judged more pure and elegant, by which means the beauties of the whole tongue became transfused into this dialect. The Arabians are full of the commendations of their language, and not altogether without reason, for it claims the preference of most others in many respects, as being very harmonious and expressive, and withal so copious, that they say no man, without inspiration, can be perfect master of it in its utmost extent, and yet they tell us, at the same time, that the greatest part of it has been lost, which will not be thought strange if we consider how late the art of writing was practised among them. For though it was known to Job,⁸ their countryman, and also to the Hamyarites (who used a perplexed character called al Mosnad, wherein the letters were not distinctly separate, and which was neither publicly taught, nor suffered to be used without permission first obtained) many centuries before Mohammed, as appears from some ancient monuments said to be remaining in their character, yet the other Arabs, and those of Mecca in particular, were, for many ages, perfectly ignorant of it, unless such of them as were Jews or Christians. Morâmer Ebn Morra of Anbar, a city of Irâk, who lived not many years before Mohammed, was the inventor of the Arabic character, which Bashar the Kendian is said to have learned from those of Anbar, and to have introduced at Mecca but a little while before the institution of Mohammedism. These letters of Morâmer were different from the Hamyaritic, and though they were very rude, being either the same with or very much like the Cufic,¹ which character is still found in inscriptions, and some ancient books, yet they were those which the Arabs used for many years, the Korân itself being at first written therein, for the beautiful character they now use was first formed from the Cufic by Ebn Moklah, Wazir (or Vizir) to the Khalîfs al Moktader, al Kâher, and al Râdî, who lived about 300 years after Mohammed, and was brought to great perfection by Ali Ebn Bowâh,² who flourished in the following century, and whose name is yet famous among them on that account, yet it is said, the person who completed it, and reduced it to its present form, was Yakût al Mostasemî, secretary to al Mostâsem, the last of the Khalîfs of the family of Abbâs, for which reason he was surnamed al Khattât, or the scribe.

The accomplishments the Arabs valued themselves chiefly on were, 1 Eloquence, and a perfect skill in their own tongue, 2 Expertness in the use of arms and horsemanship, and, 3 Hospitality.³ The first they exercised themselves in by composing of orations and poems. Their orations were of two sorts, metrical, or prosaic, the one being compared to pearls strung, and the other to loose ones. They endeavoured to excel in both, and whoever was able, in an assembly, to persuade the people to a great enterprise, or dissuade them from a dangerous one, or gave them other wholesome advice, was honoured with the title of Khâteb, or orator, which is now given to the Mohammedan preachers. They pursued a method very different from that of the Greek and Roman orators, their sentences being like loose gems, without connexion, so that this sort of composition struck the audience chiefly by the fulness of the periods, the elegance of the expression, and the acuteness of the proverbial sayings, and so persuaded were they of their excelling in this way, that they would not allow any nation to understand the art of speaking in public except themselves and

⁸ Job xix. 23, 24. ⁹ See Prideaux's Life of Moham. p. 29, 30. ¹ A specimen of the Cufic character may be seen in Sir J. Chardin's Travels, vol. iii. p. 119. ² Ebn Khallikân. Yet others attribute the honour of the invention of this character to Ebn Moklah's brother, Abdallah al Hasan; and the perfecting of it to Ebn Amîd al Kâtib after it had been reduced to near the present form by Abd'alhamîd. Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. n. 520, 102 and 104. ³ See Chardin's Travels, vol. iii. p. 119.

the Persians, which last were reckoned much inferior in that respect to the Arabians.⁴ Poetry was in so great esteem among them, that it was a great accomplishment, and a proof of ingenuous extraction to be able to express one's self in verse with ease and elegance on any extraordinary occurrence, and even in their common discourse they made frequent applications of celebrated passages of their famous poets. In their poems were preserved the distinction of descents, the rights of tribes, the memory of great actions, and the propriety of their language, for which reasons an excellent poet reflected an honour on his tribe, so that as soon as any one began to be admired for his performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribes sent publicly to congratulate them on the occasion, and themselves made entertainments, at which the women assisted, dressed in their nuptial ornaments, singing to the sound of timbrels the happiness of their tribe, who had now one to protect their honour, to preserve their genealogies and the purity of their language, and to transmit their actions to posterity,⁵ for this was all performed by their poems, to which they were solely obliged for their knowledge and instructions, moral and economical, and to which they had recourse, as to an oracle, in all doubts and differences.⁶ No wonder then that a public congratulation was made on this account, which honour they yet were so far from making cheap, that they never did it but on one of these three occasions, which were reckoned great points of felicity, viz on the birth of a boy, the rise of a poet, and the fall of a foal of generous breed. To keep up an emulation among their poets, the tribes had once a year, a general assembly at Ocadh,⁷ a place famous on this account, and where they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held on our Sunday.⁸ This annual meeting lasted a whole month, during which time they employed themselves, not only in trading, but repeating their poetical compositions, contending and vying with each other for the prize, whence the place, it is said, took its name.⁹ The poems that were judged to excel were laid up in the king's treasures, as were the seven celebrated poems, thence called al Moallakât, rather than from their being hung up on the Caaba, which honour they also had by public order, being written on Egyptian silk, and in letters of gold, for which reason they had also the name of al Modhahabât, or the golden verses.¹

The fair and assembly at Ocadh were suppressed by Mohammed, in whose time, and for some years after, poetry seems to have been in some degree neglected by the Arabs, who were then employed in their conquests, which being completed, and themselves at peace, not only this study was revived,² but almost all sorts of learning were encouraged and greatly improved by them. This interruption, however, occasioned the loss of most of their ancient pieces of poetry, which were then chiefly preserved by memory, the use of writing being rare among them in their time of ignorance.³ Though the Arabs were so early acquainted with poetry, they did not at first use to write poems of a just length, but only expressed themselves in verse occasionally, nor was their prosody digested into rules till some time after Mohammed,⁴ for this was done, as it is said, by al Khalîl Ahmed al Farâhîdî, who lived in the reign of the Khalîf Harûn al Rashîd.⁵

⁴ Poc. Spec. 161. ⁵ Ebn Rashîk. apud Poc. Spec. 160. ⁶ Poc. Orat. præfix. Carm. Tograi, ubi supra. ⁷ Idem Spec. p. 159. ⁸ Geogr. Nub. p. 51. ⁹ Poc. Spec. 159.

¹ Ibid. and p. 381. Et in calce Notar in Carmen Tograi, p. 233. ² Jallâloddîn al Soyutî, apud Poc. Spec. p. 159, &c. ³ Ib. 160. ⁴ Ib. 161. Al Safadî confirms this by a story of a grammarian, named Abu Ja'afar, who sitting by the Mîkyas or Nilometer in Egypt, in a year when the Nile did not rise to its usual height, so that a famine was apprehended, and dividing a piece of poetry into its parts or feet, to examine them by the rules of art, some who passed by, not understanding him,

The exercise of arms and horsemanship they were in a manner obliged to practise and encourage, by reason of the independence of their tribes, whose frequent jarrings made wars almost continual, and they chiefly ended their disputes in field battles, it being an usual saying among them, that God had bestowed four peculiar things on the Arabs, that their turbans should be to them instead of diadems, their tents instead of walls and houses, their swords instead of entrenchments, and their poems instead of written laws.⁶

Hospitality was so habitual to them, and so much esteemed, that the examples of this kind among them exceed whatever can be produced from other nations. Hatem of the tribe of 'Iay,⁷ and Hasn of that of Fezârah,⁸ were particularly famous on this account, and the contrary vice was so much in contempt, that a certain poet upbraids the inhabitants of Waset, as with the greatest reproach, that none of their men had the heart to give, or their women to deny.⁹

Nor were the Arabs less propense to liberality after the coming of Mohammed than their ancestors had been. I could produce many remarkable instances of this commendable quality among them,¹ but shall content myself with the following. Three men were disputing in the court of the Caaba which was the most liberal person among the Arabs. One gave the preference to Abdallah, the son of Jaafar, the uncle of Mohammed, another to Kais Ebn Saad Ebn Obâdah, and the third gave it to Arabah of the tribe of Aws. After much debate, one that was present, to end the dispute, proposed that each of them should go to his friend and ask his assistance, that they might see what every one gave, and form a judgment accordingly. This was agreed to, and Abdallah's friend going to him, found him with his foot in the stirrup, just mounting his camel for a journey, and thus accosted him. 'So I of the uncle of the apostle of God, I am travelling and in necessity. Upon which Abdallah alighted, and bid him take the camel with all that was upon her, but desired him not to part with a sword that happened to be fixed to the saddle, because it had belonged to Ali the son of Abutaleb. So he took the camel, and found on her some vests of silk, and four thousand pieces of gold, but the thing of greatest value was the sword. The second went to Kais Ebn Saad, whose servant told him that his master was asleep, and desired to know his business. The friend answered that he came to ask Kais' assistance, being in want on the road. Whereupon the servant said, that he had rather supply his necessity than wake his master, and gave him a purse of seven thousand pieces of gold, assuring him that it was all the money then in the house. He also directed him to go to those who had the charge of the camels, with a certain token, and take a camel, and a slave, and return home with them. When Kais awoke, and his servant informed him of what he had done, he gave him his freedom, and asked him why he did not call him, for, says he, I would have given him more. The third man went to Arabah, and met him coming out of his house, in order to go to prayers, and leaning on two slaves, because his eye-sight failed him. The friend no sooner made known his case, but Arabah let go the slaves, and, clapping his hands together, loudly lamented his misfortune in having no money, but desired him to take the two slaves, which the man refused to do, till Arabah protested that if he would not accept of them, he gave

⁶ Pocock, in calce Notar ad Carmen Togral. ⁷ Vide Gentili Notas in Gulistan Sheikh Sadi, p. 486, &c. ⁸ Poc. Spec. p. 48. ⁹ Ebn al Hobeirah, apud Poc. in Not. Carmen Togral, p. 107. Several may be found in D'Hérbelot's Bibl. Orient.

them—their liberty, and, leaving the slaves, groped his way along by the wall. On the return of the adventurers, judgment was unanimously, and with great justice, given by all who were present, that Arābah was the most generous of the three.

Nor were these the only good qualities of the Arabs, they are commended by the ancients for being most exact to their words,² and respectful to their kindred.³ And they have always been celebrated for their quickness of apprehension and penetration, and the vivacity of their wit, especially those of the desert.⁴

As the Arabs had their excellencies, so have they, like other nations, their defects and vices. Their own writers acknowledge that they have a natural disposition to war, bloodshed, cruelty and rapine, being so much addicted to bear malice, that they scarce ever forget an old grudge, which vindictive temper some physicians say is occasioned by their frequent feeding on camels' flesh (the ordinary diet of the Arabs of the desert, who are therefore observed to be most inclined to these vices), that creature being most malicious and tenacious of anger,⁵ which account suggests a good reason for a distinction of meats.

The frequent robberies committed by these people on merchants and travellers have rendered the name of an Arab almost infamous in Europe, this they are sensible of, and endeavour to excuse themselves by alleging the hard usage of their father Ismael, who, being turned out of doors by Abraham, had the open plains and deserts given him by God for his patrimony, with permission to take whatever he could find there. And on this account they think they may, with a safe conscience, indemnify themselves, as well as they can, not only on the posterity of Isaac, but also on every body else, always supposing a sort of kindred between themselves and those they plunder. And in relating their adventures of this kind, they think it sufficient to change the expression, and instead of, I robbed a man of such or such a thing, to say, I gained it.⁶ We must not, however, imagine that they are the less honest for this among themselves, or towards those whom they receive as friends, on the contrary, the strictest probity is observed in their camp, where every thing is open, and nothing ever known to be stolen.⁷

The sciences the Arabians chiefly cultivated before Mohammedism were three, that of their genealogies and history, such a knowledge of the stars as to foretell the changes of weather, and the interpretation of dreams.⁸ They used to value themselves excessively on account of the nobility of their families, and so many disputes happened on that occasion, that it is no wonder if they took great pains in settling their descents. What knowledge they had of the stars was gathered from long experience, and not from any regular study, or astronomical rules.⁹ The Arabians, as the Indians also did, chiefly applied themselves to observe the fixed stars, contrary to other nations, whose observations were almost confined to the planets, and they foretold their effects from their influences, not their nature, and hence, as has been said, arose the difference of the idolatry of the Greeks and Chaldeans, who chiefly worshipped the planets, and that of the Indians, who worshipped the fixed stars. The stars or asterisms they most usually foretold the weather by were those they call *Anwā*, or the houses of the moon. These are twenty-eight in number, and divide

² Herodot. lib. iii. c. 8. ³ Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 1129 ⁴ Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 121 ⁵ Vide Poc. Spec. p. 57 Bochart, Hierozoic. lib. ii. c. 1
⁶ Voyage dans la Palest. p. 220, &c. ⁷ Ibid. p. 213, &c. ⁸ Al Shahrastani, apud Freckl. Orient. ubi sup. p. 9, and Spec. 164. ⁹ Abulfarag, p. 161

the zodiac into as many parts, through one of which the moon passes every night,¹ as some of them set in the morning, others rise opposite to them, which happens every thirteenth night, and from their rising and setting the Arabs, by long experience, observed what changes happened in the air, and at length, as has been said, came to ascribe divine power to them, saying, that their rain was from such or such a star, which expression Mohammed condemned and absolutely forbade them to use it in the old sense, unless they meant no more by it than that God had so ordered the seasons, that when the moon was in such or such a mansion or house, or at the rising or setting of such and such a star, it should rain or be windy, hot or cold.²

The old Arabians, therefore, seem to have made no further progress in astronomy, which science they afterwards cultivated with so much success and applause, than to observe the influence of the stars on the weather, and to give them names, and this it was obvious for them to do by reason of their pastoral way of life, lying night and day in the open plains. The names they imposed on the stars generally alluded to cattle and flocks, and they were so nice in distinguishing them, that no language has so many names of stars and asterisms as the Arabic, for though they have since borrowed the names of several constellations from the Greeks, yet the far greater part are of their own growth, and much more ancient, particularly those of the more conspicuous stars, dispersed in several constellations, and those of the lesser constellations which are contained within the greater, and were not observed or named by the Greeks.³

Thus have I given the most succinct account I have been able, of the state of the ancient Arabians before Mohammed, or, to use their expression, in the time of ignorance. I shall now proceed briefly to consider the state of religion in the east, and of the two great empires which divided that part of the world between them, at the time of Mohammed's setting up for a prophet, and what were the conducive circumstances and accidents that favoured his success.

SECTION II.

OF THE STATE OF CHRISTIANITY, PARTICULARLY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES, AND OF JUDAISM, AT THE TIME OF MOHAMMED'S APPEARANCE, AND OF THE METHODS TAKEN BY HIM FOR THE ESTABLISHING OF HIS RELIGION, AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH CONCURRED THERETO.

If we look into the ecclesiastical historians even from the third century we shall find the Christian world to have then had a very different aspect from what some authors have represented, and so far from being endued with active grace, zeal, and devotion, and established within itself with purity of doctrine, union, and firm profession of the faith,⁴ that, on the contrary, what by the ambition of the clergy, and what by drawing the abstrusest niceties into controversy, and dividing and subdividing about them into endless schisms and contentions, they had so destroyed that peace, love, and charity from among them, which the gospel was given to promote; and instead thereof continually provoked each other to that

¹ Vide Hyde, in not. ad Tabulas stellar fixar Ulugh Beigh, p. 5. ² Vide Poc. Spec. p. 163, &c. ³ Vide Hyde ubi sup. v. 4. ⁴ Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire. n. 187

malice, rancour and every evil work, that they had lost the whole substance of their religion, while they thus eagerly contended for their own imaginations concerning it, and in a manner quite drove Christianity out of the world by those very controversies in which they disputed with each other about it.¹ In these dark ages it was that most of those superstitious and corruptions we now justly abhor in the church of Rome were not only broached but established, which gave great advantages to the propagation of Mohammedism. The worship of saints and images, in particular, was then arrived of such a scandalous pitch that it even surpassed what is now practised among the Romanists.

After the Nicene council, the eastern church was engaged in perpetual controversies, and torn to pieces by the disputes of the Arians, Sabellians, Nestorians, and Eutychians, the heresies of the two last of which have been shown to have consisted more in the words and form of expression than in the doctrines themselves² and were rather the pretences than real motives of those frequent councils, to and from which the contentious prelates were continually riding post, that they might bring every thing to their own will and pleasure.³ And to support themselves by dependants and bribery, the clergy in any credit at court undertook the protection of some officer in the army, under the colour of which justice was publicly sold, and all corruption encouraged.

In the western church, Damasus and Ursinus carried their contests at Rome for the episcopal seat so high that they came to open violence and murder, which Viventius, the governor, not being able to suppress, he retired into the country, and left them to themselves, till Damasus prevailed. It is said that on this occasion, in the church of Sixtinus, there were no less than 137 found killed in one day. And no wonder they were so fond of these seats, when they became by that means enriched by the presents of matrons, and went abroad in their chariots and sedans in great state, feasting sumptuously even beyond the luxury of princes, quite contrary to the way of the living of the country prelates, who alone seemed to have some temperance and modesty left.⁴

These dissensions were greatly owing to the emperors, and particularly to Constantius, who, confounding the pure and simple Christian religion with anile superstitious, and perplexing it with intricate questions, instead of reconciling different opinions, excited many disputes, which he fomented as they proceeded with infinite altercations.⁵ This grew worse in the time of Justinian, who not to be behind the bishops of the fifth and sixth centuries in zeal, thought it no crime to condemn to death a man of a different persuasion from his own.⁶

This corruption of doctrine and morals in the princes and clergy was necessarily followed by a general depravity of the people,⁷ those of all conditions making it their sole business to get money by any means, and then to squander it away, when they had got it, in luxury and debauchery.⁸

But, to be more particular as to the nation we are now writing of, Arabia was of old famous for heresies,⁹ which might be in some measure

¹ Prideaux: Pref. to his Life of Mohammed.

² Vide La vie de Mohammed,

par Boulainvilliers, p. 219, &c.

³ Vide Simon, Hist. Crit. de la créance, &c. des nations du Levant.

⁴ Ammian Marcellin. lib. 21.

Vide etiam Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 8. c. 1.

⁵ Sozom. lib. 1. c. 14, &c.

Hilar. and Salpic. Sever in Hist. Sacr. p. 112, &c.

⁶ Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 27.

⁷ Idem. lib. 21.

⁸ Procop. in Anecd. p. 60.

⁹ See an instance of the wickedness of the Christian army even when they were under the terror of the Saracens, in Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac.

vol. 1. p. 230.

¹⁰ Vide Boulainvill. Vie de Moh. ubi sup.

¹¹ Vide Sozomen. Hist.

1. c. 16, 17. Salpic. Sever ubi supra.

attributed to the liberty and independency of the tribes. Some of the Christians of that nation believed the soul died with the body, and was to be raised again with it at the last day ' these Origen is said to have convinced.' Among the Arabs it was that the heresies of Ebion, Beryllus, and the Nazareans,⁶ and also that of the Collyridians, were broached, or at least propagated, the latter introduced the Virgin Mary for God, or worshipped her as such, offering her a sort of twisted cake called *collyria*, whence the sect had its name⁷

This notion of the divinity of the virgin Mary was also believed by some at the council of Nice, who said there were two gods besides the Father, viz. Christ and the virgin Mary, and were thence named *Mariamites*.¹ Others imagined her to be exempt from humanity, and deified, which goes but little beyond the popish superstition in calling her the complement of the Trinity, as if it were imperfect without her. This foolish imagination is justly condemned in the Korân² as idolatrous, and gave a handle to Mohammed to attack the Trinity itself.

Other sects there were of many denominations within the borders of Arabia, which took refuge there from the proscriptions of the imperial edicts, several of whose notions Mohammed incorporated with his religion, as may be observed hereafter

Though the Jews were an inconsiderable and despised people in other parts of the world, yet in Arabia, whither many of them fled from the destruction of Jerusalem, they grew very powerful, several tribes and princes embracing their religion, which made Mohammed at first show great regard to them, adopting many of their opinions, doctrines, and customs, thereby to draw them, if possible, into his interest. But that people, agreeably to their wonted obstinacy, were so far from being his proselytes, that they were some of the bitterest enemies he had, waging continual war with him, so that their reduction cost him infinite trouble and danger, and at last his life. This aversion of theirs created at length as great a one in him to them, so that he used them, for the latter part of his life, much worse than he did the Christians, and frequently exclaims against them in his Korân, his followers to this day observe the same difference between them and the Christians, treating the former as the most abject and contemptible people on earth

It has been observed by a great politician,⁸ that it is impossible a person should make himself a prince and found a state without opportunities. If the distracted state of religion favoured the designs of Mohammed on that side, the weakness of the Roman and Persian monarchies might flatter him with no less hopes: any attempt on those once formidable empires, either of which, had they been in their full vigour, must have crushed Mohammedism in its birth, whereas nothing nourished it more than the success the Arabians met with in their enterprises against those powers, which success they failed not to attribute to their new religion and the divine assistance thereof.

The Roman empire declined apace after Constantine, whose successors were for the generality remarkable for their ill qualities, especially cowardice and cruelty. By Mohammed's time the western half of the empire was overrun by the Goths, and the eastern so reduced by the Huns on the one side, and the Persians on the other, that it was not in a capacity of stemming the violence of a powerful invasion. The emperor Maurice paid tribute to the Khagan or king of the Huns, and after Phocas

⁶ Euseb Hist. Eccles. lib. C. c. 33. ⁷ Idem, ibid. c. 37. ⁸ Epiphanius de Hæres. lib. 1. Hæc 40. ⁹ Idem, ibid. lib. 3. Hæc 75, 79. ¹ Elmæus Eutych. ² Cap. 5.

had murdered his master, such lamentable havoc there was among the soldiers, that when Heraclius came, not above seven years after, to muster the army, there were only two soldiers left alive, of all those who had borne arms when Phocas first usurped the empire. And though Heraclius was a prince of admirable courage and conduct, and had done what possibly could be done to restore the discipline of the army, and had had great success against the Persians, so as to drive them not only out of his own dominions, but even out of part of their own, yet still the very vitals of the empire seemed to be mortally wounded that there could no time have happened more fatal to the empire, or more favourable to the enterprises of the Arabs, who seem to have been raised up on purpose by God, to be a scourge to the Christian church, for not living answerably to that most holy religion which they had received⁴

The general luxury and degeneracy of manners, into which the Grecians were sunk, also contributed not a little to the enervating their forces, which were still further drained by those two great destroyers, monachism and per-ecution

The Persians had also been in a declining condition for some time before Mohammed, occasioned chiefly by their intestine broils and dissensions, great part of which arose from the devilish doctrines of Manes and Mazdak. The opinions of the former are tolerably well known the latter lived in the reign of Khosru Kobâd, and pretended himself a prophet sent from God to preach a community of women and possessions, since all men were brothers and descended from the same common parents. This he imagined would put an end to all feuds and quarrels among men, which generally arose on account of one of the two Kobâd himself embraced the opinions of this impostor, to whom he gave leave, according to his new doctrine, to lie with the queen his wife, which permission Anushirwân, his son, with much difficulty prevailed on Mazdak not to make use of. These sects had certainly been the immediate ruin of the Persian empire, had not Anushirwân, as soon as he succeeded his father, put Mazdak to death with all his followers, and the Manicheans also, restoring the ancient Magian religion.⁵

In the reign of this prince, deservedly surnamed the just, Mohammed was born. He was the last king of Persia who deserved the throne, which after him was almost perpetually contended for, till subverted by the Arabs. His son Hormûz lost the love of his subjects by his excessive cruelty having had his eyes put out by his wife's brothers, he was obliged to resign the crown to his son Khosrû Parviz, who, at the instigation of Bahrâm Chubin, had rebelled against him, and was afterwards strangled Parviz was soon obliged to quit the throne to Bahrâm, but obtaining succours of the Greek emperor Maurice, he recovered the crown yet towards the latter end of a long reign he grew so tyrannical and hateful to his subjects, that they held a private correspondence with the Arabs, and he was at length deposed, imprisoned, and slain by his son Shirûyeh.⁶ After Parviz no less than six princes possessed the throne in less than six years. These domestic broils effectually brought ruin upon the Persians, for though they did, rather by the weakness of the Greeks than their own force, ravage Syria and sack Jerusalem and Damascus under Khosrû Parviz, and, while the Arabs were divided and independent, had some power in the province of Yaman, where they set up the four last kings before

⁴ Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 19, &c.

⁵ Vide Pec. Spec. p. 70.
⁶ Vide Teixeira, Relaciones de los Reyes de Persia, p. 195, &c.

Mohammed, yet when attacked by the Greeks under Heradius, they not only lost their new conquests, but part of their own dominions, and no sooner were the Arabs united by Mohammedism, than they beat them in every battle, and in a few years totally subdued them

As these empires were weak and declining, so Arabia, at Mohammed's setting up, was strong and flourishing, having been peopled at the expense of the Grecian empire, whence the violent proceedings of the domineering sects forced many to seek refuge in a free country, as Arabia then was, where they who could not enjoy tranquillity and their conscience at home, found a secure retreat. The Arabians were not only a populous nation, but unacquainted with the luxury and delicacies of the Greeks and Persians, and inured to hardships of all sorts, living in a most parsimonious manner, seldom eating any flesh, drinking no wine, and sitting on the ground. Their political government was also such as favoured the designs of Mohammed, for the division and independency of their tribes were so necessary to the first propagation of his religion, and the foundation of his power, that it would have been scarce possible for him to have effected either, had the Arabs been united in one society. But when they had embraced his religion, the consequent union of their tribes was no less necessary and conducive to their future conquests and grandeur

This posture of public affairs in the eastern world, both as to its religious and political state, it is more than probable Mohammed was well acquainted with, he having had sufficient opportunities of informing himself in those particulars, in his travels as a merchant in his younger years and though it is not to be supposed his views at first were so extensive as afterwards, when they were enlarged by his good fortune, yet he might reasonably promise himself success in his first attempts from thence. As he was a man of extraordinary parts and address, he knew how to make the best of every incident, and turn what might seem dangerous to another to his own advantage

Mohammed came into the world under some disadvantages, which he soon surmounted. His father Abd'allah was a younger son⁷ of Abd'almotaleb, and dying very young and in his father's lifetime, left his widow and infant son in very mean circumstances, his whole substance consisting but of five camels and one Ethiopian she-slave.⁸ Abd'almotaleb was therefore obliged to take care of his grand child Mohammed, which he not only did during his life, but at his death enjoined his eldest son Abu Tâleb, who was brother to Abd'allah by the same mother, to provide for him for the future, which he very affectionately did, and instructed him in the business of a merchant, which he followed, and to that end he took him with him into Syria when he was but thirteen, and afterward recommended him to Khadijah, a noble and rich widow, for her factor, in whose service he behaved himself so well, that by making him her husband she soon raised him to an equality with the richest in Mecca.

After he began by this advantageous match to live at his ease it was that he formed the scheme of establishing a new religion, or, as he expressed it, of replanting the only true and ancient one, professed by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and all the prophets,⁹ by destroying the gross idolatry into which the generality of his countrymen had fallen, and

⁷ He was not his eldest son, as Dr Prideaux tells us; whose reflections built on that foundation must necessarily fail (see his *Life of Mohammed*, p. 9;) nor yet his youngest son, as M. de Boulainvilliers (*Vie de Mohammed*, p. 182, &c.) supposes, for Hama and al Abbâs were both younger than Abd'allah.

⁸ Abulîda, *Vit. Moham.* p. 2. ⁹ See Koran, c. 2.

weeding out the corruptions and superstitions which the latter Jews and Christians had, as he thought, introduced into their religion, and reducing it to its original purity, which consisted chiefly in the worship of one only God

Whether this was the effect of enthusiasm, or only a design to raise himself to the supreme government of his country, I will not pretend to determine. The latter is the general opinion of Christian writers, who agree that ambition and the desire of satisfying his sensuality were the motives of his undertaking. It may be so, yet his first views perhaps were not so interested. His original design of bringing the pagan Arabs to the knowledge of the true God was certainly noble, and highly to be commended, for I cannot possibly subscribe to the assertion of a late learned writer,¹ that he made that nation exchange their idolatry for another religion altogether as bad. Mohammed was no doubt fully satisfied in his conscience of the truth of his grand point, the unity of God, which was what he chiefly attended to, all his other doctrines and institutions being rather accidental and unavoidable, than premeditated and designed.

Since then Mohammed was certainly himself persuaded of his grand article of faith, which, in his opinion, was violated by all the rest of the world, not only by the idolaters, but by the Christians, as well those who rightly worshipped Jesus as God, as those who superstitiously adored the Virgin Mary, saints, and images, and also by the Jews, who are accused in the Korân of taking Ezra for the Son of God,² it is easy to conceive that he might think it a meritorious work to rescue the world from such ignorance and superstition, and by degrees, with the help of a warm imagination, which an Arab seldom wants,³ to suppose himself destined by Providence for the effecting that great reformation. And this fancy of his might take still deeper root in his mind during the solitude he there-upon affected, usually retiring for a month in the year to a cave in Mount Hara near Mecca. One thing which may be probably urged against the enthusiasm of this prophet of the Arabs, is the wise conduct and great prudence he all along showed in pursuing his design, which seem inconsistent with the wild notions of a hot-brained religionist. But, though all enthusiasts or madmen do not behave with the same gravity and circumspection that he did, yet he will not be the first instance, by several, of a person who has been out of the way only *quoad hoc*, and in all other respects acted with the greatest decency and precaution.

The terrible destruction of the eastern churches, once so glorious and flourishing, by the sudden spreading of Mohammedism, and the great successes of its professors against the Christians, necessarily inspire a horror of that religion in those to whom it has been so fatal, and no wonder if they endeavour to set the character of its founder, and its doctrines, in the most infamous light. But the damage done by Mohammed to Christianity seems to have been rather owing to his ignorance than malice, for his great misfortune was, his not having a competent knowledge of the real and pure doctrines of the Christian religion, which was in his time so abominably corrupted that it is not surprising if he went too far, and resolved to abolish what he might think incapable of reformation.

It is scarce to be doubted but that Mohammed had a violent desire of being reckoned an extraordinary person, which he could attain to by no means more effectually than by pretending to be a messenger sent from God, to inform mankind of his will. This might be at first his utmost

¹ Prideaux's Life of Moham. p. 76. ² Korân, c. 2. ³ See Causeab. of Enthusiasm, p. 143.

ambition, and had his fellow citizens treated him less injuriously, and not obliged him by their persecutions to seek refuge elsewhere, and to take up arms against them in his own defence, he had perhaps continued a private person, and contented himself with the veneration and respect due to his prophetic office, but being once got at the head of a little army, and encouraged by success, it is no wonder if he raised his thoughts to attempt what had never before entered into his imagination.

That Mohammed was, as the Arabs are by complexion,⁴ a great lover of women, we are assured by his own confessions, and he is constantly upbraided with it by the controversial writers, who fail not to urge the number of women with whom he had to do as a demonstrative argument of his sensuality, which they think sufficiently proves him to have been a wicked man, and consequently an impostor. But, it must be considered that polygamy, though it be forbidden by the Christian religion, was, in Mohammed's time, frequently practised in Arabia and other parts of the east, and was not counted an immorality, nor was a man the worse esteemed on that account, for which reason Mohammed permitted the plurality of wives, with certain limitations, among his own followers, who argue for the lawfulness of it from several reasons, and particularly from the examples of persons allowed on all hands to have been good men, some of whom have been honoured with the divine correspondence. The several laws relating to marriages and divorces, and the peculiar privileges granted to Mohammed in his Korân, were almost all taken by him from the Jewish decisions, as will appear hereafter, and therefore he might think those institutions the more just and reasonable, as he found them practised or approved by the professors of a religion which was confessedly of divine original.

But whatever were his motives, Mohammed had certainly the personal qualifications which were necessary to accomplish his undertaking. The Mohammedan authors are excessive in their commendations of him, and speak much of his religious and moral virtues, as his piety, veracity, justice, liberality, clemency, humility, and abstinence. His charity in particular, they say, was so conspicuous, that he had seldom any money in his house, keeping no more for his own use than was just sufficient to maintain his family, and he frequently spared even some part of his own provisions to supply the necessities of the poor, so that before the year's end he had generally little or nothing left.⁵ "God," says al Bokhârî, "offered him the keys of the treasures of the earth, but he would not accept them." Though the eulogies of these writers are justly to be suspected of partiality, yet thus much, I think, may be inferred from thence, that for an Arab who had been educated in paganism, and had but a very imperfect knowledge of his duty, he was a man of at least tolerable morals, and not such a monster of wickedness as he is usually represented. And indeed it is scarce possible to conceive that a wretch of so profligate a character should ever have succeeded in an enterprise of this nature, a little hypocrisy and saving of appearances, at least, must have been absolutely necessary, and the sincerity of his intentions is what I pretend not to inquire into.

He had indisputably a very piercing and sagacious wit, and was thoroughly versed in all the arts of insinuation.⁶ The eastern historians describe him to have been a man of an excellent judgment, and a happy memory, and these natural parts were improved by a great experience and knowledge of men, and the observations he had made in his travels. They say he was a

⁴ Ammian. Marcell. lib. 14. c. 4

⁵ Vide Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. p. 144, &c.

person of few words, of an equal, cheerful temper, pleasant and familiar in conversation, of inoffensive behaviour towards his friends, and of great condescension towards his inferiors.' To all which were joined a comely, agreeable person, and a polite address, accomplishments of no small service in preventing those in his favour whom he attempted to persuade.

As to acquired learning, it is confessed he had none at all, having had no other education than what was customary in his tribe, who neglected, and perhaps despised, what we call literature, esteeming no language in comparison with their own, their skill in which they gained by use and not by books, and contenting themselves with improving their private experience, by committing to memory such passages of their poets as they judged might be of use to them in life. This defect was so far from being prejudicial or putting a stop to his design, that he made the greatest use of it, insisting that the writings which he produced as revelations from God, could not possibly be a forgery of his own, because it was not conceivable that a person who could neither write nor read should be able to compose a book of such excellent doctrine, and in so elegant a style, and thereby obviating an objection that might have carried a great deal of weight.* And for this reason his followers, instead of being ashamed of their master's ignorance, glory in it as an evident proof of his divine mission, and scruple not to call him (as he is indeed called in the Korân itself)† the illiterate prophet.

The scheme of religion which Mohammed framed, and the design and artful contrivance of those written revelations (as he pretended them to be) which compose his Korân, shall be the subject of the following sections. I shall, therefore, in the remainder of this relate, as briefly as possible, the steps he took towards the effecting of his enterprise, and the accidents which concurred to his success therein.

Before he made any attempt abroad, he rightly judged that it was necessary for him to begin by the conversion of his own household. Having therefore retired with his family, as he had done several times before to the above-mentioned cave in Mount Hara, he there opened the secret of his mission to his wife Khadijah and acquainted her that the angel Gabriel had just before appeared to him, and told him that he was appointed the apostle of God: he also repeated to her a passage¹ which he pretended had been revealed to him by the ministry of the angel, with those other circumstances of his first appearance which are related by the Mohammedan writers. Khadijah received the news with great joy,² swearing by him in whose hands her soul was, that she trusted he would be the prophet of his nation and immediately communicated what she had heard to her cousin Warakah Ebn Nowfal, who, being a Christian, could write in the Hebrew character, and was tolerably well versed in the Scriptures,³ and he as readily came into her opinion, assuring her that the same angel who had formerly appeared unto Moses was now sent to Mohammed.⁴ This first overture the prophet made in the month of Ramadan, in the fortieth year of his age, which is therefore usually called the year of his mission.

* Vide Abulfed. ubi sup. † See Korân, chap. xxix. Frid. Life of Moham. p. 36. ¹ Chap. vii. ² This passage is generally agreed to be the first five verses of the 96th chapter. ³ I do not remember to have read in any eastern author, that Khadijah ever rejected her husband's pretences as delusions, or suspected him of any imposture. Yet see Prideaux's Life of Mohammed, p. 11; &c. ⁴ Vide Foe. 157. ⁵ Vide Abulfed. Vit. Moham. p. 16; where the learned

Encouraged by so good a beginning, he resolved to proceed, and try for some time what he could do by private persuasion, not daring to hazard the whole affair by exposing it too suddenly to the public. He soon made proselytes of those under his own roof, viz. his wife Khadijah, his servant Zeid Ebn Hâretha (to whom he gave his freedom * on that occasion, which afterwards became a rule to his followers), and his cousin and pupil Ali, the son of Abu Tâleb, though then very young but this last, making no account of the other two, used to style himself the first of believers. The next person Mohammed applied to was Abdallah Ebn Abi Kohâfa, surnamed Abu Becr, a man of great authority among the Koreish, and one whose interest he well knew would be of great service to him, as it soon appeared, for Abu Becr being gained over, prevailed also on Othmân Ebn Affân, Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf, Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs, al Zobeir Ebn al Awâm, and Telha Ebn Obeid'allah, all principal men in Mecca, to follow his example. These men were the six chief companions, who, with a few more, were converted in the space of three years, at the end of which Mohammed having, as he hoped, a sufficient interest to support him, made his mission no longer a secret, but gave out that God had commanded him to admonish his near relations,* and in order to do it with more convenience and prospect of success, he directed Ali to prepare an entertainment, and invite the sons and descendants of Abdalmotaleb, intending then to open his mind to them, this was done, and about forty of them came, but Abu Laheb, one of his uncles, making the company break up before Mohammed had an opportunity of speaking, obliged him to give them a second invitation the next day, and when they were come, he made them the following speech "I know no man in all Arabia who can offer his kindred a more excellent thing than I now do you, I offer you happiness both in this life, and in that which is to come God Almighty hath commanded me to call you unto him, who, therefore, among you will be assisting to me herein, and become my brother, and my vicegerent?" All of them hesitating, and declining the matter, Ali at length rose up, and declared that he would be his assistant, and vehemently threatened those who should oppose him. Mohammed upon this embraced Ali with great demonstrations of affection, and desired all who were present to hearken to and obey him as his deputy, at which the company broke out into great laughter, telling Abu Tâleb that he must now pay obedience to his son.

This repulse, however, was so far from discouraging Mohammed, that he began to preach in public to the people, who heard him with some patience, till he came to upbraid them with the idolatry, obstinacy, and perverseness of themselves and their fathers, which so highly provoked them, that they declared themselves his enemies, and would soon have procured his ruin, had he not been protected by Abu Tâleb. The chief of the Koreish warmly solicited this person to desert his nephew, making frequent remonstrances against the innovations he was attempting, which proving ineffectual, they at length threatened him with an open rupture if he did not prevail on Mohammed to desist. At this Abu Tâleb was so far moved that he earnestly dissuaded his nephew from pursuing the affair any further, representing the great danger he and his friends must otherwise run. But Mohammed was not to be intimidated, telling his uncle plainly, that if they set the sun against him on his right hand, and the moon on his left, he would not leave his enterprise and Abu Tâleb, seeing him so firmly

* For he was his purchased slave, as Abulfeda expressly tells us: and not his companion, as M. de Boulainvilliers asserts (*Vie de Moham.* p. 278). * Korân, c. 74. See the notes thereon.

resolved to proceed, used no further arguments, but promised to stand by him against all his enemies.⁷

The Koreish, finding they could prevail neither by fair words nor menaces, tried what they could do by force and ill treatment, using Mohammed's followers so very injuriously that it was not safe for them to continue at Mecca any longer, whereupon Mohammed gave leave to such of them as had not friends to protect them to seek for refuge elsewhere. And accordingly in the fifth year of the prophet's mission, sixteen of them, four of whom were women, fled into Ethiopia and among them Othmân Ebn Affân and his wife Rakiâh, Mohammed's daughter. This was the first flight, but afterwards several others followed them, retiring one after another, to the number of eighty-three men and eighteen women, besides children.⁸ These refugees were kindly received by the Najâshi,⁹ or king of Ethiopia, who refused to deliver them up to those whom the Koreish sent to demand them, and as the Arab writers unanimously attest, even professed the Mohammedan religion.

In the sixth year of his mission¹ Mohammed had the pleasure of seeing his party strengthened by the conversion of his uncle Hamza, a man of great valour and merit, and of Omar Ebn al Khattâb, a person highly esteemed, and once a violent opposer of the prophet. As persecution generally advances rather than obstructs the spreading of a religion, Islamism made so great a progress among the Arab tribes, that the Koreish, to suppress it effectually, if possible, in the seventh year of Mohammed's mission,² made a solemn league or covenant against the Hashemites and the family of Al Motaleb, engaging themselves to contract no marriages with any of them, and to have no communication with them, and, to give it the greater sanction, reduced it into writing, and laid it up in the Casba. Upon this the tribe became divided into two factions, and the family of Hashem all repaired to Abu Taleb, as their head, except only Abd al Uzza, surnamed Abu Laheb, who, out of his inveterate hatred to his nephew and his doctrine, went over to the opposite party, whose chief was Abu Sofîân Ebn Harb, of the family of Ommeva.

The families continued thus at variance for three years, but in the tenth year of his mission, Mohammed told his uncle Abu Taleb, that God had manifestly showed his disapprobation of the league which the Koreish had made against them, by sending a worm to eat out every word of the instrument except the name of God. Of this accident Mohammed had probably some private notice, for Abu Taleb went immediately to the Koreish and acquainted them with it, offering, if it proved false, to deliver his nephew up to them, but in case it were true, he insisted that they ought to lay aside their animosity, and annul the league they had made against the Hashemites. To this they acquiesced, and, going to inspect the writing, to their great astonishment found it to be as Abu Taleb had said, and the league was thereupon declared void.

In the same year Abu Taleb died, at the age of above fourscore, and it is the general opinion that he died an infidel, though others say, that when he was at the point of death he embraced Mohammedism, and produced some passages out of his poetical compositions to confirm their assertion. About a month, or, as some write, three days after the death of this great benefactor and patron, Mohammed had the additional mortification to lose

⁷ Abulfeda ubi supra. ⁸ Idem, Ebn Shohnah. ⁹ Dr Prideaux seems to take this word for a proper name, but it is only the title the Arabs give to every king of this country. See his *Life of Mohammed*, p. 55. ¹ Ebn Shohnah. ² Al Jannâbi.

his wife Khadijah, who had so generously made his fortune. For which reason this year is called the year of mourning.*

On the death of these two persons, the Koreish began to be more troublesome than ever to their prophet, and especially some who had formerly been his intimate friends, insomuch that he found himself obliged to seek for shelter elsewhere, and first pitched upon Tâyef, about sixty miles east from Mecca, for the place of his retreat. Thither therefore he went, accompanied by his servant Zeid, and applied himself to two of the chief of the tribe of Thakif, who were the inhabitants of that place, but they received him very coldly. However, he stayed there a month, and some of the more considerate and better sort of men treated him with a little respect but the slaves and inferior people at length rose against him, and bringing him to the wall of the city, obliged him to depart, and return to Mecca, where he put himself under the protection of al Motaam Ibn Adi †

This repulse greatly discouraged his followers however, Mohammed was not wanting to himself, but boldly continued to preach to the public assemblies at the pilgrimage, and gained several proselytes, and among them six of the inhabitants of Yathreb of the Jewish tribe of Khazraj, who, on their return home, failed not to speak much in commendation of their new religion, and exhorted their fellow-citizens to embrace the same

In the twelfth year of his mission it was that Mohammed gave out that he had made his night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, and thence to heaven,‡ so much spoken of by all that write of him Dr Prideaux§ thinks he intended it either to answer the expectations of those who demanded some miracle as a proof of his mission, or else, by pretending to have conversed with God to establish the authority of whatever he should think fit to leave behind by way of oral tradition, and make his sayings to serve the same purpose as the oral law of the Jews. But I do not find that Mohammed himself ever expected so great a regard should be paid to his sayings as his followers have since done and seeing he all along disclaimed any power of performing miracles, it seems rather to have been a fetch of policy to raise his reputation, by pretending to have actually conversed with God in heaven, as Moses had heretofore done on the mount, and to have received several institutions immediately from him, whereas before he contented himself with persuading them that he had all by the ministry of Gabriel

However, this story seemed so absurd and incredible that several of his followers left him upon it, and it had probably ruined his whole design, had not Abu Becr vouched for its veracity, and declared that if Mohammed affirmed it to be true, he verily believed the whole Which happy incident not only retrieved the prophet's credit, but increased it to such a degree, that he was secure of being able to make his disciples swallow whatever he pleased to impose on them for the future. And I am apt to think this fiction, notwithstanding its extravagance, was one of the most artful contrivances Mohammed ever put in practice, and what chiefly contributed to the raising of his reputation to that great height to which it afterwards arrived

In this year, called by Mohammedans the accepted year, twelve men of Yathreb or Medina, of whom ten were of the tribe of Khazraj, and the other two of that of Aws, came to Mecca, and took an oath of fidelity to

* Abulhed. p. 28. Ebn Shohnah † Ebn Shohnah. ‡ See the notes on the 17th chap. of the Korân. § Life of Moham p 41, 51, &c.

Mohammed at al Akaba, a hill on the north of that city. This oath was called the woman's oath, not that any women were present at this time, but because a man was not thereby obliged to take up arms in defence of Mohammed or his religion, it being the same oath that was afterwards exacted of the women, the form of which we have in the Korân,⁷ and is to this effect, viz—"That they should renounce all idolatry, that they should not steal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children (as the pagan Arabs used to do when they apprehended they should not be able to maintain them⁸), nor forge calumnies, and that they should obey the prophet in all things that were reasonable." When they had solemnly engaged to do all this, Mohammed sent one of his disciples, named Masâb Ebn Omair, home with them, to instruct them more fully in the grounds and ceremonies of his new religion.

Masâb, being arrived at Medina, by the assistance of those who had been formerly converted, gained several proselytes, particularly Osaid Ebn Hodeira, a chief man of the city, and Saad Ebn Moâdh, prince of the tribe of Aws, Mohammedism spreading so fast that there was scarce a house wherein there were not some who had embraced it.

The next year, being the thirteenth of Mohammed's mission, Masâb returned to Mecca, accompanied by seventy-three men and two women of Medina who had professed Islamism, besides some others who were as yet unbelievers. On their arrival, they immediately sent to Mohammed, and offered him their assistance, of which he was now in great need, for his adversaries were by this time grown so powerful in Mecca, that he could not stay there much longer without imminent danger. Wherefore he accepted their proposal, and met them one night, by appointment, at al Akaba above mentioned, attended by his uncle al Abbas, who, though he was not then a believer, wished his nephew well, and made a speech to those of Medina, wherein he told them, that, as Mohammed was obliged to quit his native city and seek an asylum elsewhere, and they had offered him their protection, they would do well not to deceive him, and that, if they were not firmly resolved to defend and not betray him, they had better declare their minds, and let him provide for his safety in some other manner. Upon their protesting their sincerity, Mohammed swore to be faithful to them, on condition that they should protect him against all insults, as heartily as they would their own wives and families. They then asked him what recompense they were to expect if they should happen to be killed in his quarrel, he answered paradise. Whereupon they pledged their faith to him, and so returned home,⁹ after Mohammed had chosen twelve out of their number, who were to have the same authority among them as the twelve apostles of Christ had among his disciples.¹

Hitherto Mohammed had propagated his religion by fair means, so that the whole success of his enterprise before his flight to Medina must be attributed to persuasion only, and not to compulsion. For before this second oath of fealty or inauguration at al Akaba, he had no permission to use any force at all, and in several places of the Korân, which he pretended were revealed during his stay at Mecca, he declares his business was only to preach and admonish, that he had no authority to compel any person to embrace his religion, and that whether people believed, or not, was none of his concern, but belonged solely unto God. And he was so far from allowing his followers to use force, that he exhorted them to bear patiently those

⁷ Cap 60.
⁸ Ebn 7. 1. 22.

⁸ Vide Korân, chap 6

⁹ Atulieda, Vit. Moham. p. 40, &c.

injuries which were offered them on account of their faith, and when persecuted himself, chose rather to quit the place of his birth and retire to Medina, than to make any resistance. But this great passiveness and moderation seems entirely owing to his want of power, and the great superiority of his opposers for the first twelve years of his mission, for no sooner was he enabled, by the assistance of those of Medina, to make head against his enemies, than he gave out that God had allowed him and his followers to defend themselves against the infidels, and at length, as his forces increased, he pretended to have the divine leave even to attack them and to destroy idolatry, and set up the true faith by the sword, finding, by experience, that his designs would otherwise proceed very slowly, if they were not utterly overthrown, and knowing on the other hand that innovators, when they depend solely on their own strength, and can compel, seldom run any risk, from whence the politician observes, it follows, that all the armed prophets have succeeded, and the unarmed ones have failed. Moses, Cyrus, Theseus, and Romulus would not have been able to establish the observance of their institutions for any length of time had they not been armed.² The first passage of the Koran which gave Mohammed the permission of defending himself by arms is said to have been that in the twenty-second chapter, after which a great number to the same purpose were revealed.

That Mohammed had a right to take up arms for his own defence against his unjust persecutors, may perhaps be allowed, but whether he ought afterwards to have made use of that means for the establishing of his religion is a question I will not here determine. How far the secular power may or ought to interpose in affairs of this nature mankind are not agreed. The method of converting by the sword gives no very favourable idea of the faith which is so propagated, and is disallowed by every body in those of another religion though the same persons are willing to admit of it for the advancement of their own, supposing that though a false religion ought not to be established by authority, yet a true one may, and accordingly force is almost as constantly employed in these cases by those who have the power in their hands, as it is constantly complained of by those who suffer the violence. It is certainly one of the most convincing proofs that Mohammedism was no other than a human invent on, that it owed its progress and establishment almost entirely to the sword, and it is one of the strongest demonstrations of the divine original of Christianity, that it prevailed against all the force and powers of the world by the mere dint of its own truth, after having stood the assaults of all manner of persecutions, as well as other oppositions, for three hundred years together, and at length made the Roman emperors themselves submit thereto,³ after which time indeed this proof seems to fail, Christianity being then established and paganism abolished by public authority, which has had great influence in the propagation of the one and destruction of the other ever since.⁴ But to return.

Mohammed having provided for the security of his companions as well as his own, by the league offensive and defensive which he had now concluded with those of Medina, directed them to repair thither, which they accordingly did, but himself with Abu Bec and Ali staid behind, having not yet received the divine permission, as he pretended, to leave Mecca. The Koreish, fearing the consequence of this new alliance, began to think it absolutely necessary to prevent Mohammed's escape to Medina, and having held a council thereon, after several milder expedients had been rejected,

² Machiavelli, Princ. c. vi. ³ See Prideaux's Letter to the Deists, p. 220. &c.
⁴ See Barclay's Hist. Hist. of the Christian Church, &c.

they came to a resolution that he should be killed, and agreed that a man should be chosen out of every tribe for the execution of this design, and that each man should have a blow at him with his sword, that the guilt of his blood might fall equally on all the tribes, to whose united power the Hashemites were much inferior, and therefore durst not attempt to revenge their kinsman's death.

This conspiracy was scarce formed when by some means or other it came to Mohammed's knowledge, and he gave out that it was revealed to him by the angel Gabriel, who had now ordered him to retire to Medina. Whereupon, to amuse his enemies, he directed Ali to lie down in his place and wrap himself up in his green cloak, which he did, and Mohammed escaped miraculously as they pretend,⁵ to Abu Becr's house, unperceived by the conspirators, who had already assembled at the prophet's door. They in the mean time, looking through a crevice and seeing Ali, whom they took to be Mohammed himself, asleep, continued watching there till morning, when Ali arose and they found themselves deceived.

From Abu Becr's house Mohammed and he went to a cave in Mount Thur, to the south-east of Mecca, accompanied only by Amer Ebn Foherrah, Abu Becr's servant, and Abd'allah Ebn Orakat, an idolater, whom they had hired for a guide. In this cave they lay hid three days to avoid the search of their enemies, which they very narrowly escaped, and not without the assistance of more miracles than one, for some say that the Koreish were struck with blindness, so that they could not find the cave, others, that after Mohammed and his companions were got in, two pigeons laid their eggs at the entrance, and a spider covered the mouth of the cave with her web,⁶ which made them look no farther.⁷ Abu Becr seeing the prophet in such imminent danger became very sorrowful, whereupon Mohammed comforted him with these words, recorded in the Korân,⁸—"Be not grieved, for God is with us." Their enemies being retired, they left the cave and set out for Medina, by a by road, and having fortunately, or as the Mohammedans tell us, miraculously escaped some who were sent to pursue them, arrived safely in the city, whither Ali followed them in three days, after he had settled some affairs at Mecca.⁹

The first thing Mohammed did after his arrival in Medina was to build a temple for his religious worship, and a house for him self, which he did on a parcel of ground which had before served to put camels in, or as others tell us, for a burying ground, and belonged to Sahal and Sobeil the sons of Amru, who were orphans.¹ This action Dr Prideaux exclaims against, representing it as a flagrant instance of injustice, for that, says he, he violently dispossessed these poor orphans, the sons of an inferior artificer, (whom the author he quotes² calls a carpenter) of this ground, and so founded the first fabric of his worship with the like wickedness as he did his religion.³ But to say nothing of the improbability that Mohammed should act in so impolitic a manner at his first coming the Mohammedan writers set this affair in a quite different light, one tells us that he treated with the lads about the price of the ground, but they desired he would accept it as

⁵ See the notes to chap. 8. and 36.

⁶ It is observable that the Jews have a like tradition concerning David when he fled from Saul into the cave; and the Targum paraphrases these words of the second verse of Psalm lvi., (which was composed on occasion of that deliverance,) "I will pray before the most high God that performeth all things for me," in this manner; "I will pray before the most high God, who called a spider to weave a web for my sake in the mouth of the cave." ⁷ Al Beldâwî in Kor. cap. 9. Vide d'Herbel. *Bibl. Orient.* p. 445. ⁸ Chap. 9. ⁹ Abulfeda Vit. Moham. p. 50, &c. Fbn Shohnah. ¹ Abulfeda, ib. p. 52. 53. ² Disputatio Christiani contra Saracen. cap. iv. ³ Prideaux's Life of Moham. p. 38.

a present,⁴ however, as historians of good credit assure us, he actually bought it,⁵ and the money was paid by Abu Becr⁶ Besides, had Mohammed accepted it as a present, the orphans were in circumstances sufficient to have afforded it, for they were of a very good family, of the tribe Najjâr, one of the most illustrious among the Arabs, and not the sons of a carpenter, as Dr Prideaux's author writes, who took the word Najjâr, which signifies a carpenter, for an appellative, whereas it is a proper name⁷

Mohammed being securely settled at Medina, and able not only to defend himself against the insults of his enemies, but to attack them, began to send out small parties to make reprisals on the Koreish, the first party consisting of no more than nine men, who intercepted and plundered a caravan belonging to that tribe, and in the action took two prisoners. But what established his affairs very much, and was the foundation on which he built all his succeeding greatness, was the gaining of the battle of Bedi, which was fought in the second year of the Hejra, and is so famous in the Mohammedan history⁸ As my design is not to write the life of Mohammed, but only to describe the manner in which he carried on his enterprise, I shall not enter into any detail of his subsequent battles and expeditions, which amounted to a considerable number Some reckon no less than twenty-seven expeditions wherein Mohammed was personally present, in nine of which he gave battle, besides several other expeditions in which he was not present⁹ some of them however will be necessarily taken notice of in explaining several passages of the Koran His forces he maintained partly by the contributions of his followers for this purpose, which he called by the name of zacet or alms, and the paying of which he very artfully made one main article of his religion, and partly by ordering a fifth part of the plunder to be brought into the public treasury for that purpose, in which matter he likewise pretended to act by the divine direction

In a few years by the success of his arms (notwithstanding he sometimes came off by the worst) he considerably raised his credit and power In the sixth year of the Hejra he set out with 1400 men to visit the temple of Mecca, not with any intent of committing hostilities, but in a peaceable manner However when he came to al Hodeibiya, which is situate partly within and partly without the sacred territory, the Koreish sent to let him know that they would not permit him to enter Mecca, unless he forced his way, whereupon he called his troops about him, and they all took a solemn oath of fealty or homage to him, and he resolved to attack the city, but those of Mecca sending Arwa Ebn Masûd,* prince of the tribe of Thakif, as their ambassador to desire peace, a truce was concluded between them for ten years, by which any person was allowed to enter into league either with Mohammed or with the Koreish as he thought fit.

It may not be improper, to show the inconceivable veneration and respect the Mohammedans by this time had for their prophet, to mention the account which the above-mentioned ambassador gave the Koreish, at his return, of their behaviour He said he had been at the courts both of the Roman emperor and of the king of Persia, and never saw any prince so highly respected by his subjects as Mohammed was by his companions,

⁴ Al Bokhârî in Sonna. ⁵ Al Jannabi. ⁶ Ahmed Ebn Yusef. ⁷ Vide Gagnier, Not. in Abulfed. de Vit. Mahom. p. 52, 53. ⁸ See the notes on the Koran, chap. 3. p. 86. ⁹ Vide Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 158.

* This is erroneous. The ambassador was Sohail Ebn Amra See note, chap. 48.

for whenever he made the ablution, in order to say his prayers, they ran and caught the water that he had used, and whenever he spit, they immediately licked it up, and gathered every hair that fell from him with great superstition.¹

In the seventh year of the Hejra, Mohammed began to think of propagating his religion beyond the bounds of Arabia, and sent messengers to the neighbouring princes with letters to invite them to Mohammedism. Nor was this project without some success. Khosrú Parviz, then king of Persia, received his letter with great disdain, and tore it in a passion, sending away the messenger very abruptly, which, when Mohammed heard, he said, God shall tear his kingdom. And soon after a messenger came to Mohammed from Badhân king of Yaman, who was a dependant on the Persians,² to acquaint him that he had received orders to send him to Khosrú. Mohammed put off his answer till the next morning, and then told the messenger it had been revealed to him that night, that Khosru was slain by his son Shirúyeh, adding that he was well assured his new religion and empire should rise to as great a height as that of Khosru, and therefore bid him advise his master to embrace Mohammedism. The messenger being returned, Badhân in a few days received a letter from Shirúyeh informing him of his father's death, and ordering him to give the prophet no further disturbance. Whereupon Badhân and the Persians with him turned Mohammedans.³

The emperor Heraclius, as the Arabian historians assure us, received Mohammed's letter with great respect, laying it on his pillow, and dismissed the bearer honourably. And some pretend that he would have professed this new faith, had he not been afraid of losing his crown.⁴

Mohammed wrote to the same effect to the king of Ethiopia, though he had been converted before, according to the Arab writers, and to Mokawkas, governor of Egypt, who gave the messenger a very favourable reception, and sent several valuable presents to Mohammed, and among the rest two girls, one of which, named Mary,⁵ became a great favourite with him. He also sent letters of the like purport to several Arab princes, particularly one to al Hareth Ebn Abi Shamer⁶ king of Ghassân who returning for answer that he would go to Mohammed himself, the prophet said, May his kingdom perish, another to Hawdha Ebn Ali, king of Yamâma, who was a Christian, and having some time before professed Islamism, had lately returned to his former faith, this prince sent back a very rough answer, upon which, Mohammed cursing him he died soon after, a third to al Mondar Ebn Sâwa, king of Bahrein, who embraced Mohammedism, and all the Arabs of that country followed his example.⁷

The eighth year of the Hejra was a very fortunate year to Mohammed. In the beginning of it Khâled Ebn al Walid and Amru Ebn al As, both excellent soldiers, the first of whom afterwards conquered Syria and other countries, and the latter Egypt, became proselytes of Mohammedism. And soon after the prophet sent 3000 men against the Grecian forces, to revenge the death of one of his ambassadors, who being sent to the governor of Bosra, on the same errand as those who went to the above-mentioned princes, was slain by an Arab of the tribe of Ghassân at Mûta, a town in the territory of Balkâ in Syria, about three days' journey eastward from Jerusalem, near

¹ Abulfeda, Vit. Moh. p. 85. ² See before, p. 8. ³ Abulfeda, Vit. Moh. p. 82. &c. ⁴ Al Jannâbi. ⁵ It is however a different name from that of the Virgin Mary which the orientals always write Marvam or Miriam, whereas this is written Mârya. ⁶ This prince is omitted in Dr Pocock's list of the kings of Ghassân, Spec. p. 77. ⁷ Abulfeda, ubi sup. p. 94. &c.

which town they encountered The Grecians being vastly superior in number (for, including the auxiliary Arabs, they had an army of 100,000 men), the Mohammedans were repulsed in the first attack, and lost successively three of their generals, viz. Zeid Ebn Hâretha, Mohammed's freedman, Jaasar the son of Abu Tâleb, and Abdâllah Ebn Rawâha, but Khâled Ebn al Walid, succeeding to the command, overthrew the Greeks with a great slaughter, and brought away abundance of rich spoil,^{*} on occasion of which action Mohammed gave him the honourable title of *Seif min soyûf Allah*, one of the swords of God.⁹

In this year also Mohammed took the city of Mecca, the inhabitants whereof had broken the truce concluded on two years before For the tribe of Becr, who were confederates of the Koreish, attacking those of Khozâah, who were allies of Mohammed, killed several of them, being supported in the action by a party of the Koreish themselves The consequence of this violation was soon apprehended, and Abu Sofân himself made a journey to Medina on purpose to heal the breach and renew the truce,¹ but in vain, for Mohammed glad of this opportunity, refused to see him, whereupon he applied to Abu Becr and Âli, but they giving him no answer, he was obliged to return to Mecca as he came

Mohammed immediately gave orders for preparations to be made, that he might surprise the Meccans while they were unprovided to receive him in a little time he began his march thither, and by the time he came near the city his forces were increased to 10,000 men Those of Mecca being not in a condition to defend themselves against so formidable an army, surrendered at discretion, and Abu Sofân saved his life by turning Mohammedan About twenty eight of the idolaters were killed by a party under the command of Khâled, but this happened contrary to Mohammed's orders, who, when he entered the town, pardoned all the Koreish on their submission, except only six men and four women who were more obnoxious than ordinary (some of them having apostitiz'd), and were solemnly proscribed by the prophet himself, but of these no more than three men and one woman were put to death the rest obtaining pardon on their embracing Mohammedism, and one of the women making her escape.²

The remainder of this year Mohammed employed in destroying the idols in and round about Mecca, sending several of his generals on expeditions for that purpose, and to invite the Arabs to Islamism, wherein it is no wonder if they now met with success.

The next year, being the ninth of the Hejra, the Mohammedans call the year of embassies for the Arabs had been hitherto expecting the issue of the war between Mohammed and the Koreish, but so soon as that tribe, the principal of the whole nation, and the genuine descendants of Ishmael, whose prerogatives none offered to dispute, had submitted, they were satisfied that it was not in their power to oppose Mohammed, and therefore began to come in to him in great numbers, and to send embassies to make their submissions to him, both to Mecca while he staid there, and also to Medina whither he returned this year³ Among the rest, five kings of the tribe of Hamyar professed Mohammedism, and sent ambassadors to notify the same.⁴

In the tenth year Âli was sent into Yaman to propagate the Moham-

^{*} Abulf Vit Moh. p. 99, 100, &c. ⁹ Al Bokhari in Sonna. ¹ This circumstance is a plain proof that the Koreish had actually broken the truce, and that it was not a mere pretence of Mohammed's, as Dr Prideaux insinuates. *Life of Moh* p. 94. ² Vide Abulfed ubi sup. c. 51, 52. ³ Vide Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 121. ⁴ Abulfeda, ubi sup. p. 123.

medan faith there, and, as it is said, converted the whole tribe of Hamdân in one day. Their example was quickly followed by all the inhabitants of that province, except only those of Najrân, who, being Christians, chose rather to pay tribute.*

Thus was Mohammedism established, and idolatry rooted out, even in Mohammed's life time (for he died the next year) throughout all Arabia, except only Yamama, where Moselama, who set up also for a prophet as Mohammed's competitor, had a great party, and was not reduced till the Khalifat of Abu Becr. And the Arabs being then united in one faith and under one prince, found themselves in a condition of making those conquests which extended the Mohammedan faith over so great a part of the world.

SECTION III

OF THE KORAN ITSELF, THE PECULIARITIES OF THAT BOOK, THE MANNER OF ITS BEING WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED, AND THE GENERAL DESIGN OF IT.

THE word Korân, derived from the verb karaa, to read, signifies properly in Arabic, the reading, or rather, that which ought to be read, by which name the Mohammedans denote not only the entire book or volume of the Korân, but also any particular chapter or section of it, just as the Jews call either the whole scripture, or any part of it by the name of Karâh, or Mikra,* words of the same origin and import. Which observation seems to overthrow the opinion of some learned Arabians, who would have the Korân so named, because it is a collection of the loose chapters or sheets which compose it, the verb karaa signifying also to gather or collect † and may also, by the way, serve as an answer to those who object‡ that the Korân must be a book forged at once, and could not possibly be revealed by parcels at different times, during the course of several years, as the Mohammedans affirm, because the Korân is often mentioned, and called by that name, in the very book itself. It may not be amiss to observe, that the syllable Al in the word Alkoran is only the Arabic article, signifying *the*, and therefore ought to be omitted when the English article is prefixed.

Beside this peculiar name, the Korân is also honoured with several appellations common to other books of scripture as al Forkân, from the verb faraka, to divide or distinguish, not as the Mohammedan doctors say, because those books are divided into chapters or sections, or distinguish between good and evil, but in the same notion that the Jews use the word Perek, or Pirka, from the same root, to denote a section or portion of Scripture.§ It is also called al Moshâf, the volume and al Kitâb, the book, by way of eminence, which answers to the Biblia of the Greeks, and al Dhikr, the admonition, which name is also given to the Pentateuch and Gospel.

The Korân is divided into one hundred and fourteen larger portions of

* Abulfeda, ubi sup. p. 129. † This name was at first given to the Pentateuch only. Nehem. viii. Vide Simon. Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test. lib. 1 c. 9. ‡ Vide Erpen. Not. ad Hist. Joseph. p. 2. § Marracc. de Alcor. p. 41. ¶ Vide Gul. in append. ad Gram. Arab. Erpen. 175. A chapter or sub-division of the Massicot of the Mishna is also called Perek. Maimon. pref. in Seder Zerem, f. 57.

very unequal length, which we call chapters, but the Arabians Sôwar, in the singular Sûra, a word rarely used on any other occasion, and properly signifying a row, order, or regular series, as a course of bricks in building, or a rank of soldiers in an army, and is the same in use and import with the Sûra, or Tora of the Jews, who also call the fifty-three sections of the Pentateuch Sedârim, a word of the same signification.¹

These chapters are not in the manuscript copies distinguished by their numerical order, though for the reader's ease, they are numbered in this edition, but by particular titles, which (except that of the first, which is the initial chapter, or introduction to the rest, and by the old Latin translator not numbered among the chapters) are taken sometimes from a particular matter treated of, or person mentioned therein, but usually from the first word of note, exactly in the same manner as the Jews have named their Sedârim, though the word from which some chapters are denominated be very far distant, towards the middle, or perhaps the end of the chapter, which seems ridiculous. But the occasion of this seems to have been, that the verse or passage wherein such word occurs was, in point of time, revealed and committed to writing before the other verses of the same chapter which precede it in order, and the title being given to the chapter before it was completed, or the passages reduced to their present order, the verse from whence such title was taken did not always happen to begin the chapter. Some chapters have two or more titles, occasioned by the difference of the copies.

Some of the chapters having been revealed at Mecca, and others at Medina, the noting this difference makes a part of the title but the reader will observe that several of the chapters are said to have been revealed partly at Mecca, and partly at Medina, and as to others, it is yet a dispute among the commentators to which place of the two they belong.

Every chapter is subdivided into smaller portions, of very unequal length also, which we customarily call verses, but the Arabic word is *Avat*, the same with the Hebrew *Ototh* and signifies signs, or wonders, such as are the secrets of God, his attributes, works, judgments, and ordinances, delivered in those verses, many of which have their particular titles also, imposed in the same manner as those of the chapters.

Notwithstanding this subdivision is common, and well known, yet I have never yet seen any manuscript wherein the verses are actually numbered, though in some copies the number of verses in each chapter is set down after the title, which we have therefore added in the table of the chapters. And the Mohammedans seem to have some scruple in making an actual distinction in their copies, because the chief disagreement between their several editions of the Korân consists in the division and number of the verses, and for this reason I have not taken upon me to make any such division.

Having mentioned the different editions of the Korân, it may not be amiss here to acquaint the reader, that there are seven principal editions, if I may so call them, or ancient copies of that book, two of which were published and used at Medina, a third at Mecca, a fourth at Cufa, a fifth at Basra, a sixth in Syria, and a seventh called the common or vulgar edition. Of these editions, the first of Medina makes the whole number of the verses six thousand, the second and fifth, six thousand two hundred and fourteen, the third, six thousand two hundred and nineteen, the fourth,

¹ Vide Gol. ubi sup. 177. Each of the six grand divisions of the Mishna is also called *Seder* Maimon. ubi sup. p. 33.

six thousand two hundred and thirty-six, the sixth, six thousand two hundred and twenty-six, and the last, six thousand two hundred and twenty-five. But they are all said to contain the same number of words, namely seventy-seven thousand six hundred and thirty-nine,² and the same number of letters, viz., three hundred and twenty-three thousand and fifteen³ for the Mohammedans have in this also imitated the Jews, that they have superstitiously numbered the very words and letters of their law, nay, they have taken the pains to compute (how exactly I know not) the number of times each particular letter of the alphabet is contained in the Korân.⁴

Besides these unequal divisions of chapter and verse, the Mohammedans have also divided their Korân into sixty equal portions, which they call *Abzâb*, in the singular *Hizb*, each subdivided into four equal parts, which is also an imitation of the Jews, who have an ancient division of their *Mishna* into sixty portions called *Massicloth*⁵ but the Korân is more usually divided into thirty sections only, named *Ajzâ*, from the singular *Joz*, each of twice the length of the former, and in the like manner subdivided into four parts. These divisions are for the use of the readers of the Korân in the royal temples, or in the adjoining chapels where the emperors and great men are interred. There are thirty of these readers belonging to every chapel, and each reads his section every day, so that the whole Korân is read over once a day.⁶ I have seen several copies divided in this manner, and bound up in as many volumes, and have thought it proper to mark these divisions in the margin of this translation by numeral letters.

Next after the title, at the head of every chapter except only the ninth, is prefixed the following solemn form, by the Mohammedans called the *Bismillah*, "In the name of the most merciful God," which form they constantly place at the beginning of all their books and writings in general as a peculiar mark or distinguishing characteristic of their religion, it being counted a sort of impiety to omit it. The Jews for the same purpose make use of the form, In the name of the Lord, or, in the name of the great God and the eastern Christians that of, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. But I am apt to believe Mohammed really took this form, as he did many other things, from the Persian Magi, who used to begin their books in these words, *Benam Yazdân bakhshâishgher dâdâr*, that is, In the name of the most merciful, just God.⁷

This auspicious form, and also the titles of the chapters, are, by the generality of the doctors and commentators, believed to be of divine original, no less than the text itself, but the more moderate are of opinion they are only human additions, and not the very word of God.

There are twenty nine chapters of the Korân, which have this peculiarity, that they begin with certain letters of the alphabet, some with a single one, others with more. These letters the Mohammedans believe to be the peculiar marks of the Korân, and to conceal several profound mysteries, the certain understanding of which, the more intelligent confess has not been communicated to any mortal, their prophet only excepted. Notwithstanding which, some will take the liberty of guessing at their meaning by

² Or as others reckon them, ninety-nine thousand four hundred and sixty-four. Reland, de Rel. Moh. p. 25. ³ Or according to another computation, three hundred and thirty thousand one hundred and thirteen. Ibid. V. Gol ubi sup. p. 178. D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 87. ⁴ Vide Reland, de Relig. Moh. p. 28.

⁵ Vide Gol. ubi sup. p. 178. Maimon præf. in Seder Zeraim, p. 57. ⁶ Vide Smith, de Moribus et Institut. Turcar. p. 86. ⁷ Hyde, Hist. Nat. Vet. Pers. p. 14.

that species of Cabbala called by the Jews *Notarikon*,⁸ and suppose the letters to stand for as many words expressing the names and attributes of God, his works, ordinances, and decrees, and therefore these mysterious letters, as well as the verses themselves, seem in the *Korân* to be called signs. Others explain the intent of these letters from the nature or organ, or else from their value in numbers, according to another species of the Jewish Cabbala called *Gematria*,⁹ the uncertainty of which conjectures sufficiently appears from their disagreement. Thus, for example, five chapters, one of which is the second, begin with these letters, A L M which some imagine to stand for *Allah latif magid*, God is gracious and to be glorified, or, *Ana li minni*, to me and from me, viz. belongs all perfection, and proceeds all good or else for *Ana Allah âlam*, I am the most wise God, taking the first letter to mark the beginning of the first word, the second the middle of the second word, and the third the last of the third word, or for *Allah, Gabriel, Mohammed*, the author, revealer, and preacher of the *Korân*. Others say, that as the letter A belongs to the lower part of the throat, the first of the organs of speech, L to the palate, the middle organ, and M to the lips, which are the last organ, so these letters signify that God is the beginning, middle, and end, or ought to be praised in the beginning, middle, and end, of all our words and actions or, as the total value of those three letters in numbers is seventy one, they signify that in the space of so many years, the religion preached in the *Korân* should be fully established. The conjecture of a learned Christian¹ is at least as certain as any of the former who supposes these letters were set there by the amanuensis, for *Amar li Mohammed*, i. e. At the command of Mohammed as the five letters prefixed to the nineteenth chapter seem to be there written by a Jewish scribe, *Cob Yaas*, i. e. Thus he commanded.

The *Korân* is universally allowed to be written with the utmost elegance and purity of language in the dialect of the tribe of Koreish, the most noble and polite of all the Arabians, but with some mixture, though very rarely, of other dialects. It is confessedly the standard of the Arabic tongue, and as the more orthodox believe, and are taught by the book itself, inimitable by any human pen, (though some sectaries have been of another opinion),² and therefore insisted on as a permanent miracle, greater than that of raising the dead,³ and alone sufficient to convince the world of its divine origin.

And to this miracle did Mohammed himself chiefly appeal for the confirmation of his mission, publicly challenging the most eloquent men in Arabia, which was at this time stocked with thousands whose sole study and ambition it was to excel in elegance of style and composition,⁴ to produce even a single chapter that might be compared with it.⁵ I will mention but one instance out of several, to show that this book was really admired for the beauty of its composure by those who must be allowed to have been competent judges. A poem of *Labid Ebn Rabiâ*, one of the greatest wits in Arabia in Mohammed's time, being fixed up on the gate of

⁸ Vide Buxtorf *Lexicon Rabbin.* ⁹ Vide *Ib.* See also Schickard *Bechinat ha-perushim*, p. 62, &c. ¹ Golius in *append. ad Gram. Erp.* p. 182. ² See after *Ahmed Abd'alhalim* apud *Marracc de Ale.* p. 43. ³ A noble writer therefore mistakes the question when he says, these eastern religionists leave their sacred writ the sole standard of literate performance, by extinguishing all true learning. For though they were destitute of what we call learning, yet they were far from being ignorant, or unable to compose elegantly in their own tongue. See *L. Shaftesbury's* (*characteristics*, vol. III. p. 235. ⁴ *Al Gazali*, apud *Poc. Spec.* 191. See *Korân*, c. 17, and also c. 2, p. 3, and c. 11, &c.

the temple of Mecca, an honour allowed to none but the most esteemed performances, none of the other poets durst offer any of their own in competition with it. But the second chapter of the Korân being fixed up by it soon after, Labid himself (then an idolater) on reading the first verses only, was struck with admiration, and immediately professed the religion taught thereby, declaring that such words could proceed from an inspired person only. This Labid was afterwards of great service to Mohammed, in writing answers to the satires and invectives that were made on him and his religion by the infidels, and particularly by Amri al Kais,⁶ prince of the tribe of Asad,⁷ and author of one of those seven famous poems called al Moallakat.⁸

The style of the Korân is generally beautiful and fluent, especially where it imitates the prophetic manner, and scripture phrases. It is concise, and often obscure, adorned with bold figures after the eastern taste, enlivened with florid and sententious expressions, and in many places, especially where the majesty and attributes of God are described, sublime and magnificent, of which the reader cannot but observe several instances, though he must not imagine the translation comes up to the original, notwithstanding my endeavours to do it justice.

Though it be written in prose, yet the sentences generally conclude in a long continued rhyme, for the sake of which the sense is often interrupted, and unnecessary repetitions too frequently made, which appear still more ridiculous in a translation, where the ornament, such as it is, for whose sake they were made, cannot be perceived. However, the Arabians are so mightily delighted with this jingling that they employ it in their most elaborate compositions, which they also embellish with frequent passages of and allusions to the Korân, so that it is next to impossible to understand them without being well versed in this book.

It is probable the harmony of expression which the Arabians find in the Korân might contribute not a little to make them relish the doctrine therein taught, and give an efficacy to arguments, which, had they been nakedly proposed without this rhetorical dress, might not have so easily prevailed. Very extraordinary effects are related of the power of words well chosen and artfully placed, which are no less powerful either to ravish or amaze than music itself, wherefore as much has been ascribed by the best orators to this part of rhetoric as to any other.⁹ He must have a very bad ear, who is not uncommonly moved with the very cadence of a well turned sentence, and Mohammed seems not to have been ignorant of the cathinastic operation of rhetoric on the minds of men, for which reason he has not only employed his utmost skill in these his pretended revelations, to preserve that dignity and sublimity of style, which might seem not unworthy of the majesty of that being, whom he gave out to be the author of them, and to imitate the prophetic manner of the Old Testament, but he has not neglected even the other arts of oratory, wherein he succeeded so well, and so strangely captivated the minds of his audience, that several of his opponents thought it the effect of witchcraft and enchantment, as he sometimes complains.¹

"The general design of the Korân," (to use the words of a very learned person,) "seems to be this. To unite the professors of the three different religions then followed in the populous country of Arabia, who, for the most part, lived promiscuously, and wandered without guides, the far greater number being idolaters, and the rest Jews and Christians mostly of

⁶ D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 512, &c.

⁷ Poc. Spec. p. 80

⁸ See before, p. 20.

⁹ See Casaubon, of Enthusiasm, chap. iv.

¹ Korân, chap. 15, 21, &c.

erroneous and heterodox belief, in the knowledge and worship of one eternal, invisible God, by whose power all things were made, and those which are not, may be, the supreme Governor, Judge, and absolute Lord of the creation, established under the sanction of certain laws, and the outward signs of certain ceremonies, partly of ancient and partly of novel institution, and enforced by setting before them rewards and punishments, both temporal and eternal and to bring them all to the obedience of Mohammed, as the prophet and ambassador of God, who after the repeated admonitions, promises, and threats of former ages, was at last to establish and propagate God's religion on earth by force of arms, and to be acknowledged chief pontiff in spiritual matters, as well as supreme prince in temporal."²

'The great doctrine then of the Korân is the unity of God, to restore which point Mohammed pretended was the chief end of his mission, it being laid down by him as a fundamental truth, that there never was nor ever can be more than one true orthodox religion. For though the particular laws or ceremonies are only temporary, and subject to alteration according to the divine direction, yet the substance of it being eternal truth, is not liable to change, but continues immutably the same. And he taught that whenever this religion became neglected, or corrupted in essentials, God had the goodness to reinform and readmonish mankind thereof, by several prophets, of whom Moses and Jesus were the most distinguished, till the appearance of Mohammed, who is their seal, no other being to be expected after him. And the more effectually to engage people to hearken to him, great part of the Koran is employed in relating examples of dreadful punishments formerly inflicted by God on those who rejected and abused his messengers, several of which stories or some circumstances of them are taken from the Old and New Testament, but many more from the apocryphal books and traditions of the Jews and Christians of those ages, set up in the Korân as truths in opposition to the scriptures, which the Jews and Christians are charged with having altered, and I am apt to believe that few or none of the relations or circumstances in the Koran were invented by Mohammed, as is generally supposed, it being easy to trace the greatest part of them much higher, as the rest might be, were more of those books extant, and it was worth while to make the inquiry

The other part of the Korân is taken up in giving necessary laws and directions, in frequent admonitions to moral and divine virtues, and above all to the worshipping and reverencing of the only true God, and resignation to his will, among which are many excellent things intermixed, not unworthy even a Christian's perusal

But, besides these, there are a great number of passages which are occasional, and relate to particular emergencies. For whenever any thing happened which perplexed and grieved Mohammed, and which he could not otherwise get over, he had constant recourse to a new revelation, as an infallible expedient in all nice cases, and he found the success of this method answer his expectation. It was certainly an admirable and politic contrivance of his to bring down the whole Korân at once to the lowest heaven only, and not to the earth, as a bungling prophet would have done, for if the whole had been published at once, innumerable objections might have been made, which it would have been very hard, if not impossible, for him to solve but as he pretended to have received it by parcels, as God saw proper that they should be published for the con-

² Goliuz, in append. ad Gram. Eyp p. 176.

version and instruction of the people, he had a sure way to answer all emergencies, and to extricate himself with honour from any difficulty which might occur. If any objection be hence made to that eternity of the Korân, which the Mohammedans are taught to believe, they easily answer it by their doctrine of absolute predestination, according to which all the accidents for the sake of which these occasional passages were revealed were predetermined by God from all eternity.

That Mohammed was really the author and chief contriver of the Koran, is beyond dispute, though it is highly probable that he had no small assistance in his design from others, as his countrymen failed not to object to him,³ however they differed so much in their conjectures as to the particular persons who gave him such assistance,⁴ that they were not able, it seems, to prove the charge. Mohammed, it is to be presumed, having taken his measures too well to be discovered. Dr Prideaux⁵ has given the most probable account of this matter, though chiefly from Christian writers, who generally mix such ridiculous fables with what they deliver, that they deserve not much credit.

However it be, the Mohammedans absolutely deny the Korân was composed by their prophet himself, or any other for him, it being their general and orthodox belief that it is of divine original, nay that it is eternal and uncreated, remaining, as some express it, in the very essence of God, that the first transcript has been from everlasting by God's throne, written on a table of vast bigness, called the preserved table, in which are also recorded the divine decrees past and future, that a copy from this table, in one volume on paper, was, by the ministry of the angel Gabriel, sent down to the lowest heaven, in the month of Ramadan, on the night of power⁶ from whence Gabriel revealed it to Mohammed by parcels, some at Mecca and some at Medina, at different times, during the space of twenty three years, as the exigency of affairs required giving him however the consolation to show him the whole (which they tell us was bound in silk, and adorned with gold and precious stones of paradise) once a year but in the last year of his life he had the favour to see it twice. They say that few chapters were delivered entire, the most part being revealed piecemeal, and written down from time to time by the prophet's amanuensis in such or such a part of such or such a chapter till they were completed, according to the directions of the angel.⁷ The first parcel that was revealed is generally agreed to have been the first five verses of the ninety-sixth chapter⁸.

After the new revealed passages had been from the prophet's mouth taken down in writing by his scribe, they were published to his followers, several of whom took copies for their private use, but the far greater number got them by heart. The originals, when returned, were put promiscuously into a chest, observing no order of time, for which reason it is uncertain when many passages were revealed.

When Mohammed died, he left his revelations in the same disorder I have mentioned, and not digested into the method, such as it is, which we now find them in. This was the work of his successor Abu Bacr, who, considering that a great number of passages were committed to the memory of Mohammed's followers, many of whom were slain in their wars, ordered the

³ Vide Korân, chap. 16. and chap. 25. ⁴ See the notes on those passages.

⁵ Life of Moham. p. 21 &c. ⁶ Vide Korân, c. 97 and note *ibid.* ⁷ Therefore it is a mistake of Dr Prideaux to say it was brought him chapter by chapter. Life of Moham. p. 6. The Jews also say the law was given to Moses by parcels. Vide Millium. de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 265. ⁸ Not the whole chapter as Gagnas says. Appendix ad Gr. Ern. p. 180.

whole to be collected, not only from the palm-leaves and skins on which they had been written, and which were kept between two boards or covers but also from the mouths of such as had gotten them by heart. And this transcript, when completed, he committed to the custody of Hafsa the daughter of Omar, one of the prophet's widows.⁹

From this relation it is generally imagined, that Abu Becr was really the compiler of the Korân, though for aught appears to the contrary, Mohammed left the chapters complete as we now have them, excepting such passages as his successor might add or correct from those who had gotten them by heart, what Abu Becr did else being perhaps no more than to range the chapters in their present order, which he seems to have done without any regard to time, having generally placed the longest first.

However, in the thirtieth year of the Hejra, Othmân being then Khalif, and observing the great disagreement in the copies of the Korân in the several provinces of the empire, those of Irak, for example, following the reading of Abu Musa al Ashari, and the Syrians that of Macdad Ebn Aswad, he, by advice of the companions, ordered a great number of copies to be transcribed from that of Abu Becr, in Hafsa's care, under the inspection of Zeid Ebn Thabet, Abdallah Ebn Zobair, Said Ebn al As, and Abd'alrahmân Ebn al Hareth the Makhzumite, whom he directed that wherever they disagreed about any word, they should write it in the dialect of the Koreish, in which it was at first delivered.¹ These copies when made were dispersed in the several provinces of the empire, and the old ones burnt and suppressed. Though many things in Hafsa's copy were corrected by the above-mentioned supervisors, yet some few various readings still occur, the most material of which will be taken notice of in their proper places.

The want of vowels² in the Arabic character made Mokris, or readers, whose peculiar study and profession it was to read the Koran with its proper vowels, absolutely necessary. But these differing in their manner of reading, occasioned still further variations in the copies of the Korân, as they are now written with the vowels, and herein consist much the greater part of the various readings throughout the book. The readers whose authority the commentators chiefly allege, in admitting these various readings, are seven in number.

There being some passages in the Koran which are contradictory, the Mohammedan doctors obviate any objection from thence, by the doctrine of abrogation, for they say, that God in the Korân commanded several things which were, for good reasons, afterward revoked and abrogated.

Passages abrogated are distinguished into three kinds the first, where the letter and sense are both abrogated, the second, where the letter only is abrogated, but the sense remains, and the third where the sense is abrogated, though the letter remains.

Of the first kind were several verses, which, by the tradition of Malec Ebn Ana, were in the prophet's lifetime read in the chapter of repentance, but are not now extant, one of which, being all he remembered of them, was the following, "If a son of Adam had two rivers of gold, he would covet yet a third, and if he had three, he would covet yet a fourth (to be added) unto them, neither shall the belly of a son of Adam be filled, but with

⁹ Elmâcin. in Vita Abu Becr Abulfeda. ¹ Abulfeda, in Vita Abubeer and Othmân. ² The characters or marks of the Arabic vowels were not used till several years after Mohammed. Some ascribe the invention of them to Yahya Ebn Yamer, some to Nâir Ebn Assam, surnamed al Leithi and others to Abu'aswad al Ijili, all three of whom were doctors of Basra, and immediately succeeded the companions. See D. Harbel. Bibl. Orient. n. 82.

dust. God will turn unto him who shall repent." Another instance of this kind we have from the tradition of Abd'allah Ebn Mas'ûd, who reported that the prophet gave him a verse to read which he wrote down, but the next morning looking in his book, he found it was vanished, and the leaf blank this he acquainted Mohammed with, who assured him the verse was revoked the same night.

Of the second kind is a verse called the verse of stoning, which, according to the tradition of Omar, afterwards Khalif, was extant while Mohammed was living, though it be not now to be found. The words are these, "Abhor not your parents, for this would be ingratitude in you. If a man and woman of reputation commit adultery, ye shall stone them both, it is a punishment ordained by God, for God is mighty and wise."

Of the last kind are observed several verses in sixty-three different chapters, to the number of two hundred and twenty five. Such as the precepts of turning in prayer to Jerusalem, fasting after the old custom, forbearance towards idolaters, avoiding the ignorant and the like.² The passages of this sort have been carefully selected by several writers, and are most of them remarked in their proper places.

Though it is the belief of the Sunnites or orthodox that the Korân is uncreated and eternal, subsisting in the very essence of God, and Mohammed himself is said to have pronounced him an infidel who asserted the contrary,⁴ yet several have been of a different opinion, particularly the sect of the Môtazilites,⁵ and the followers of Isa Ebn Sobeih Abu Musa, surnamed al Mozdar, who stuck not to accuse those who held the Korân to be uncreated of infidelity, as asserters of two eternal beings.⁶

This point was controverted with so much heat that it occasioned many calamities under some of the Khalifs of the family of Abbas, al Mamûn⁷ making a public edict declaring the Koran to be created which was confirmed by his successors al Motasem⁸ and al Wathck,⁹ who whipt, imprisoned, and put to death those of the contrary opinion. But at length al Motawakkel,¹ who succeeded al Wathck, put an end to these persecutions, by revoking the former edicts, releasing those that were imprisoned on that account, and leaving every man at liberty as to his belief in this point.²

Al Ghazâlî seems to have tolerably reconciled both opinions, saying, that the Koran is read and pronounced with the tongue, written in books, and kept in memory, and is yet eternal subsisting in God's essence, and not possible to be separated thence by any transmission into men's memories or the leaves of books,³ by which he seems to mean no more than that the original idea of the Koran only is really in God, and consequently co-essential and co-eternal with him, but that the copies are created, and the work of man.

The opinion of al Jahedh, chief of a sect bearing his name, touching the Koran is too remarkable to be omitted he used to say it was a body, which might sometimes be turned into a man,⁴ and sometimes into a

² Abu Hashem Hebatallah, apud Marrace. de Ale. p. 42. ⁴ Apud Poc. Spec. 220. ⁵ See after in sect. viii. ⁶ Vide Poc. Spec. p. 219, &c. ⁷ Anno Hej. 218. ⁸ Abulfarag p. 245 v. etiam Hamaïn. in Vita al Mamûn. ⁹ In the time of Al Motasem, a doctor named Abu Harûn Ebn al Baca found out a distinction to screen himself, by affirming that the Korân was ordained, because it is said in that book, "And I have ordained thee the Korân." He went still farther to allow that what was ordained was created, and yet he denied it thence followed that the Korân was created. Abulfarag p. 263. ¹ Ibid p. 257. ² Anno Hej. 342. ³ Abulfarag, p. 262. ⁴ Al Ghazâlî in prof. 5d. ⁵ The Khalif al Walid Ebn Yâsid, who was the eleventh of the race of Omeyya, and is looked on by the Mohammedans as a reprobate, and one of no religion, seems to have treated this book as a rational creature. For dipping into it one day, the first words he met

beast, which seems to agree with the notion of those who assert the Korân to have two faces, one of a man, the other of beast * thereby, as I conceive, intimating the double interpretation it will admit of, according to the letter or the spirit.

As some have held the Korân to be created, so there have not been wanting those who have asserted that there is nothing miraculous in that book in respect to style or composition, excepting only the prophetic relations of things past, and predictions of things to come, and that had God left men to their natural liberty, and not restrained them in that particular, the Arabians could have composed something not only equal, but superior to the Korân in eloquence, method, and purity of language. This was another opinion of the Motazalites, and in particular of al Mozdar above mentioned and al Nodham.⁷

The Korân being the Mohammedans rule of faith and practice, it is no wonder its expositors and commentators are so very numerous. And it may not be amiss to take notice of the rules they observe in expounding it.

One of the most learned commentators⁸ distinguishes the contents of the Korân, into allegorical and literal. The former comprehends the more obscure, parabolical, and enigmatical passages, and such as are repealed or abrogated, the latter those which are plain, perspicuous, liable to no doubt, and in full force.

To explain these severally in a right manner, it is necessary from tradition and study to know the time when each passage was revealed, its circumstances, state and history, and the reasons or particular emergencies for the sake of which it was revealed.⁹ Or more explicitly, whether the passage was revealed at Mecca, or at Medina, whether it be abrogated, or does itself abrogate any other passage, whether it be anticipated in order of time, or postponed, whether it be distinct from the context, or depends thereon, whether it be particular or general, and lastly whether it be implicit by intention or explicit in words.¹

By what has been said the reader may easily believe this book is in the greatest reverence and esteem among the Mohammedans. They dare not so much as touch it without being first washed or legally purified,² which lest they should do by inadvertence, they write these words on the cover or label, "Let none touch it, but they who are clean." They read it with great care and respect, never holding it below their girdles. They swear by it, consult it in their weighty occasions,³ carry it with them to war, write sentences of it on their banners, adorn it with gold and precious stones, and knowingly suffer it not to be in the possession of any of a different persuasion.

The Mohammedans, far from thinking the Koran to be profaned by

with were these: "Every rebellious perverse person shall not prosper." Whereupon he stuck it on a lance and shot it to pieces with arrows, repeating these verses

"Dost thou rebuke every rebellious perverse person? behold, I am that rebellious perverse person

* When thou appearest before thy Lord on the day of resurrection, say O Lord, al Walid has torn me thus. —Ebn Shohnah v Poc. Spec. 223. ⁶ Poc. Spec.

p 222 ⁷ Herbelot, p 87 ⁸ Abulfeda, Shahrestani, &c. apud Poc. Spec.

p 222, et Marracc. de Kor p. 44. ⁹ Al Zamakhshari. Vide Korân, chap. 3 p. 35.

¹ Ahmed Ebn Moham al Thalabi, in princip. Expos. Alc. ² Yahya Ebn al Salâm al Basri in Princip. Expos. Alc. ³ The Jews have the same veneration for their law; not daring to touch it with unwashed hands, nor then either without a cover

Vide Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moham p 366. ⁴ This they do by dipping into it, and taking an omen from the words which they first light on: which practice they also learned of the Jews, who do the same with the Scriptures. Vide Millium, ubi sup.

a translation, as some authors have written,⁴ have taken care to have their scriptures translated not only into the Persian tongue, but into several others, particularly the Javan and Malayan,⁵ though out of respect to the original Arabic, these versions are generally (if not always) interlinear

SECTION IV

OF THE DOCTRINES AND POSITIVE PRECEPTS OF THE KORAN, WHICH RELATE TO FAITH AND RELIGIOUS DUTIES.

It has been already observed more than once, that the fundamental position on which Mohammed erected the superstructure of his religion was, that from the beginning to the end of the world there has been, and for ever will be, but one true orthodox belief, consisting, as to matter of faith, in the acknowledging of the only true God, and the believing in and obeying such messengers or prophets as he should from time to time send, with proper credentials, to reveal his will to mankind, and as to matter of practice, in the observance of the immutable and eternal laws of right and wrong, together with such other precepts and ceremonies as God should think fit to order for the time being, according to the different dispensations in different ages of the world for these last he allowed were things indifferent in their own nature, and became obligatory by God's positive precept only, and were therefore temporary and subject to alteration according to his will and pleasure. And to this religion he gives the name of Islâm, which word signifies *resignation*, or *submission* to the service and commands of God,⁶ and is used as the proper name of the Mohammedan religion, which they will also have to be the same at bottom with that of all the prophets from Adam. Under pretext that this eternal religion was in his time corrupted, and professed in its purity by no one sect of men, Mohammed pretended to be a prophet sent by God, to reform those abuses which had crept into it, and to reduce it to its primitive simplicity, with the addition however of peculiar laws and ceremonies, some of which had been used in former times, and others were now first instituted. And he comprehended the whole substance of his doctrine under these two propositions, or articles of faith, *viz.* that there is but one God, and that himself was the apostle of God, in consequence of which latter article, all such ordinances and institutions as he thought fit to establish must be received as obligatory and of divine authority.

The Mohammedans divide their religion, which as I just now said they call *Islâm*, into two distinct parts *Imân*, i. e. *faith* or theory, and *Dîn*, i. e. *religion*, or practice, and teach that it is built on five fundamental points, one belonging to faith, and the other four to practice.

The first is that confession of faith which I have already mentioned, that "there is no god but the true God, and that Mohammed is his apostle." Under which they comprehend six distinct branches *viz.* 1 Belief in God, 2 In his angels, 3 In his scriptures, 4 In his pro-

⁴ Sionita, de Urb. Orient. p. 41, et Marracc de Alc. p. 33 ⁵ Reland, de Rel. Moh. p. 235. ⁶ The root *Salama*, from whence *Islam* is formed, in the first and fourth conjugations, signifies also to be saved, or to enter into a state of salvation, according to which *Islâm* may be translated the religion or state of salvation, but the other sense is more approved by the Mohammedans, and alluded to in the Koran itself. See c. 2, p. 16, and c. 3, p. 37

phets, 5 In the resurrection and day of judgment, and, 6 In God's absolute decree and predetermination both of good and evil.

The four points relating to practice are, 1 Prayer, under which are comprehended those washings or purifications which are necessary preparations required before prayer, 2 Alms, 3 Fasting, and, 4. The pilgrimage to Mecca. Of each of these I shall speak in their order

That both Mohammed and those among his followers who are reckoned orthodox had, and continue to have, just and true notions of God and his attributes (always excepting their obstinate and impious rejecting of the Trinity), appears so plain from the Korân itself, and all the Mohammedan divines, that it would be loss of time to refute those who suppose the God of Mohammed to be different from the true God, and only a fictitious deity or idol of his own creation.⁷ Nor shall I here enter into any of the Mohammedan controversies concerning the divine nature and attributes, because I shall have a more proper opportunity of doing it elsewhere.⁸

The existence of angels and their purity are absolutely required to be believed in the Korân, and he is reckoned an infidel who denies there are such beings, or hates any of them,⁹ or asserts any distinction of sexes among them. They believe them to have pure and subtle bodies, created of fire,¹ that they neither eat nor drink, nor propagate their species, that they have various forms and offices, some adoring God in different postures,² others singing praises to him, or interceding for mankind. They hold that some of them are employed in writing down the actions of men, others in carrying the throne of God and other services.

The four angels whom they look on as more eminently in God's favour, and often mention on account of the offices assigned them, are Gabriel, to whom they give several titles, particularly those of the *holy spirit*,³ and the *angel of revelations*,⁴ supposing him to be honoured by God with a greater confidence than any other, and to be employed in writing down the divine decrees,⁵ Michael, the friend and protector of the Jews,⁶ Azrael, the *angel of death*, who separates men's souls from their bodies,⁷ and Israfil, whose office it will be to sound the trumpet at the resurrection.⁸ The Mohammedans also believe that two guardian angels attend on every man, to observe and write down his actions,⁹ being changed every day, and therefore called *al Moakkibât*, or the angels who continually *succeed* one another

This whole doctrine concerning angels Mohammed and his disciples have borrowed from the Jews, who learned the names and offices of those beings from the Persians, as themselves confess.¹⁰ The ancient Persians firmly believed the ministry of angels, and their superintendence over the affairs of this world (as the Magians still do), and therefore assigned them distinct charges and provinces, giving their names to their months and the days of their months. Gabriel they called *Sorûsh* and *Revân bakhsh*, or the *giver of souls*, in opposition to the contrary office of the angel of death, to whom among other names, they gave that of *Mordâd*, or, the *giver of death*. Michael they called *Beahter*, who, according to them, provides sustenance

⁷ Marracc. in Alc. p 102. ⁸ Sect VIII. ⁹ Koran c. 2, p 13. ¹ Ibid c. 7, and 38, ² Ibid c. 2 p 12. ³ See the notes, Ibid p. 13. ⁴ Vide Hyde, Hist. Bel. Vet. Pers. p 262. ⁵ Vide Ibid p. 271, and note in Kor. p. 15. ⁶ Vide note y, Ibid. p. 4. ⁷ Kor. chap 6, 13, and 86. The offices of these four angels are described almost in the same manner in the apocryphal gospel of Barnabas, where it is said that Gabriel reveals the secrets of God Michael combats against his enemies, Raphael recovers the souls of those who die, and Uriel is to call every one to judgment on the last day See the Menagiana, tom. iv p 333. ⁸ Kor c. 10. ⁹ Talmud Hieros. in Roah hashan

for mankind¹ The Jews teach that the angels were created of fire² that they have several offices,³ that they intercede for men,⁴ and attend them.⁵ The angel of death they name Dûma, and say he calls dying persons by their respective names at their last hour⁶

The devil, whom Mohammed names Eblis, from his *despair* was once one of those angels who are nearest to God's presence, called Azazel,⁷ and fell according to the doctrine of the Koran, for refusing to pay homage to Adam at the command of God.⁸

Besides angels and devils, the Mohammedans are taught by the Korân to believe the existence of an intermediate order of creatures, which they call Jin or Genu, created also of fire,⁹ but of a grosser fabric than angels since they eat and drink, and propagate their species, and are subject to death¹ Some of these are supposed to be good, and others bad, and capable of future salvation or damnation, as men are, whence Mohammed pretended to be sent for the conversion of Genu as well as men² The Orientals pretend that these Genu inhabited the world for many ages before Adam was created, under the government of several successive princes, who all bore the common name of Solomon, but falling at length into an almost general corruption, Eblis was sent to drive them into a remote part of the earth, there to be confined, that some of that generation still remaining, were by Talmurath, one of the ancient kings of Persia, who waged war against them, forced to retreat into the famous mountains of Kif. Of which successions and wars they have many fabulous and romantic stories. They also make different ranks and degrees among these beings (if they be not rather supposed to be of a different species) some being called absolutely Jin, some Peri or fairies, some Div or giants, others Tacwins or fates³

The Mohammedan notions concerning these Genu agree almost exactly with what the Jews write of a sort of demons, called Shedim whom some fancy to have been begotten by two angels named Aza and Aziel on Maamal the daughter of Lamech, before the flood⁴ However the Shedim they tell us, agree in three things with the ministering angels, for that, like them they have wings and fly from one end of the world to the other, and have some knowledge of futurity and in three things they agree with men, like whom they eat and drink are propagated and die⁵ They also say that some believe in the law of Moses and are consequently good, and that others of them are infidels and reprobates.⁶

As to the Scriptures, the Mohammedans are taught by the Koran that God, in divers ages of the world, gave revelations of his will in writing to several prophets, the whole and every word of which it is absolutely necessary for a good Moslem to believe. The number of these sacred books was, according to them, 104 Of which ten were given to Adam, fifty to Seth, thirty to Edris or Enoch ten to Abraham, and the other four, being the Pentateuch, the Psalms the Gospel and the Koran were successively delivered to⁷ Moses David, Jesus, and Mohammed, which last being the seal of the prophets those revelations are now closed, and no more are to be expected. All these divine books, except the four last, they

¹ Vide Hyde ubi sup c xix and xx ² Gemar in Hagig and Bereshit rabbah &c Vide P'alm civ 4. ³ Yalkut hadash ⁴ Gemar in Shebet, and Bava Bathra, &c ⁵ Midrash Yalkut Shemûni ⁶ Gemar Berachoth Vide Reland de Rel Moh p 189 &c ⁷ Koran c 2, p 5 See also c 7 18 &c ⁸ Koran, c 55 See the notes there ⁹ Jallalo din in Koran, c 2, and 18 ¹ Vide Koran c 55, 72, and 74 ² See D'Herbelot Bibl. Orient. p 369, 820, &c. ³ In libro Zohar ⁴ Gemara, in Hagiga. ⁵ Igrot Baale hayyim c 15

agree to be now entirely lost, and their contents unknown, though the Sabians have several books which they attribute to some of the antediluvian prophets. And of those four, the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospel, they say, have undergone so many alterations and corruptions, that though there may possibly be some part of the true word of God therein, yet no credit is to be given to the present copies in the hands of the Jews and Christians. The Jews in particular are frequently reflected on in the Koran for falsifying and corrupting their copies of their law, and some instances of such pretended corruptions, both in that book and the two others, are produced by Mohammedan writers, wherein they merely follow their own prejudices, and the fabulous accounts of spurious legends. Whether they have any copy of the Pentateuch among them different from that of the Jews or not, I am not entirely satisfied, since a person who travelled into the east was told, that they had the books of Moses, though very much corrupted,⁷ but I know nobody that has ever seen them. However they certainly have and privately read a book which they call the Psalms of David, in Arabic and Persian, to which are added some prayers of Moses, Jonas, and others.⁸ This Mr Reland supposes to be a translation from our copies (though no doubt falsified in more places than one), but M D Herbelot says it contains not the same Psalms which are in our Psalter, being no more than an extract from thence mixed with other very different pieces.⁹ The easiest way to reconcile these two learned gentlemen is to presume that they speak of different copies. The Mohammedans have also a Gospel in Arabic, attributed to St. Barnabas, wherein the history of Jesus Christ is related in a manner very different from what we find in the true Gospels, and correspondent to those traditions which Mohammed has followed in his Koran. Of this Gospel the Moriscoes in Africa have a translation in Spanish,¹⁰ and there is in the library of prince Eugene of Savoy a manuscript of some antiquity, containing an Italian translation of the same Gospel,¹¹ made it is to be supposed, for the use of renegades. This book appears to be no original forgery of the Mohammedans, though they have no doubt interpolated and altered it since, the better to serve their purpose, and in particular, instead of the Paraclete or Comforter,¹² they have in this apocryphal gospel inserted the word Periclyte, that is, the famous or illustrious by which they pretend their prophet was foretold by name, that being the signification of Mohammed in Arabic¹³ and this they say to justify that passage of the Koran,¹⁴ where Jesus Christ is formally asserted to have foretold his coming, under his other name of Ahmed, which is derived from the same root as Mohammed, and of the same import. From these or some other forgeries of the same stamp it is that the Mohammedans quote several passages of which there are not the least footsteps in the New Testament. But after all we must not hence infer that the Mohammedans, much less all of them, hold these copies of theirs to be the ancient and genuine Scriptures themselves. If any argue, from the corruption which they insist has happened to the Pentateuch and Gospel, that the Koran may possibly be corrupted also, they answer, that God has promised that he will take care of the latter, and preserve it from any addition or diminution,¹⁵ but that he left the two others to the care of men. However, they confess there are some various readings in the Koran,¹⁶ as has been observed.

⁷ Terry's Voyage to the East Indies, p. 277. ⁸ De Rel Moham p. 23. ⁹ A copy of this kind he tells us is in the library of the Duke of Tuscany, Bibl. Orient p. 924.
¹⁰ Reland, ubi sup. ¹¹ Menagian tom iv p. 321, &c. ¹² John xiv 16, 26, xv 26, and xvi 7, compared with Luke, xxiv 49. ¹³ See Toland's Nazarenus, the first eight chapters. ¹⁴ Chap. 61. ¹⁵ Kor c. 15. ¹⁶ Reland, ubi sup p. 24, 27.

Besides the books above mentioned, the Mohammedans also take notice of the writings of Daniel and several other prophets, and even make quotations thence but these they do not believe to be divine scripture, or of any authority in matters of religion.⁷

The number of the prophets, which have been from time to time sent by God into the world, amounts to no less than 224,000, according to one Mohammedan tradition, or to 154,000, according to another, among whom 313 were apostles, sent with special commissions to reclaim mankind from infidelity and superstition, and six of them brought new laws or dispensations, which successively abrogated the preceding these were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed. All the prophets in general the Mohammedans believe to have been free from great sins, and errors of consequence, and professors of one and the same religion, that is Islam, notwithstanding the different laws and institutions which they observed. They allow of degrees among them, and hold some of them to be more excellent and honourable than others.⁸ The first place they give to the revealers and establishers of new dispensations, and the next to the apostles.

In this great number of prophets they not only reckon divers patriarchs and persons named in Scripture but not recorded to have been prophets, (wherein the Jewish and Christian writers have sometimes led the way⁹), as Adam Seth Lot, Ismael, Nun Joshua, &c., and introduce some of them under different names, as Enoch, Heber, and Jethro who are called in the Koran, Edris, Hud and Shoub, but several others, whose very names do not appear in Scripture (though they endeavour to find some persons there to fix them on) as Saleh, Khedr Dhulkell, &c. Several of their fabulous traditions concerning these prophets we shall occasionally mention in the notes on the Koran.

As Mohammed acknowledged the divine authority of the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospel he often appeals to the consonancy of the Koran with those writings, and to the prophecies which he pretended were therein concerning himself as proofs of his mission and he frequently charges the Jews and Christians with stifling the passages which bear witness to him.¹ His followers also fail not to produce several texts even from our present copies of the Old and New Testament, to support their master's cause.

The next article of faith required by the Koran is the belief of a general resurrection and a future judgment. But before we consider the Mohammedan tenets in those points, it will be proper to mention what they are taught to believe concerning the intermediate state, both of the body and of the soul, after death.

When a corpse is laid in the grave they say he is received by an angel, who gives him notice of the coming of the two Examiners, who are two black livid angels, of a terrible appearance, named Monker and Nakir. These order the dead person to sit upright, and examine him concerning his faith as to the unity of God, and the mission of Mohammed: if he answer rightly, they suffer the body to rest in peace, and it is refreshed by the air of paradise, but if not, they beat him on the temples with iron maces, till he roars out for anguish so loud that he is heard by all from east to west, except men and jinn. Then they press the earth on the

⁷ Reland ubi sup. p. 41. ⁸ Kor. c. 2. f. 30. &c. ⁹ Thus Heber is said to have been a prophet by the Jews. Seder Olam i. 2; and Adam by Epiphanius. Adv. Hæres. p. 6. See also Ios. ph. Ant. lib. i. c. 2. Kor. c. 2. pp. 6, 12, 18, c. 3, &c. Some of these texts are produced by Dr. Prideaux at the end of his Life of Mohammed, and more by Marracci in A. cor. p. 20, &c.

corpse, which is gnawed and stung till the resurrection by ninety-nine dragons with seven heads each or, as others say, their sins will become venomous beasts, the grievous ones stinging like dragons, the smaller like scorpions, and the others like serpents—circumstances which some understand in a figurative sense.³

This examination of the sepulchre is not only founded on an express tradition of Mohammed, but is also plainly hinted at, though not directly taught, in the Korân,⁴ as the commentators agree. It is therefore believed by the orthodox Mohammedans in general, who take care to have their graves made hollow, that they may sit up with more ease while they are examined by the angels,⁵ but is utterly rejected by the sect of the Motázalites, and perhaps by some others.

These notions Mohammed certainly borrowed from the Jews, among whom they were very anciently received.⁶ They say that the angel of death coming and sitting on the grave, the soul immediately enters the body and raises it on its feet, that he then examines the departed person, and strikes him with a chain half of iron and half of fire, at the first blow all his limbs are loosened at the second the bones are scattered, which are gathered together again by angels and the third stroke reduces the body to dust and ashes and it returns into the grave. This rack or torture they call Hibbut hakker or the beating of the sepulchre, and pretend that all men in general must undergo it except only those who die on the evening of the sabbath or have dwelt in the land of Israel.⁷

If it be objected to the Mohammedans that the cry of the persons under such examination has been never heard, or if they be asked how those can undergo it whose bodies are burnt or devoured by beasts or birds, or otherwise consumed without burial they answer, that it is very possible notwithstanding since men are not able to perceive what is transacted on the other side the grave, and that it is sufficient to restore to life any part of the body which is capable of understanding the questions put by the angels.⁸

As to the soul they hold that when it is separated from the body by the angel of death who performs his office with ease and gentleness towards the good and with violence towards the wicked,⁹ it enters into that state which they call al Perzakh¹ or the interval between death and the resurrection. If the departed person was a believer, they say two angels meet it who convey it to heaven, that its place there may be assigned, according to its merit and degree. For they distinguish the souls of the faithful into three classes: the first of prophets, whose souls are admitted into paradise immediately, the second of martyrs, whose spirits, according to a tradition of Mohammed, rest in the crops of green birds which eat of the fruits and drink of the river of paradise, and the third of other believers, concerning the state of whose souls before the resurrection there are various opinions. For, 1 Some say they stay near the sepulchres, with liberty however of going wherever they please, which they confirm from Mohammed's manner of saluting them at their graves, and his affirming that the dead heard those salutations as well as the living, though they could not answer. Whence perhaps proceeded the custom of visiting the tombs of relations, so common among the Mohammedans.² 2 Others

³ Al Ghazali. Vide Poc. not. in Port Moiss, p. 241, &c.

&c. ⁴ Smith, De Morib. et Institut. Furcar. Ep. ii. p. 57.

notis ad Bobov. de Vinit. Agrot. p. 19. ⁵ R. Elias, in Tishbi. See also Buxtorf.

Hynag. Judaic. and Lexic. Talmud. ⁶ Vide Poc. ubi sup.

⁷ Kor. c. 79. The Jews say the same in Nishmat bayam, f. 77. ⁸ Vide Kor. c. 23, and note ibid.

⁹ Poc. ubi sup. p. 247.

imagine they are with Adam, in the lowest heaven, and also support their opinion by the authority of their prophet, who gave out that in his return from the upper heavens in his pretended night journey, he saw there the souls of those who were destined to paradise on the right hand of Adam, and of those who were condemned to hell on his left.³ 3 Others fancy the souls of believers remain in the well Zemzem, and those of infidels in a certain well in the province of Hadramaut, called Borbut, but this opinion is branded as heretical. 4 Others say they stay near the graves for seven days, but that whither they go afterwards is uncertain. 5 Others, that they are all in the trumpet whose sound is to raise the dead. And, 6 Others, that the souls of the good dwell in the forms of white birds, under the throne of God.⁴ As to the condition of the souls of the wicked, besides the opinions that have been already mentioned, the more orthodox hold that they are offered by the angels to heaven, from whence being repulsed as stinking and filthy, they are offered to the earth and being also refused a place there, are carried down to the seventh earth, and thrown into a dungeon, which they call Sajin, under a green rock, or according to a tradition of Mohammed, under the devils jaw,⁵ to be there tormented, till they are called up to be joined again to their bodies.

Though some among the Mohammedans have thought that the resurrection will be merely spiritual and no more than the returning of the soul to the place whence it first came (in opinion defended by Lbn Sina⁶ and called by some the opinion of the philosophers), and others who allow man to consist of body only, that it will be merely corporeal, the received opinion is, that both body and soul will be raised, and their doctors argue strenuously for the possibility of the resurrection of the body, and dispute with great subtlety concerning the manner of it.⁸ But Mohammed has taken care to preserve one part of the body, whatever becomes of the rest to serve for a basis of the future edifice or rather a heaven for the mass which is to be joined to it. For he taught, that a man's body was entirely consumed by the earth, except only the bone called Ajb which we name the os coccygis, or rump bone, and that as it was the first formed in the human body, it will also remain uncorrupted till the last day as a seed from whence the whole is to be renewed and this he said will be effected by a forty days rain which God should send, and which would cover the earth to the height of twelve cubits, and cause the bodies to sprout forth like plants.⁹ Herein also is Mohammed beholden to the Jews, who say the same things of the bone Luz,¹ excepting that what he attributes to a great rain will be effected according to them by a dew, impregnating the dust of the earth.

The time of the resurrection the Mohammedans allow to be a perfect secret to all but God alone, the angel Gabriel himself acknowledging his ignorance in this point when Mohammed asked him about it. However they say the approach of that day may be known from certain signs which are to precede it. These signs they distinguish into two sorts the lesser, and the greater, which I shall briefly enumerate after Dr Pocock.²

The lesser signs are, 1 The decay of faith among men.³ 2 The advancing of the meanest persons to eminent dignity. 3 That a maid servant shall become the mother of her mistress (or master), by which is

³ Poc ubi sup p 248. Consonant hereto are the Jewish notions of the souls of the just being, on high, under the throne of glory. Vide ibid p 156. ⁴ Ibid p 250. ⁵ Al Bidawi. Vide Poc ubi sup p 252. ⁶ Or as we corruptly name him Avicenna. ⁷ Kenz al afkar. ⁸ Vide Poc ubi sup p 244. ⁹ Idem ibid p 256, &c. ¹ Bereshit rabbah &c. Vide Poc. ubi sup p 117, &c. ² Ibidem. 258 &c. ³ See Luke xviii 8.

meant either that towards the end of the world men shall be much given to sensuality, or that the Mohammedans shall then take many captives.

4 Tumults and seditions 5 A war with the Turks 6 Great distress in the world, so that a man when he passes by another's grave shall say, Would to God I were in his place! 7 That the provinces of Irak and Syria shall refuse to pay their tribute. And, 8 That the buildings of Medina shall reach to Ahab, or Yahab

The greater signs are,

1 The sun's rising in the west Which some have imagined it originally did ⁴

2 The appearance of the beast, which shall rise out of the earth, in the temple of Mecca, or on mount Safa, or in the territory of Tiyef, or some other place This beast they say is to be sixty cubits high, though others, not satisfied with so small a size will have her reach to the clouds and to heaven, when her head only is out, and that she will appear for three days, but show only a third part of her body They describe this monster, as to her form to be a compound of various species, having the head of a bull the eyes of a hog, the ears of an elephant, the horns of a stag the neck of an ostrich the breast of a lion, the colour of a tiger, the back of a cat, the tail of a ram, the legs of a camel, and the voice of an ass Some say this beast is to appear three times in several places, and that she will bring with her the rod of Moses, and the seal of Solomon, and being so swift that none can overtake or escape her, will with the first strike all the believers on the face and mark them with the word Mumen *i. e. believer*, and with the latter will mark the unbelievers on the face likewise, with the word *Kafir*, *i. e. infidel* that every person may be known for what he really is They add that the same beast is to demonstrate the vanity of all religions except Islam and to speak Arabic All this stuff seems to be the result of a confused idea of the beast in the Revelations ⁵

3 War with the Greeks, and the taking of Constantinople by seventy thousand of the posterity of Isaac who shall not win that city by force of arms, but the walls shall fall down while they are out, *There is no god but God God is most great* As they are dividing the spoil, news will come to them of the appearance of Antichrist, whereupon they shall leave all, and return back

4 The coming of Antichrist whom the Mohammedans call al Masih al Dajjal, *i. e. the false or lying Christ* and simply al Dajjal He is to be one eyed, and marked on the forehead with the letters C F R signifying *Kafir* or *infidel* They say that the Jews give him the name of Messiah Ben David, and pretend he is to come in the last days, and to be lord both of land and sea and that he will restore the kingdom to them According to the traditions of Mohammed he is to appear first between Irak and Syria or according to others in the province of Khorasan, they add that he is to ride on an ass, that he will be followed by seventy thousand Jews of Ispahan, and continue on earth forty days, of which one will be equal in length to a year, another to a month, another to a week, and the rest will be common days, that he is to lay waste all places, but will not enter Mecca or Medina, which are to be guarded by angels, and that at length he will be slain by Jesus, who is to encounter him at the gate of Lud It is said that Mohammed foretold several Antichrists, to the number of about thirty, but one of greater note than the rest.

5 The descent of Jesus on earth They pretend that he is to descend

⁴ See Whiston's Theory of the Earth, book ii. p. 98, &c. ⁵ Chap. xiii.

near the white tower to the east of Damascus, when the people are returned from the taking of Constantinople, that he is to embrace the Mohammedan religion, marry a wife, get children, kill Antichrist, and at length die after forty years, or according to others twenty-four years' continuance on earth. Under him they say there will be great security and plenty in the world, all hatred and malice being laid aside, when lions and camels, bears and sheep shall live in peace, and a child shall play with serpents unhurt.⁷

6 War with the Jews, of whom the Mohammedans are to make a prodigious slaughter, the very trees and stones discovering such of them as hide themselves, except only the tree called Gharkad, which is the tree of the Jews.

7 The eruption of Gog and Magog, or as they are called in the east, Yujj and Mijj, of whom many things are related in the Koran,⁸ and the traditions of Mohammed. These barbarians, they tell us, having passed the lake of Tiberias, which the vanguard of their vast army will drink dry, will come to Jerusalem, and there greatly distress Jesus and his companions, till at his request God will destroy them, and fill the earth with their carcasses, which after some time God will send birds to carry away, at the prayers of Jesus and his followers. Their bows, arrows, and quivers the Moslems will burn for seven years together,⁹ and at last God will send a rain to cleanse the earth and to make it fertile.

8 A smoke, which shall fill the whole earth.¹

9 An eclipse of the moon. Mohammed is reported to have said, that there would be three eclipses before the last hour, one to be seen in the east, another in the west, and the third in Arabia.

10 The returning of the Arabs to the worship of Allah and of Allah's messengers, and the rest of their ancient idols, after the decease of every one in whose heart there was faith equal to a grain of mustard seed, none but the very worst of men being left alive. For God, they say, will send a cold and ferocious wind, blowing from Syria Damascus, which shall sweep away the souls of all the faithful and the Koran itself, so that men will remain in the grossest ignorance for a hundred years.

11 The discovery of a vast heap of gold and silver by the retreating of the Euphrates, which will be the destruction of man.

12 The demolition of the Caaba, or temple of Mecca by the Ethiopians.²

13 The speaking of beasts and inanimate things.

14 The breaking out of fire in the province of Hijaz, or, according to others, in Yaman.

15 The appearance of a man of the descendants of Kahtân, who shall drive men before him with his staff.

16 The coming of the Mohdi, or director, concerning whom Mohammed prophesied, that the world should not have an end till one of his own family should govern the Arabians, whose name should be the same with his own name, and whose father's name should also be the same with his father's name, and who should fill the earth with righteousness. His person the Shites believe to be now alive, and concealed in some secret place, till the time of his manifestation, for they suppose him to be no other than the last of the twelve Imams, named Mohammed Abul'kaseim, as their prophet was, and the son of Hassan al Askeri, the eleventh of that succession. He was born at Sermanrai in the two hundred and fifty fifth

* Al Thalabi, in Kor chap 4. † See Isaiah xi 6, &c. • Chap 18 and 21

• See Ezek xxxix 9. Revil xx 8. † See Koran chap 44 and the notes thereon are also Joel ii. 30, and Rev ix. 2. ‡ See after, in this section.

year of the Hejra.³ From this tradition, it is to be presumed, an opinion pretty current among the Christians took its rise, that the Monammedans⁴ are in expectation of their prophet's return.

17 A wind which shall sweep away the souls of all who have but a grain of faith in their hearts, as has been mentioned under the tenth sign.

These are the greater signs which, according to their doctrine, are to precede the resurrection, but still leave the hour of it uncertain for the immediate sign of its being come will be the first blast of the trumpet, which they believe will be sounded three times. The first they call the *blast of consternation*, at the hearing of which all creatures in heaven and earth shall be struck with terror, except those whom God shall please to exempt from it. The effects attributed to this first sound of the trumpet are very wonderful for they say, the earth will be shaken, and not only all buildings, but the very mountains, levelled, that the heavens shall melt, the sun be darkened, the stars fall on the death of the angels, who, as some imagine, hold them suspended between heaven and earth, and the sea shall be troubled and dried up, or, according to others, turned into flames, the sun, moon, and stars being thrown into it. The Koran, to express the greatness of the terror of that day, adds that women who give suck shall abandon the care of their infants, and even the she camels which have gone ten months with young (a most valuable part of the substance of that nation) shall be utterly neglected. A farther effect of this blast will be that concourse of beasts mentioned in the Koran,⁵ though some doubt whether it be to precede the resurrection or not. They who suppose it will precede, think that all kinds of animals, forgetting their respective natural fierceness and timidity, will run together into one place being terrified by the sound of the trumpet and the sudden shock of nature.

The Mohammedans believe that this first blast will be followed by a second, which they call the *blast of exanimation*,⁶ when all creatures both in heaven and earth shall die or be annihilated except those which God shall please to exempt from the common fate,⁶ and this, they say, shall happen in the twinkling of an eye nay in an instant, nothing surviving except God alone, with paradise and hell, and the inhabitants of those two places, and the throne of glory.⁷ The last who shall die will be the angel of death.

Forty years after this will be heard the *blast of resurrection*, when the trumpet shall be sounded the third time by Israfil who, together with Gabriel and Michael, will be previously restored to life, and standing on the rock of the temple of Jerusalem,⁸ shall at God's command call together all the dry and rotten bones, and other dispersed parts of the bodies, and the very hairs, to judgment. This angel having by the divine order, set the trumpet to his mouth and called together all the souls from all parts, will throw them into his trumpet from whence on his giving the last sound, at the command of God, they shall fly forth like bees, and fill the whole space between heaven and earth, and then repair to their respective bodies, which the opening earth will suffer to arise, and the first who shall so arise

³ Vide D Herbel Bibl Orient p 531. ⁴ Chap 81. ⁵ Several writers, however make no distinction between this blast and the first, supposing the trumpet will sound but twice. See the notes to Kor chap 39. ⁶ Kor chap. 39. ⁷ To these some add the spirit who bears the waters on which the throne is placed, the *preserved Table* wherein the decrees of God are registered and the pen wherewith they are written all which things the Mohammedans imagine were created before the world. ⁸ In this circumstance the Mohammedans follow the Jews, who also agree that the trumpet will sound more than once. Vide R. Bechai in Buir hattorah, and Otieth shel R. A. L. L.

according to a tradition of Mohammed, will be himself. For this birth the earth will be prepared by the rain above mentioned, which is to fall continually for forty years,^o and will resemble the seed of a man, and be supplied from the water under the throne of God, which is called *living water*, by the efficacy and virtue of which the dead bodies shall spring forth from their graves, as they did in their mother's womb, or as corn sprouts forth by common rain, till they become perfect, after which, breath will be breathed into them and they will sleep in their sepulchres till they are raised to life at the last trump.

As to the length of the day of judgment the Koran in one place tells us that it will last one thousand years,¹ and in another fifty thousand.² To reconcile this apparent contradiction, the commentators use several shifts, some saying, they know not what measure of time God intends in those passages, others that these forms of speaking are figurative, and not to be strictly taken and were designed only to express the terribleness of that day, it being usual for the Arabs to describe what they dislike as of long continuance, and what they like as the contrary, and others suppose them spoken only in reference to the difficulty of the business of the day, which if God should commit to any of his creatures, they would not be able to go through it in so many thousand years, to omit some other opinions which we may take notice of elsewhere.

Having said so much in relation to the time of the resurrection, let us now see who are to be raised from the dead, in what manner and form they shall be raised, in what place they shall be assembled, and to what end, according to the doctrine of the Mohammedans.

That the resurrection will be general, and extend to all creatures, both angels, good men, and animals is the received opinion, which they support by the authority of the Koran, though that passage which is produced to prove the resurrection of brutes be otherwise interpreted by some.³

The manner of their resurrection will be very different. Those who are destined to be partakers of eternal happiness will arise in honour and beauty, and those who are doomed to misery, in disgrace and under dismal apprehensions. As to mankind, they say that they will be raised perfect in all their parts and members, and in the same state as they came out of their mother's womb: that is barefooted, naked, and uncircumcised, which circumstances when Mohammed was telling his wife A'isha she feared, the rules of modesty might be thereby violated, objected that it would be very indecent for men and women to look upon one another in that condition: but he answered her, that the business of the day would be too weighty and serious to allow them the making use of that liberty. Others however allege the authority of their prophet for a contrary opinion as to their nakedness, and pretend he asserted that the dead should arise dressed in the same clothes in which they died,⁴ unless we interpret these words as some do not so much of the outward dress of the body, as the inward clothing of the mind, and understand thereby that every person will rise again in the same state as to his faith or infidelity, knowledge or ignorance, his good or bad works. Mohammed is also said to have farther taught, by another tradition, that mankind shall be assembled at the last day, distinguished into three classes. The first, of those who go on foot,

^o Elsewhere (see def. re. § 56) this rain is said to continue only forty days, but it rather seems that it is to fall during the whole interval between the second and third blasts. ¹ Kor chap. 32. ² Ib chap. 70. ³ See the notes to Kor chap. 81, and the preceding page. ⁴ In this also they follow their old guides, the Jews who say that if the wheat which is sown naked rise clothed it is no wonder the pious who are buried in their clothes should rise with them. (Gemar. Sanedr. fol. 80.)

the second, of those who ride, and the third, of those who creep grovelling with their faces on the ground. The first class is to consist of those believers whose good works have been few, the second of those who are in greater honour with God, and more acceptable to him, whence Ali affirmed that the pious, when they come forth from the sepulchres, shall find ready prepared for them white winged camels, with saddles of gold, wherein are to be observed some footsteps of the doctrine of the ancient Arabians,⁵ and the third class, they say, will be composed of the infidels, whom God shall cause to make their appearance with their faces on the earth blind, dumb, and deaf. But the ungodly will not be thus only distinguished, for, according to a tradition of the prophet there will be ten sorts of wicked men on whom God shall on that day fix certain discretoary marks. The first will appear in the form of apes, these are the professors of Zencicism the second in that of swine, these they who have been greedy of filthy lucre, and enriched themselves by public oppression the third will be brought with their heads reversed, and their feet distorted, these are the usurers the fourth will wander about blind, these are unjust judges the fifth will be deaf, dumb, and blind, understanding nothing, these are they who glory in their works the sixth will gnaw their tongues, which will hang down upon their breasts corrupted blood flowing from their mouths like spittle, so that every body shall detest them, these are the learned men and doctors, whose actions contradict their sayings the seventh will have their hands and feet cut off, these are they who have injured their neighbours the eighth will be fixed to the trunks of palm trees or stakes of wood, these are the false accusers and informers the ninth will stink worse than a corrupted corpse, these are they who have indulged their passions and voluptuous appetites but refused God such part of their wealth as was due to him the tenth will be clothed with garments daubed with pitch, and these are the proud, the vainglorious, and the arrogant.

As to the place where they are to be assembled to judgment the Koran and the traditions of Mohammed agree that it will be on the earth but in what part of the earth it is not agreed. Some say their prophet mentioned Syria for the place, others, a white and even tract of land, without inhabitants or any signs of buildings. Al Ghizali imagines it will be a second earth, which he supposes to be of silver, and others an earth which has nothing in common with ours but the name, having it is possible heard something of the new heavens and new earth mentioned in Scripture whence the Koran has this expression, "on the day wherein the earth shall be changed into another earth."⁶

The end of the resurrection the Mohammedans declare to be, that they who are so raised may give an account of their actions and receive the reward thereof. And they believe that not only mankind, but the genus and irrational animals also⁷ shall be judged on this great day, when the unarmed cattle shall take vengeance on the horned, till entire satisfaction shall be given to the injured.⁸

⁵ See before sect 1 p 15. ⁶ Chap 14. ⁷ Kor chap vi Vide Maimonid. More Nev part 3 chap 17. ⁸ This opinion the learned Greaves supposed to have taken its rise from the following words of Esaias wrongly understood, "And as for ye, O my flock thus saith the Lord God Behold I judge between cattle and cattle, between the rams and the he goats—Behold I even I will judge between the fat cattle, and between the lean cattle because ye have thrust with side and with shoulder and pushed all the diseased with your horns till you have scattered them abroad therefore will I save my flock and they shall no more be a prey, and I will judge between cattle and cattle," &c. Esaias xxxiv 17, 20 21, 22. Much might be said concerning brutes deserving future reward and punishment. See Bayle Dict. Hist Art. Koran. Rem D &c.

As to mankind, they hold that when they are all assembled together, they will not be immediately brought to judgment, but the angels will keep them in their ranks and order while they attend for that purpose and this attendance some say is to last forty years, others seventy, others three hundred nay, some say no less than fifty thousand years, each of them vouching their prophet's authority. During this space they will stand looking up to heaven, but without receiving any information or orders thence and are to suffer grievous torments, both the just and the unjust, though with manifest difference. For the limbs of the former, particularly those parts which they used to wash in making the ceremonial ablution before prayer, shall shine gloriously, and their sufferings shall be light in comparison, and shall last no longer than the time necessary to say the appointed prayers, but the latter ¹ have their faces obscured with blackness, and disfigured with all the marks of sorrow and deformity. What will then occasion not the least of their pain is a wonderful and incredible sweat, which will even stop their mouths and in which they will be immersed in various degrees according to their demerits, some to the ankles only and some to the knees, some to the middle, some so high as their mouth and others to their ears. And this sweat they say, will be provoked not only by that vast concourse of all sorts of creatures mutually pressing and treading on one another's feet but by the near and unusual approach of the sun, which will be then no farther from them than the distance of a mile, or (as some translate the word, the signification of which is ambiguous) than the length of a bodkin. So that their skulls will boil like a pot ² and they will be all bathed in sweat. From this inconvenience, however, the good will be protected by the shade of God's throne, but the wicked will be so miserably tormented with it, and also with hunger and thirst and a stinging air, that they will cry out *Lord, deliver us from this anguish, though thou send us into hell-fire* ³ What they faule of the extraordinary heat of the sun on this occasion the Mohammedans certainly borrowed from the Jews, who say that, for the punishment of the wicked on the last day, that planet shall be drawn forth from its sheath in which it is now put up, lest it should destroy all things by its excessive heat ⁴.

When those who have risen shall have waited the limited time the Mohammedans believe God will at length appear to judge them, Mohammed undertaking the office of intercessor, after it shall have been declined by Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Jesus, who shall beg deliverance only for their own souls. They say that on this solemn occasion God will come in the clouds, surrounded by angels, and will produce the books wherein the actions of every person are recorded by their guardian angels, ⁵ and will command the prophets to bear witness against those to whom they have been respectively sent. Then every one will be examined concerning all his words and actions, uttered and done by him in this life, not as if God needed any information in those respects, but to oblige the person to make public confession and acknowledgment of God's justice. The particulars of which they shall give an account, as Mohammed himself enumerated them, are of their time, how they spent it, of their wealth, by what means they acquired it, and how they employed it, of their bodies, wherein they exercised them, of their knowledge and learning, what use they made of them. It is said, however, that Mohammed has affirmed that no less than seventy thousand of his followers should be permitted to

¹ Al Ghazali.
before, p. 51.

² Idem

³ Vide Pocock, Not. in Port. Mosia, p. 277

⁴ See

enter paradise without any previous examination, which seems to be contradictory to what is said above. To the questions it is said each person shall answer, and make his defence in the best manner he can, endeavouring to excuse himself by casting the blame of his evil deeds on others, so that a dispute shall arise even between the soul and the body, to which of them their guilt ought to be imputed. The soul saying, "O Lord, my body I received from thee, for thou createdst me without a hand to lay hold with, a foot to walk with, an eye to see with, or an understanding to apprehend with, till I came and entered into this body, therefore punish it eternally, but deliver me." The body on the other side will make this apology, "O Lord, thou createdst me like a stock of wood, having neither hand that I could lay hold with, nor foot that I could walk with, till this soul, like a ray of light, entered into me, and my tongue began to speak, my eye to see, and my foot to walk, therefore punish it eternally, but deliver me." But God will propound to them the following parable of the blind man and the lame man, which, as well as the preceding dispute, was borrowed by the Mohammedans from the Jews.⁴ A certain king having a pleasant garden, in which were ripe fruits, set two persons to keep it, one of whom was blind, and the other lame, the former not being able to see the fruit, nor the latter to gather it, the lame man, however, seeing the fruit, persuaded the blind man to take him upon his shoulders, and by that means he easily gathered the fruit, which they divided between them. The lord of the garden coming some time after, and inquiring after his fruit, each began to excuse himself, the blind man said he had no eyes to see with, and the lame man that he had no feet to approach the trees. But the king, ordering the lame man to be set on the blind, passed sentence on and punished them both. And in the same manner will God deal with the body and the soul. As these apologies will not avail on that day, so will it also be in vain for any one to deny his evil actions, since men and angels and his own members, nay, the very earth itself, will be ready to bear witness against him.

Though the Mahomedans assign so long a space for the attendance of the resuscitated before their trial, yet they tell us the trial itself will be over in much less time, and, according to an expression of Mohammed, familiar enough to the Arabs, will last no longer than while one may milk an ewe or than the space between two milkings of a she-camel.⁵ Some, explaining those words so frequently used in the Korân, 'God will be swift in taking an account, say that he will judge all creatures in the space of half a day, and others that it will be done in less time than the twinkling of an eye.'⁶

At this examination they also believe that each person will have the book wherein all the actions of his life are written delivered to him, which books the righteous will receive in their right hand, and read with great pleasure and satisfaction, but the ungodly will be obliged to take them against their wills in their left,⁷ which will be bound behind their backs, their right hand being tied up to their necks.⁸

To show the exact justice which will be observed on this great day of trial, the next thing they describe is the *balance*, wherein all things shall be weighed. They say it will be held by Gabriel and that it is of so vast a size, that its two scales, one of which hangs over paradise, and the other over hell, are capacious enough to contain both heaven and earth. Though

⁴ Gemara, Sanhedr chap xi. R Jos Alk. Sern. 4 chap xxxiii. See also Epiphani in Ancorata sect. lxxxix. ⁵ The Arabs use, after they have drawn some milk from the camel to wait awhile and let her young one suck a little that she may give down her milk more plentifully at the second milking. ⁶ Powers, Not. l. 1. art. Mosu. p. 278—282. See also her chap. 2 p. 24. ⁷ Kor chap 17, 18, 69 and 82. ⁸ Talmud. 111.

some are willing to understand what is said in the Korân concerning this balance allegorically, and only as a figurative representation of God's equity, yet the more ancient and orthodox opinion is that it is to be taken literally, and since words and actions, being mere accidents, are not capable of being themselves weighed, they say that the books wherein they are written will be thrown into the scales, and according as those wherein the good or the evil actions are recorded shall preponderate, sentence will be given, those whose balances laden with their good works shall be heavy will be saved, but those whose balances are light will be condemned.¹ Nor will any one have cause to complain that God suffers any good action to pass unrewarded, because the wicked for the good they do have their reward in this life, and therefore can expect no favour in the next.

The old Jewish writers make mention as well of the books to be produced at the last day, wherein men's actions are registered,² as of the balance wherein they shall be weighed,³ and the Scripture itself seems to have given the first notion of both.⁴ But what the Persian Magi believe of the balance comes nearest to the Mohammedan opinion. They hold that on the day of judgment two angels named Mihr and Sorush, will stand on the bridge we shall describe by and by to examine every person as he passes, that the former, who represents the divine mercy, will hold a balance in his hand, to weigh the actions of men, that according to the report he shall make thereof to God sentence will be pronounced, and those whose good works are found more ponderous, if they turn the scale but by the weight of a hair, will be permitted to pass forward to paradise, but those whose good works shall be found light will be, by the other angel, who represents God's justice, precipitated from the bridge into hell.⁵

This examination being past and every one's works weighed in a just balance, that mutual retaliation will follow, according to which every creature will take vengeance one of another, or have satisfaction made them for the injuries which they have suffered. And since there will then be no other way of returning like for like, the manner of giving this satisfaction will be by taking away a proportionable part of the good works of him who offered the injury, and adding it to those of him who suffered it. Which being done if the angels (by whose ministry this is to be performed) say "Lord, we have given to every one his due, and there remaineth of this person's good works so much as equallth the weight of an ant," God will of his mercy cause it to be doubled unto him that he may be admitted into paradise, but if, on the contrary, his good works be exhausted, and there remain evil works only, and there be any who have not yet received satisfaction from him, God will order that an equal weight of their sins be added unto his, that he may be punished for them in their stead, and he will be sent to hell laden with both. This will be the method of God's dealing with mankind. As to brutes after they shall have likewise taken vengeance of one another, as we have mentioned above he will command them to be changed into dust,⁶ wicked men being reserved to more grievous punishment so that they shall cry out, on hearing this sentence pronounced on the brutes, "Would to God that we were dust also!" As to the gentils, many Mohammedans are of opinion that such of them as are true believers will undergo the same

¹ Kor chap 33 7, &c. ² Midrash Yalkut Shemuni fol 153, chap 3. ³ Gemar Sanhedr f 91 &c. ⁴ Exod xxxii 32, 33. Dan vii 10. Rev xx 12, &c. and Dan v 27. ⁵ Hyde de Rel Vet. Pers. p 245, 40. &c. ⁶ Yet they say the dog of the seven sleepers and Ezra's ass which was raised to life will, by peculiar favour be admitted into paradise. See Kor chap 18 and chap 4.

fate as the irrational animals and have no other reward than the favour of being converted into dust, and for this they quote the authority of their prophet. But this, however, is judged not so very reasonable, since the genu, being capable of putting themselves in the state of believers as well as men, must consequently deserve, as it seems, to be rewarded for their faith, as well as to be punished for their infidelity. Wherefore some entertain a more favourable opinion, and assign the believing genu a place near the confines of paradise, where they will enjoy sufficient felicity, though they be not admitted into that delightful mansion. But the unbelieving genu, it is universally agreed, will be punished eternally, and be thrown into hell with the infidels of mortal race. It may not be improper to observe, that under the denomination of unbelieving genu, the Mohammedans comprehend also the devil and his companions.⁶

The trials being over and the assembly dissolved, the Mohammedans hold, that those who are to be admitted into paradise will take the right hand way, and those who are destined to hell fire will take the left, but both of them must first pass the bridge, called in Arabic *al Siat*, which they say is laid over the midst of hell, and described to be finer than a hair, and sharper than the edge of a sword, so that it seems very difficult to conceive how any one shall be able to stand upon it. For which reason most of the sect of the Motazilites reject it as a fable, though the orthodox think it a sufficient proof of the truth of this article, that it was seriously affirmed by him who never asserted a falsehood, meaning their prophet who to add to the difficulty of the passage, has likewise declared that this bridge is beset on each side with briars and hooked thorns, which will however be no impediment to the good, for they shall pass with wonderful ease and swiftness, like lightning, or the wind, Mohammed and his Moslems leading the way, whereas the wicked, what with the slipperiness and extreme narrowness of the path the entangling of the thorns, and the extinction of the light which directed the former to paradise, will soon miss their footing, and fall down headlong into hell, which is gaping beneath them.⁷

This circumstance Mohammed seems also to have borrowed from the Magians, who teach that on the last day all mankind will be obliged to pass a bridge, which they call *Pul Chinavad*, or *Chinavar*, that is, *the strait bridge* leading directly into the other world, on the midst of which they suppose the angels, appointed by God to perform that office, will stand, who will require of every one a strict account of his actions, and weigh them in the manner we have already mentioned.⁸ It is true the Jews speak likewise of the bridge of hell, which they say is no broader than a thread, but then they do not tell us that any shall be obliged to pass it, except the idolaters, who will fall thence into perdition.⁹

As to the punishment of the wicked, the Mohammedans are taught that hell is divided into seven stories, or apartments, one below another, designed for the reception of as many distinct classes of the damned.¹ The first, which they call *Jehannum* they say will be the receptacle of those who acknowledged one God, that is the wicked Mohammedans, who, after having there been punished according to their demerits, will at length be released. The second, named *Ladhi*, they assign to the Jews, the third named *al Hotam* to the Christians, the fourth, named *al Saur*, to the Sabians, the fifth named *Sakar*, to the Magians, the sixth, named *al Jahim*, to the idolaters, and the seventh, which is the lowest and worst of all, and

⁶ Vide Kor c 18. ⁷ Poccock ubi sup p 282—289. ⁸ Hyde, de Rel Vet Pers pp 245, 402, &c. ⁹ Midrash, Talmut Reubeni, sect. Gehinnom. ¹ Kor c 18.

is called al Hāwiyat, to the hypocrites, or those who outwardly professed some religion, but in their hearts were of none.² Over each of these apartments they believe there will be set a guard of angels,³ nineteen in number,⁴ to whom the damned will confess the just judgment of God, and beg them to intercede with him for some alleviation of their pain, or that they may be delivered by being annihilated.⁵

Mohammed has, in his Korān and traditions, been very exact in describing the various torments of hell, which, according to him, the wicked will suffer both from intense heat and excessive cold. We shall however enter into no detail of them here, but only observe that the degrees of these pains will also vary, in proportion to the crimes of the sufferer, and the apartment he is condemned to, and that he who is punished most lightly of all will be shod with shoes of fire, the fervour of which will cause his scull to boil like a cauldron. The condition of these unhappy wretches, as the same prophet teaches, cannot be properly called either life or death, and their misery will be greatly increased by their despair of being delivered from that place, since according to that frequent expression in the Korān, "they must remain therein for ever." It must be remarked however, that the infidels alone will be liable to eternity of damnation for the Moslems, or those who have embraced the true religion, and have been guilty of heinous sins, will be delivered thence after they shall have expiated their crimes by their sufferings. The contrary of either of these opinions is reckoned heretical, for it is the constant orthodox doctrine of the Mohammedans that no unbeliever or idolater will ever be released nor any person who in his lifetime professed and believed the unity of God be condemned to eternal punishment. As to the time and manner of the deliverance of those believers whose evil actions shall outweigh their good, there is a tradition of Mohammed that they shall be released after they shall have been scorched and their skins burnt black and shall afterwards be admitted into paradise, and when the inhabitants of that place shall in contempt call them *infernals*, God will, on their prayers, take from them that opprobrious appellation. Others say he taught, that while they continue in hell they shall be deprived of life, or (as his words are otherwise interpreted) be cast into a most profound sleep that they may be the less sensible of their torments, and that they shall afterwards be received into paradise, and there revive on their being washed with the *water of life* though some suppose they will be restored to life before they come forth from their place of punishment, that at their bidding farewell to their pains, they may have some little taste of them. The time which these believers shall be detained there, according to a tradition handed down from their prophet, will not be less than nine hundred years, nor more than seven thousand. And as to the manner of their delivery, they say that they shall be distinguished by the marks of prostration on those parts of their bodies with which they used to touch the ground in prayer, and over which the fire will therefore have no power, and that being known by this characteristic, they will be

² Others fill these apartments with different company. Some place in the second the idolaters in the third Gog and Magog, &c. in the fourth the devils, in the fifth those who neglect alms and prayers, and crowd the Jews, Christians, and Magians together in the sixth. Some again will have the first to be prepared for the Dahrians or those who deny the creation, and believe the eternity of the world, the second, for the Dualists, or Manichees, and the idolatrous Arabs, the third, for the Bramins of the Indies, the fourth, for the Jews; the fifth, for the Christians; and the sixth for the Magians. But all agree in assigning the seventh to the hypocrites. Vide Milhum, de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 412. D Herbel, Bibl. Orient. p. 363, &c.

³ Kor. c. 40. 43. 74, &c.

⁴ Ibid. c. 74.

⁵ Ibid. c. 40, 43.

released by the mercy of God, at the intercession of Mohammed and the blessed, whereupon those who shall have been dead will be restored to life, as has been said, and those whose bodies shall have contracted any sootiness or filth from the flames and smoke of hell will be immersed in one of the rivers of paradise, called the *river of life*, which will wash them whiter than pearls.⁶

For most of these circumstances relating to hell and the state of the damned, Mohammed was likewise in all probability indebted to the Jews and in part to the Magians, both of whom agree in making seven distinct apartments in hell,⁷ though they vary in other particulars. The former place an angel as a guard over each of these infernal apartments, and suppose he will intercede for the miserable wretches there imprisoned, who will openly acknowledge the justice of God in their condemnation.⁸ They also teach that the wicked will suffer a diversity of punishments, and that by intolerable cold⁹ as well as heat, and that their faces shall become black,¹ and believe those of their own religion shall also be punished in hell hereafter, according to their crimes, (for they hold that few or none will be found so exactly righteous as to deserve no punishment at all,) but will soon be delivered thence, when they shall be sufficiently purged from their sins, by their father Abraham, or at the intercession of him or some other of the prophets.² The Magians allow but one angel to preside over all the seven hells, who is named by them Vanánd Yezad, and, as they teach, assigns punishments proportionate to each person's crimes, restraining also the tyranny and excessive cruelty of the devil, who would, if left to himself, torment the damned beyond their sentence.³ Those of this religion do also mention and describe various kinds of torments, wherewith the wicked will be punished in the next life, among which though they reckon extreme cold to be one, yet they do not admit fire, out of respect, as it seems, to that element which they take to be the representation of the divine nature, and therefore they rather choose to describe the damned souls as suffering by other kinds of punishment such as an intolerable stink the stinging and biting of serpents and wild beasts, the cutting and tearing of the flesh by the devils, excessive hunger and thirst, and the like.⁴

Before we proceed to a description of the Mohammedan paradise, we must not forget to say something of the wall or partition which they imagine to be between that place and hell and seems to be copied from the great gulf of separation mentioned in Scripture.⁵ They call it al Orf, and more frequently in the plural, al Aráf, a word derived from the verb *arafa*, which signifies to *distinguish* between things, or to *part* them, though some commentators give another reason for the imposition of this name, because, say they, those who stand on this partition will *know* and *distinguish* the blessed from the damned, by their respective marks or characteristics,⁶ and others say the word properly intends any thing that is *high raised* or *elevated*, as such a wall of separation must be supposed to be.⁷ The Mohammedan writers greatly differ as to the persons who are to be found on al Aruf. Some imagine it to be a sort of *limbo*, for the patriarchs and prophets, or for the martyrs and those who have been most eminent for

⁶ Poc. Not. in Port. Mosis, p. 289—291. ⁷ Nishmat hayim, f. 32. Gemar in Arabin, f. 19. Zohar ad Exod. xxxi. 2. &c. and Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 245. ⁸ Midrash Yalkut Shemuni, part 11, f. 116. ⁹ Zohar ad Exod. xix. ¹ Yalkut Shemuni, ubi sup. f. 86. ² Nishmat hayim f. 82. Gemar Arabin, f. 19. Vide Kor. c. 2, p. 11 and 3, p. 38, and notes there. ³ Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 182. ⁴ Vide Eandem. ibid. p. 390 &c. ⁵ Luke xvi. 9. ⁶ Jellaladdin. v. 1. p. 11.

y, among whom they say there will be also angels in the form of men. Others place here such whose good and evil works are so equal that they exactly counterpoise each other, and therefore deserve neither reward nor punishment, and these, they say, will on the last day be admitted into paradise, after they shall have performed an act of adoration, which will be imputed to them as a merit, and will make the scale of their good works to overbalance. Others suppose this intermediate space will be a receptacle for those who have gone to war, without their parents' leave, and therein suffered martyrdom, being excluded paradise for their disobedience, and escaping hell because they are martyrs. The breadth of this partition wall cannot be supposed to be exceeding great, since not only those who shall stand thereon will hold conference with the inhabitants both of paradise and of hell, but the blessed and the damned themselves will also be able to talk to one another.⁸

If Mohammed did not take his notions of the partition we have been describing from Scripture, he must at least have borrowed it at second hand from the Jews, who mention a thin wall dividing paradise from hell.⁹

The righteous, as the Mohammedans are taught to believe, having surmounted the difficulties, and passed the sharp bridge above mentioned before they enter paradise will be refreshed by drinking at the *pond* of their prophet, who describes it to be an exact square, of a month's journey in compass, its water, which is supplied by two pipes from al Cawthi, one of the rivers of paradise, being whiter than milk or silver and more odoriferous than musk, with as many cups set around it as there are stars in the firmament, of which water whoever drinks will thirst no more for ever.¹ This is the first taste which the blessed will have of their future and now near approaching felicity.

Though paradise be so very frequently mentioned in the Koran yet it is a dispute among the Mohammedans whether it be already created or to be created hereafter, the Motazalites and some other sectaries asserting that there is not at present any such place in nature and that the paradise which the righteous will inhabit in the next life will be different from that from which Adam was expelled. However the orthodox profess the contrary, maintaining that it was created even before the world, and describe it, from their prophet's traditions, in the following manner —

They say it is situate above the seven heavens (or in the seventh heaven), and next under the throne of God, and to express the amenity of the place tell us, that the earth of it is of the finest wheat flour, or of the purest musk, or, as others will have it, of saffron, that its stones are pearls and jacinths, the walls of its buildings enriched with gold and silver and that the trunks of all its trees are of gold, among which the most remarkable is the tree called Tuba, or the tree of happiness. Concerning this tree they fable that it stands in the palace of Mohammed though a branch of it will reach to the house of every true believer,² that it will be laden with pomegranates, grapes, dates, and other fruits of surprising bigness, and of tastes unknown to mortals. So that if a man desire to eat of any particular kind of fruit, it will immediately be presented to him, or if he choose flesh, birds ready dressed will be set before him, according to his wish. They add, that the boughs of this tree will spontaneously bend down to the hand of the person who would gather of its fruits, and that it will supply the blessed not only with food, but also with silken garments, and beasts to ride on ready saddled and bridled, and adorned with rich trappings, which

⁸ Kor ubi sup. Vide D'Herbel. Bill. Orient. p. 121, &c. ⁹ Midrash Yalkut Sioni, f. 11. ¹ Al Ghazali. ² Yahya, in Kor. c. 13.

will burst forth from its fruits, and that this tree is so large that a person mounted on the fleetest horse would not be able to gallop from one end of its shade to the other in a hundred years.*

As plenty of water is one of the greatest additions to the pleasantness of any place, the Koran often speaks of the rivers of paradise as a principal ornament thereof some of these rivers they say, flow with water, some with milk, some with wine, and others with honey, all taking their rise from the root of the tree Tuba, two of which rivers, named al Cawthar and the river of life, we have already mentioned And, lest these should not be sufficient, we are told this garden is also watered by a great number of lesser springs and fountains, whose pebbles are rubies and emeralds, their earth of camphire, their beds of musk, and their sides of saffron, the most remarkable among them being Salsabil and Tasnim

But all these glories will be eclipsed by the resplendent and ravishing girls of paradise, called, from their large black eyes, Hur al oytin, the enjoyment of whose company will be a principal felicity of the faithful These, they say, are created, not of clay, as mortal women are, but of pure musk, being, as their prophet often affirms in his Koran, free from all natural impurities, defects, and inconveniences incident to the sex, of the strictest modesty, and secluded from public view in pavilions of hollow pearls, so large that, as some traditions have it, one of them will be no less than four parasangs (or as others say, sixty miles) long, and is many broad

The name which the Mohammedans usually give to this happy mansion is al Jannat or the garden, and sometimes they call it, with in addition, Jannat al Ferdaws, the garden of paradise, Jannat Aden, the garden of Eden (though they generally interpret the word Eden, not according to its acceptation in Hebrew, but according to its meaning in their own tongue, wherein it signifies a settled or perpetual habitation), Jannat al Mâwâ, the garden of abode, Jannat al Naim the garden of pleasure, and the like, by which several appellations some understand so many different gardens, or at least places of different degrees of felicity (for they reckon no less than a hundred such in all), the very meanest whereof will afford its inhabitants so many pleasures and delights, that one would conclude they must even sink under them had not Mohammed declared, that, in order to qualify the blessed for a full enjoyment of them, God will give to every one the abilities of a hundred men

We have already described Mohammed's pond whereof the righteous are to drink before their admission into this delicious seat, besides which some authors⁴ mention two fountains, springing from under a certain tree near the gate of paradise, and say that the blessed will also drink of one of them, to purge their bodies and carry off all excementitious dregs, and will wash themselves in the other When they are arrived at the gate itself, each person will there be met and saluted by the beautiful youths appointed to serve and wait upon him, one of them running before, to carry the news of his arrival to the wives destined for him, and also by two angels, bearing the presents sent him by God, one of whom will invest him with a garment of paradise, and the other will put a ring on each of his fingers, with inscriptions on them alluding to the happiness of his condition. By which of the eight gates (for so many they suppose paradise to have) they are respectively to enter, is not worth inquiry, but it must be observed that Mohammed has declared that no person's good works will gain him admittance and that even himself shall be saved, not by his merits, but merely

³ Jallâleddin, in Kor. c. 13

⁴ Al Ghazali, Kenz al Afrâr

by the mercy of God It is, however, the constant doctrine of the Korân, that the felicity of each person will be proportioned to his deserts, and that there will be abodes of different degrees of happiness, the most eminent degree being reserved for the prophets, the second for the doctors and teachers of God's worship, the next for the martyrs, and the lower for the rest of the righteous, according to their several merits. There will also some distinction be made in respect to the time of their admission, Mohammed (to whom, if you will believe him, the gates will first be opened) having affirmed, that the poor will enter paradise five hundred years before the rich, nor is this the only privilege which they will enjoy in the next life, since the same prophet has also declared, that when he took a view of paradise, he saw the majority of its inhabitants to be the poor, and when he looked down into hell, he saw the greater part of the wretches confined there to be women.

For the first entertainment of the blessed on their admission, they fable that the whole earth will then be as one loaf of bread, which God will reach to them with his hand, holding it like a cake, and that for meat that will have the ox Balam and the fish Nun, the lobes of whose livers will suffice seventy thousand men, being, as some imagine to be set before the principal guests, viz those who, to that number, will be admitted into paradise without examination,^a though other suppose that a definite number is here put for an indefinite, and that nothing more is meant thereby than to express a great multitude of people

From this feast every one will be dismissed to the mansion designed for him, where (as has been said) he will enjoy such a share of felicity as will be proportioned to his merits, but vastly exceed comprehension or expectation, since the very meanest in paradise (is he who, it is pretended, must know best, has declared) will have eighty thousand servants, seventy two wives of the girls of paradise besides the wives he had in this world, and a tent erected for him of pearls, jacinths, and emeralds, of a very large extent, and, according to another tradition, will be waited on by three hundred attendants while he eats, will be served in dishes of gold, whereof three hundred shall be set before him at once, containing each a different kind of food, the last morsel of which will be as grateful as the first, and will also be supplied with as many sorts of liquors in vessels of the same metal and, to complete the entertainment, there will be no want of wine, which, though forbidden in this life will yet be freely allowed to be drank in the next, and without danger, since the wine of paradise will not inebriate, as that we drink here The flavour of this wine we may conceive to be delicious without a description, since the water of Tasnim, and the other fountains which will be used to dilute it, is said to be wonderfully sweet and fragrant If any object to these pleasures, as an impudent Jew did to Mohammed, that so much eating and drinking must necessarily require proper evacuations, we answer, as the prophet did, that the inhabitants of paradise will not need to ease themselves, nor even to blow their nose, for that all superfluities will be discharged and carried off by perspiration, or a sweat as odouriferous as musk, after which their appetite shall return afresh

The magnificence of the garments and furniture promised by the Korân to the godly in the next life is answerable to the delicacy of their diet for they are to be clothed in the richest silks and brocades, chiefly of green, which will burst forth from the fruits of paradise, and will be also supplied by the leaves of the tree Tuba, they will be adorned with bracelets of gold

^a See before, p. 62.

and silver, and crowns set with pearls of incomparable lustre, and will make use of silken carpets, litters of a prodigious size, couches, pillows, and other rich furniture embroidered with gold and precious stones.

That we may the more readily believe what has been mentioned of the extraordinary abilities of the inhabitants of paradise to taste these pleasures in their height, it is said they will enjoy a perpetual youth, that in whatever age they happen to die, they will be raised in their prime and vigour, that is, of about thirty years of age, which age they will never exceed (and the same they say of the damned), and that when they enter paradise they will be of the same stature with Adam, who, as they fable, was no less than sixty cubits high. And to this age and stature their children, if they shall desire any (for otherwise their wives will not conceive), shall immediately attain, according to that saying of their prophet, "If any of the faithful in paradise be desirous of issue, it shall be conceived, born, and grown up, within the space of an hour. And in the same manner, if any one shall have a fancy to employ himself in agriculture (which rustic pleasure may suit the wanton fancy of some) what he shall sow will spring up and come to maturity in a moment.

Lest any of the senses should want their proper delight, we are told the ear will there be entertained, not only with the ravishing songs of the angel Israfil, who has the most melodious voice of all God's creatures, and of the daughters of paradise, but even the trees themselves will celebrate the divine praises with a harmony exceeding whatever mortals have heard, to which will be joined the sound of the bells hanging on the trees, which will be put in motion by the wind proceeding from the throne of God, so often is the blessed wish for music nav, the very clashing of the golden bodied trees, whose fruits are pearls and emeralds, will surpass human imagination, so that the pleasures of this sense will not be the least of the enjoyments of paradise.

The delights we have hitherto taken a view of, it is said, will be common to all the inhabitants of paradise, even those of the lowest order. What then, think we, must they enjoy who shall obtain a superior degree of honour and felicity? To these they say, there are prepared, besides all this, "such things as eye hath not seen, nor hath ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive," an expression most certainly borrowed from Scripture.^a That we may know wherein the felicity of those who shall attain the highest degree will consist, Mohammed is reported to have said, that the meanest of the inhabitants of paradise will see his gardens, wives, servants, furniture, and other possessions, take up the space of a thousand years' journey (for so far and farther will the blessed see in the next life), but that he will be in the highest honour with God, who shall behold his face morning and evening and this favour al Ghazali supposes to be that *additum* or *superabundant recompence*, promised in the Korân,^b which will give such exquisite delight that, in respect thereof, all the other pleasures of paradise will be forgotten and lightly esteemed, and not without reason since, as the author says, every other enjoyment is equally tasted by the very brute beast who is turned loose into luxuriant pasture.^c The reader will observe, by the way, that this is a full confutation of those who pretend the Mohammedans admit of no spiritual pleasure in the next life, but make the happiness of the blessed to consist wholly in corporeal enjoyments.^d

Whence Mohammed took the greatest part of his paradise, it is easy to

^a Isaiah lxiv 4 ^b 1 Cor. xiii 12 ^c Chap 10, &c. ^d Vide Poc. in not. ad Port. Musis, p 305. ^e Vide Beland, de R. l. Moham. lib 2. sect. 17

show The Jews constantly describe the future mansion of the just as a delicious garden, and make it also reach to the seventh heaven,² they also say it has three gates,⁴ or, as others will have it, two,⁵ and four rivers (which in last circumstance they copied, to be sure from those of the garden of Eden),⁶ flowing with milk, wine, balsam, and honey.⁷ Their Behemoth and Leviathan which they pretend will be slain for the entertainment of the blessed,⁸ are so apparently the Bilam and Nun of Mohammed that his followers themselves confess he is obliged to them for both.¹ The Rabbins likewise mention seven different degrees of felicity,² and say that the highest will be of those who perpetually contemplate the face of God.³ The Persian Magi had also an idea of the future happy estate of the good, very little different from that of Mohammed. Paradise they call Behisht and Minu which signifies *crystal*, where they believe the righteous shall enjoy all manner of delights and particularly the company of the Human behisht, or *black-eyed nymphs of paradise*⁴ the cure of whom they say is committed to the angel Zamirid,⁵ and hence Mohammed seems to have taken the first hint of his paradisaical ladies.

It is not improbable however, but that he might have been obliged in some respect to the Christian accounts of the felicity of the good in the next life. As it is scarce possible to convey, especially to the apprehensions of the generality of mankind, an idea of spiritual pleasures without introducing sensible objects the Scriptures have been obliged to represent the celestial enjoyments by corporeal images, and to describe the mansion of the blessed as a glorious and magnificent city built of gold and precious stones, with twelve gates, through the streets of which there runs a river of water of life and having on either side the tree of life which bear twelve sorts of fruit and leaves of healing virtue.⁶ Our Saviour likewise speaks of the future state of the blessed as of a kingdom where they shall eat and drink at his table. But then these descriptions have none of the carnal imaginations⁷ which reign throughout that of Mohammed, much less any the most distant intimation of sensual delight which he was so fond of, on the contrary, we are expressly assured that 'in the resurrection they will neither marry nor be given in marriage' but will be as the angels of God in heaven.⁸ Mohammed, however, to enhance the value of paradise with his Arabians, chose rather to imitate the modesty of the Magians than the modesty of the Christians in this particular. At least his beatified Moslems should complain that any thing was wanting below them wives, as well as the other comforts of life, judging it is to be presumed, from his own inclinations, that, like Panurgus's ass, they would

¹ Vide Gemar Tanith f 20 Beracoth f 4 and Midrash salhol f 37
² Megillah, Amikam p 75 ³ Midrash Yalkut Shimoni ⁴ Genesis ii 30 &c
⁵ Midrash Yalk Shim ⁶ Gemar Bava Bathra f 75 Ivasin in Jobi ⁷ Vide
 I do not in port Mosi p 208. ⁸ Nishmat hayim f 32. ⁹ Midrash Tehillim
 f 11 ¹⁰ Saddler porta 5 ¹¹ Hyde de Rel Vet lers p 265 ¹² Rev xxi
 10 &c and xxii 1 2. ¹³ Luke xxi 29 30 &c ¹⁴ I would not, however
 undertake to defend all the Christian writers in this particular, witness that one
 passage of Irenæus wherein he introduces a tradition of St John that our Lord
 should say *The days shall come in which there shall be vines which shall have each ten
 thousand branches and every of those branches shall have ten thousand lesser branches
 and every of these branches shall have ten thousand tuigs, and every one of these tuigs
 shall have ten thousand clusters of grapes and in every one of the clusters there shall be
 ten thousand grapes and every one of these grapes being pressed shall yield two hundred
 and seventy five gallons of wine, and when a man shall take hold of one of these accursed
 bunches another bunch shall cry out, I am a better bunch, take me and I less the Lord
 by me, &c* Iren lib 5 c 33. ¹⁵ Matt xxii. 30 ¹⁶ Vide Rabelius Pantagru
 lib 5 c 7 A better authority than this might however be alleged in favour of
 Mohammed's judgment in this respect I mean that of Plato who is said to have

think all other enjoyments not worth their acceptance if they were to be debarred from this

Had Mohammed, after all, intimated to his followers that what he had told them of paradise was to be taken, not literally, but in a metaphorical sense (as it is said the Magians do the description of Zoroaster's),¹ this might, perhaps, make some atonement, but the contrary is so evident from the whole tenor of the Korân, that although some Mohammedans, whose understandings are too refined to admit such gross conceptions, look on their prophet's descriptions as parabolical, and are willing to receive them in an allegorical or spiritual acceptation,² yet the general and orthodox doctrine is, that the whole is to be strictly believed in the obvious and literal acceptation, to prove which I need only urge the oath they exact from Christians (who they know abhor such fancies), when they would bind them in the most strong and sacred manner, for in such a case they make them swear that if they falsify their engagement they will affirm that there will be black eyed girls in the next world, and corporeal pleasures.³

Before we quit this subject, it may not be improper to observe the falsehood of a vulgar imputation on the Mohammedans, who are by several writers⁴ reported to hold that women have no souls or if they have that they will perish, like those of brute beasts, and will not be rewarded in the next life. But whatever may be the opinion of some ignorant people among them, it is certain that Mohammed had too great a respect for the fair sex to teach such a doctrine, and there are several passages in the Koran which affirm that women in the next life, will not only be punished for their evil actions, but will also receive the rewards of their good deeds, as well as the men, and that in this case God will make no distinction of sexes.⁵ It is true, the general notion is that they will not be admitted into the same abode as the men are because their places will be supplied by the paradisaical females (though some allow that a man with three also have the company of those who were his wives in this world, or at least such of them as he shall desire),⁶ but that good women will go into a separate place of happiness, where they will enjoy all sorts of delights,⁷ but whether one of those delights will be the enjoyment of agreeable paramours is left for them to complete the economy of the Mohammedan system, as what I have nowhere found decided. One circumstance relating to these beatified females, conformable to what he had asserted of the men, he acquainted his followers with in the answer he returned to an old woman, who desiring him to intercede with God that she might be admitted into paradise, he told her that no old woman would enter that place, which setting the poor old woman crying he explained himself by saying, that God would then make her young again.⁸

The sixth great point of faith which the Mohammedans are taught by the Koran to believe is God's absolute decree, and predestination both of good and evil. For the orthodox doctrine is, that whatever hath or shall come to pass in this world, whether it be good, or whether it be bad, pro-

proposed in his ideal commonwealth as the reward of valiant men and consummate soldiers, the kisses of boys and beautiful damsels. Vide Gell Noct. Att. lib. 18 c. 2. ¹ Vide Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 266. ² Vide Lund in not. ad Bobov Lit. Turcar. p. 21. ³ Poc. ad Port. Mos. p. 305. ⁴ Hornbek, Sum. Contr. p. 16. Grelot, Voyage de Constant. p. 275. Ricaut's Present State of the Ottoman Empire lib. 2 c. 21. ⁵ See Kor. c. 9 p. 59 c. 4 p. 75. And also c. 13, 16, 40, 48, 57 &c. Vide etiam Reland de Rel. Moh. lib. 2 sect. 18 and Hyde in Not. ad Bobov de Visit. Ager p. 21. ⁶ See before p. 70. ⁷ Vide Chardin, Voy. tom. ii. p. 328, and Bayle Dict. Hist. Art. Moham. Rem. Q. ⁸ See Koran, c. 56, and notes there, and Gagnier not. in Abulfeda. Vit. Moh. p. 145.

ceedeth entirely from the divine will, and is irrevocably fixed and recorded from all eternity in the *preserved table*,¹ God having secretly predetermined not only the adverse and prosperous fortune of every person in this world, in the most minute particulars, but also his faith or infidelity, his obedience or disobedience, and consequently his everlasting happiness or misery after death, which fate or predestination it is not possible, by any foresight or wisdom, to avoid.

Of this doctrine Mohammed makes great use in his Koran, for the advancement of his designs, encouraging his followers to fight without fear, and even desperately, for the propagation of their faith, by representing to them that all their caution could not avert their inevitable destiny, or prolong their lives for a moment,² and deterring them from disobeying or rejecting him as an impostor, by setting before them the danger they might thereby incur of being, by the judgment of God, abandoned to seduction, hardness of heart, and a reprobate mind, as a punishment for their obstinacy.³

As this doctrine of absolute election and reprobation has been thought by many of the Mohammedan divines to be derogatory to the goodness and justice of God, and to make God the author of evil, several subtle distinctions have been invented, and disputes raised, to explicate or soften it, and different sects have been formed, according to their several opinions or methods of explaining this point—some of them going so far as even to hold the direct contrary position—of absolute free will in man, as we shall see hereafter.⁴

Of the four fundamental points of religious practice required by the Koran the first is *prayer*, under which, as has been said, are also comprehended those legal washings or purifications which are necessary preparations thereto.

Of these purifications there are two degrees one called *Ghosh*, being a total immersion or bathing of the body in water, and the other called *Wudu* (by the Persians *abdest*), which is the washing of their faces, hands, and feet, after a certain manner. The first is required in some extraordinary cases only, as after having lain with a woman, or been polluted by emission of seed, or by approaching a dead body, women also being obliged to it after their courses or childbirth. The latter is the ordinary ablution in common cases, and before prayer, and must necessarily be used by every person before he can enter upon that duty.⁵ It is performed with certain formal ceremonies, which have been described by some writers, but are much easier apprehended by seeing them done than by the best description.

These purifications were perhaps borrowed by Mohammed of the Jews, at least they agree in a great measure with those used by that nation,⁶ who in process of time burdened the precepts of Moses in this point with so many traditionary ceremonies, that whole books have been written about them, and who were so exact and superstitious therein even in our Saviour's time, that they are often reproved by him for it.⁷ But as it is certain that the pagan Arabs used lustrations of this kind,⁸ long before the time of Mohammed, as most nations did, and still do in the east, where the warmth of the climate requires a greater nicety and degree of cleanliness than these colder parts, perhaps Mohammed only recalled his countrymen to a more

¹ See before, p. 40. ² Kor. c. 3, p. 51, note t 53, and c. 4, p. 69, &c. ³ Kor. c. 4, p. 67 and 78. ⁴ And c. 2, p. 2, &c. *passim*. ⁵ Sect. viii. ⁶ Kor. c. 4, p. 68, and c. 5, p. 82. ⁷ Vide Roland de Bel. Moh. lib. 1. c. 8. ⁸ See not. in Port. Moisi, v. 356. &c. ⁹ Mark vii. 3, &c. ¹⁰ Vide Herodot. lib. 3, c. 198.

strict observance of those purifying rites, which had been probably neglected by them, or at least performed in a careless and perfunctory manner. The Mohammedans, however, will have it that they are as ancient as Alraham,⁹ who, they say, was enjoined by God to observe them, and was showed the manner of making the ablution by the angel Gabriel, in the form of a beautiful youth.¹ Nay, some deduce the matter higher, and imagine that these ceremonies were taught our first parents by the angels.²

That his followers might be the more punctual in this duty, Mohammed is said to have declared, that *the practice of religion is founded on cleanliness*, which is the *one half of the faith, and the key of prayer*, without which it will not be heard by God.³ That these expressions may be the better understood, al Ghazali reckons four degrees of purification, of which the first is, the cleansing of the body from all pollution filth, and excrements, the second, the cleansing of the members of the body from all wickedness and unjust actions, the third, the cleansing of the heart from all blameable inclinations, and odious vices, and the fourth, the purging of a man's secret thoughts from all affections which may divert their attendance on God adding that the body is but as the outward shell in respect to the heart, which is as the kernel. And for this reason he highly complains of those who are superstitiously solicitous in exterior purifications, avoiding those persons as unclean who are not so scrupulously nice as themselves, and at the same time have their minds lying waste, and overrun with pride, ignorance, and hypocrisy.⁴ Whence it plainly appears with how little foundation the Mohammedans have been charg'd, by some writers,⁵ with teaching or imagining that these formal washings alone cleanse them from their sins.⁶

Least so necessary a preparation to their devotions should be omitted, either where water cannot be had or when it may be of prejudice to a person's health, they are allowed in such cases to make use of fine sand or dust in lieu of it,⁷ and then they perform this duty by clapping their open hands on the sand, and passing them over the parts, in the same manner as if they were dipped in water. But for this expedient Mohammed was not so much indebted to his own cunning⁸ as to the example of the Jews, or perhaps that of the Persian Magi almost as scrupulous as the Jews themselves in their lustrations, who both of them prescribe the same method in cases of necessity,⁹ and there is a famous instance in ecclesiastical history, of sand being used, for the same reason instead of water, in the administration of the Christian sacrament of baptism, many years before Mohammed's time.¹

Neither are the Mohammedans contented with bare washing but think themselves obliged to several other necessary points of cleanliness, which

* Al Jannabi in Vita Abrah Vide Poc Spec p 303 ¹ Herewith agrees the spurious Gospel of S Barnabas the Spanish translation of which (chap 29) has these words — *Dixo Abraham Que haré yo para servir al Dios de los sanctos y prophetas* ² *Respondio el angel, Ve a aquella fuente y lavate porque Dios quiere hablar contigo* *Dixo Abraham, Como tengo de lavarme* ³ *Luego el angel se le aparecio como uno bello mancebo, y se lavó en la fuente y le dixo, Abraham, haz como yo* *Y Abraham, se lavó &c.* ⁴ Al Kessai, Vide Reland, de Rel Moham p 81 ⁵ Al Ghazali, Ebn al Athur ⁶ Vide Poc Spec p 302 &c ⁷ Barthol Edessen Confut Hagaren p 360 G Sionita and J Hesronita, in Tract de Urb et Morib Orient ad Calcom. Geogr Nubiens c 15 Du Ryer dans le Sommaire de la Rel des Turcs mis à la Tête de sa Version de l'Alcor St. Olon, Descr du Royaume de Maroc c. 2 Hyde, in Not. ad Bobov de Prec Moh p 1 Smith, de Morib et Institut. Turcar Ep 1 p. 32. ⁸ Vide Reland, de Rel Moh lib 2 c. 11 ⁹ Koran c 3 p 66. ann 5 p 82. ¹⁰ Vide Smith ubi sup ¹¹ Gemar Berachoth c 2 Vide Poc. not. ad Port. Mosiz, p 389 Sadler, porta 84 ¹² Cedron p 250

they make also parts of their duty, such as combing the hair, cutting the beard, paring the nails, pulling out the hairs of their arm-pits, shaving their private parts, and circumcision,² of which last I will add a word or two, lest I should not find a more proper place.

Circumcision, though it be not so much as once mentioned in the Korán, is yet held by the Mohammedans to be an ancient divine institution, confirmed by the religion of Islam, and though not so absolutely necessary but that it might be dispensed with in some cases,³ yet highly proper and expedient. The Arabs used this rite for many ages before Mohammed, having probably learned it from Ismael, though not only his descendants, but the Hamyarites⁴ and other tribes practised the same. The Ismaelites, we are told⁵ used to circumcise their children not on the eighth day, as is the custom of the Jews, but when about twelve or thirteen years old, at which age their father underwent that operation⁶ and the Mohammedans imitate them so far as not to circumcise children before they be able, at least distinctly to pronounce that profession of their faith, *There is no God but God, Mohammed is the apostle of God*,⁷ but pitch on what age they please for the purpose between six and sixteen or thereabouts.⁸ Though Moslem doctors are generally of opinion, conformably to the Scripture that this precept was originally given to Abraham, yet some have imagined that Adam was taught it by the angel Gabriel, to satisfy an oath he had made to cut off that flesh which, after his fall had rebelled against his spirit, whence an odd argument has been drawn for the universal obligation of circumcision.⁹ Though I cannot say the Jews led the Mohammedans the way here, yet they seem so unwilling to believe any of the principal patriarchs or prophets before Abraham were really uncircumcised that they pretend several of them, as well as some holy men who lived after his time were born ready circumcised, or without a foreskin and that Adam in particular was so created,¹ whence the Mohammedans affirm the same thing of their prophet.²

Prayer was by Mohammed thought so necessary a duty that he used to call it *the pillar of religion, and the key of paradise* and when the Hinkisites, who dwelt at Iuvá, sending, in the ninth year of the Hégira to make their submission to that prophet after the keeping of their favourite idol had been denied them,³ begged, at least, that they might be dispensed with as to their saving of the appointed prayers, he answered, *That there could be no good in that religion wherein was no prayer*.⁴

That so important a duty, therefore might not be neglected Mohammed obliged his followers to pray five times every twenty four hours at certain stated times, viz. 1 In the morning, before sunrise 2 When noon is past and the sun begins to decline from the meridian 3 In the afternoon, before sunset 4 In the evening, after sunset, and before day be shut in

¹ Vide loc Spec p 303 ² Vide Bobov de Circumcis p 22 ³ Philostorg Hist Eccl lib 3 ⁴ Joseph A lib 1 c 23 ⁵ Gen xvii 25 ⁶ Vide Bobov de Circumcis p 19 ⁷ Vide Ireland de Isl Moh lib 1 p 7 ⁸ This is the substance of the following passage of the Gospel of Barnabas (chap 23) viz *Entonces dixo Jesus, Adam el primer hombre avendo comido por engano del demonio la comida prohibida por Dios en el parayso, se le rebeló su carne á su espíritu por lo qual juró diciendo Por Dios que yo te quiero cortar, y rompiendo una piedra tomó su carne para cortarla con el corte de la piedra Por loqual fue reprehendido de angel Gabriel y el le dixo Yo he jurado por Dios que lo he de cortar y mentiroso no se será jamas Ala hora el angel le enseno la superfluidad de su carne y a quella cortó De manera que aun como todo hombre toma carne de Adam aun esta obligado a cumplir aquella que Adam en juramento prometio* ¹ Shalabel hakkabala. Vide Poe Spec p 320 ² Gagner Net in Abulfeid Vit Moh p 2. ³ Vide loc Spec p 304. ⁴ See before, p 12 ⁵ Abulfeid Vit Moh p 127

and, 5 After the day is shut in, and before the first watch of the night. For this institution he pretended to have received the divine command from the throne of God himself, when he took his night journey to heaven and the observing of the stated times of prayer is frequently insisted on in the Korin, though they be not particularly prescribed therein. Accordingly, at the aforesaid times, of which public notice is given by the Muedhdhins or Criers, from the steeples of their mosques (for they use no bell), every conscientious Moslem prepares himself for prayer, which he performs either in the mosque or any other place, provided it be clean, after a prescribed form and with a certain number of phrases or ejaculations (which the more scrupulous count by a string of beads), and using certain postures of worship, all which have been particularly set down and described though with some few mistakes by other writers,⁶ and though not to be abridged, unless in some special cases, as on a journey, on preparing for battle, &c.

For the regular performance of the duty of prayer among the Mohammedans, besides the particulars above mentioned it is also requisite that they turn their faces, while they pray, toward the temple of Mecca,⁷ the quarter where the same is situate being for this reason pointed out within their mosques by a niche, which they call el Mchrah, and without, by the situation of the doors opening into the galleries of the steeples: there are also tables calculated for the ready finding out their Keblah, or part to which they ought to pray, in places where they have no other direction.⁸

But what is principally to be regarded in the discharge of this duty, say the Moslem doctors, is the inward disposition of the heart, which is the life and spirit of prayer,⁹ the most punctual observance of the external rites and ceremonies before mentioned being of little or no avail, if performed without due attention, reverence, devotion, and hope,¹ so that we must not think the Mohammedans, or the considerate part of them at least, content themselves with the mere *opus operatum*, or imagine that whose religion be placed therein.

I had like to have omitted two things which, in my mind deserve mention on this head, and may perhaps, be better defended than our contrary practice. One is that the Mohammedans never addie themselves to God in sumptuous apparel, though they are obliged to be decently clothed, but lay aside their costly habits and pompous ornaments if they wear any, when they approach the divine presence, lest they should seem proud and arrogant.² The other is, that they admit not their women to pray with them in public, that sex being obliged to perform their devotions at home or if they visit the mosques it must be at a time when the men are not there for the Moslems are of opinion that their presence inspires a different kind of devotion from that which is requisite in a place dedicated to the worship of God.⁴

⁶ Vide Abulfad Vit Moh p 38 39. ⁶ Vide Hotting Hist Eccles tom 8 p 470 —529 Bobov in Itin. Turc. p 1 &c. Grelot Voyage de Constantin p 253—264 Chardin Voy de Perse, tom ii p 385 &c and Smith de Moribus ac Inst. Turcar Ep 1 p 33 &c. ⁷ Koran chap 2 p 17. See the notes there. ⁸ Vide Hyde de Rel Vet Pers p 8, 9, and 126. ⁹ Al Ghazali. ¹ Vide Poc Spec. p 305. ² Vide Smith ubi sup p 40. ³ Reland, de Rel Moham p 96. See Kor chap 7.

⁴ A Moor named Ahmed Ebn Abdalla, in a Latin epistle by him written to Maurice prince of Orange, and Emanuel prince of Portugal containing a censure of the Christian religion (a copy of which once belonging to Mr Selden, who has thence transcribed a considerable passage in his Treatise De Synedris Vet. Ebraeor lib i. c. 12 is now in the Bodleian library), finds great fault with the unedifying manner in which mass is said among the Roman Catholics, for this very reason among others. His words are *Ubique congregantur simul viri et feminae, ibi mens non est intenta et*

The greater part of the particulars comprised in the Mohammedan institution of prayer the prophet seems to have copied from others, and especially the Jews, exceeding their institutions only in the number of daily prayers.⁵ The Jews are directed to pray three times a day,⁶ in the morning, in the evening, and within night, in imitation of Abraham,⁷ Isaac⁸ and Jacob⁹ and the practice was as early, at least, as the time of Daniel.¹ The several postures used by the Mohammedans in their prayers are also the same with those prescribed by the Jewish Rabbins, and particularly the most solemn act of adoration by prostrating themselves so as to touch the ground with their forehead,² notwithstanding the latter pretend the practice of the former, in this respect, to be a relic of their ancient manner of paying their devotions to Baal Peor.³ The Jews likewise constantly pray with their faces turned towards the temple of Jerusalem,⁴ which has been their Kiblah from the time it was first dedicated by Solomon,⁵ for which reason Daniel, praying in Chaldea, had the windows of his chamber open towards that city,⁶ and the same was the Kiblah of Mohammed and his followers for six or seven months,⁷ and till he found himself obliged to change it for the Caaba. The Jews moreover are obliged by the precepts of their religion to be careful that the place they pray in, and the garments they have on when they perform their duty be clean,⁸ the men and women also among them pray apart (in which particular they are imitated by the eastern Christians), and several other conformities might be remarked between the Jewish public worship and that of the Mohammedans.⁹

The next point of the Mohammedan religion is the giving of alms, which are of two sorts *legal* and *voluntary*. The *legal alms* are of indispensable obligation, being commanded by the law, which directs and determines both the portion which is to be given, and of what things it ought to be given, but the *voluntary alms* are left to every one's liberty to give more or less as he shall see fit. The former kind of alms some think to be properly called *Zakat* and the latter *Sadakāt*, though this name be also frequently given to the legal alms. They are called *Zakat*, either because they *increase* a man's store, by drawing down a blessing thereon and *produce* in his soul the virtue of liberality,¹ or because they *purify* the remaining part of one's substance from pollution, and the soul from the filth of avarice,² and *Sadakāt*, because they are a proof of a man's *sincerity* in the worship of God. Some writers have called the legal alms *tythes* but improperly, since in some cases they fall short, and in others exceed that proportion.

The giving of alms is frequently commanded in the Korān, and often recommended therein jointly with prayer, the former being held of great

devota nam inter celebrandum missam et sacrificia, faminas et vultus mutui aspectibus, signis ac nutibus accendunt pravorum appetitum, et denderiorum suorum ignes et quando hoc non fieret saltem humana fragilitas delectatur mutuo et reciproco aspectu; et ita non poterat esse mens quicta, attenta, et devota.

¹ The Sabians according to some exceed the Mohammedans in this point praying seven times a day. See before, p. 11. ² Gemar Berachoth ³ Gen. xix. 27. ⁴ Gen. xxiv. 63. ⁵ Gen. xxviii. 11 &c. ⁶ Dan. vi. 10. ⁷ Vide Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 427 &c. and Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 5, &c. ⁸ Maimonid. in Just. ad Proselyt. Relig. Vide Poc. Spec. p. 306. ⁹ Gemar Bava Bathra, and Berachoth. ¹ 1 Kings viii. 20 &c. ² Dan. vi. 10. ³ Some say eighteen months. Vide Abulfez Vit. Moham. p. 64. ⁴ Maimon. in Halachoth Tephilla, chap. 9, sect. 8. 9. Menura hammeor, fol. 28. 2. ⁵ Vide Millium, ubi supra, p. 424, et seq. ⁶ Al Beidawi. See Kor. chap. 2 p. 32—34. ⁷ Idem Compare this with what our Saviour says Luke xi. 41. Give alms of such things as ye have; and behold, all things are clean unto you."

efficacy in causing the latter to be heard of God for which reason the Khalif Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz used to say, "that prayer carries us half way to God, fasting brings us to the door of his palace, and alms procure us admission."³ The Mohammedans therefore esteem alms-deeds to be highly meritorious, and many of them have been illustrious for the exercise thereof. Hasan the son of Ali, and grandson of Mohammed, in particular, is related to have thrice in his life divided his substance equally between himself and the poor, and twice to have given away all he had⁴ and the generality are so addicted to the doing of good, that they extend their charity even to brutes⁵

Alms, according to the prescriptions of the Mohammedan law, are to be given of five things, 1 Of cattle, that is to say, of camels, kine, and sheep 2 Of money 3 Of corn 4 Of fruits, viz, dates and raisins. And 5 Of wares sold Of each of these a certain portion is to be given in alms, being usually one part in forty, or two and a half *per cent* of the value But no alms are due for them, unless they amount to a certain quantity or number, nor until a man has been in possession of them eleven months, he not being obliged to give alms thereout before the twelfth month is begun nor are alms due for cattle employed in tilling the ground, or in carrying of burdens In some cases a much larger portion than the before mentioned is reckoned due for alms thus of what is gotten out of mines, or the sea, or by any art or profession over and above what is sufficient for the reasonable support of a man's family, and especially where there is a mixture or suspicion of unjust gain, a fifth part ought to be given in alms. Moreover, at the end of the fast of Ramadân, every Moslem is obliged to give in alms for himself and for every one of his family, if he has any, a measure⁶ of wheat, barley, dates, raisins, rice, or other provisions commonly eaten⁷

The legal alms were at first collected by Mohammed himself, who employed them as he thought fit, in the relief of his poor relations and followers, but chiefly applied them to the maintenance of those who served in his wars, and fought, as he termed it, in the way of God His successors continued to do the same, till, in process of time, other taxes and tributes being imposed for the support of the government they seem to have been weary of acting as almoners to their subjects, and to have left the paying them to their consciences

In the foregoing rules concerning alms, we may observe also footsteps of what the Jews taught and practised in respect thereto Alms, which they also call *Sedaka*, i. e. *justice*, or *righteousness*⁸ are greatly recommended by their Rabbins, and preferred even to sacrifices,⁹ as a duty the frequent exercise whereof will effectually free a man from hell fire,¹ and merit everlasting life² wherefore, besides the corners of the field, and the gleanings of their harvest and vineyard, commanded to be left for the poor and the stranger by the law of Moses,³ a certain portion of their corn and fruits is directed to be set apart for their relief which portion is called the *tithes* of the poor⁴ The Jews likewise were formerly very conspicuous for their charity Zaccheus gave the half of his goods to the poor, and we

³ D Herbel Bibl. Orient p 5 ⁴ Idem p 422. ⁵ Vide Busbeq Epist iii p 178. Smith, de Morib Turc. Epist. i p 66, &c. Compare Eccles. xi 1 and Prov xii. 10

⁶ This measure is a *Saa*, and contains about six or seven pounds weight. ⁷ Vide Roland, de Rel Mohammed lib i p 99, &c Chardin, Voy de Perse, tom ii p 415, &c. ⁸ Hence alms are in the New Testament termed *Almsdeeds*. Matt. vi 1 (Ed. Steph) and 2 Cor ix 10. ⁹ Gemar in Bava bathra. ¹ Ibid. in Gittin ² Ibid in Rosh hashana. ³ Lev xix 9 10 Deut xxiv 19 &c ⁴ Vide Gemar Hierosol in Peah, and Maamon in Halachoth metanoth Anyijim c. 6. Confer Pirke Avoth, v 2

are told that some gave their whole substance so that their doctors, at length, decreed that no man should give above a fifth part of his goods in alms.⁶ There were also persons publicly appointed in every synagogue to collect and distribute the people's contributions.⁷

The third point of religious practice is fasting, a duty of so great moment, that Mohammed used to say it was "the gate of religion," and that "the odour of the mouth of him who fasteth is more grateful to God than that of musk," and al Ghazali reckons fasting "one fourth part of the faith." According to the Mohammedan divines, there are three degrees of fasting: 1 The restraining the belly and other parts of the body from satisfying their lusts, 2 The restraining the ears, eyes, tongue, hand, feet, and other members, from sin, and 3 The fasting of the heart from worldly cares and refining the thoughts from every thing besides God.⁸

The Mohammedans are obliged, by the express command of the Koran, to fast the whole month of Ramadân from the time the new moon first appears till the appearance of the next new moon, during which time they must abstain from eating, drinking and women, from daybreak till night⁹ or sunset. And this injunction they observe so strictly that while they fast they suffer nothing to enter their mouths or other part of their body, deeming the fast broken and null if they smell perfumes, take a bath, or injection, bathe or even purposely swallow their spittle, some being so cautious that they will not open their mouths to speak lest they should breathe the air too freely. The fast is also deemed void if a man kiss or touch a woman, or if he vomit designedly. But after sunset they are allowed to refresh themselves and to eat and drink and enjoy the company of their wives till daybreak,¹⁰ though the more rigid begin the fast again at midnight.¹¹ This fast is extremely rigorous and mortifying, when the month of Ramadân happens to fall in summer (for the Arabian year being 360 such month runs through all the different seasons in the course of forty three years) the length and heat of the days making the observance of it much more difficult and uneasy than in winter.

The reason given why the month of Ramadân was pitched on for this purpose is that on that month the Koran was sent down from heaven. Some pretend that Abraham, Moses, and Jesus received their respective revelations in the same month.¹²

From the fast of Ramadân none are excused except only travellers and sick persons (under which last denomination the doctors comprehend all whose health would manifestly be injured by their keeping the fast,

⁶ Vide *Idhar' Ant Sacer* Vol. Hebr. j. 402. Vide *ibid* p. 358. ⁷ Al Ghazali at Mostatraf. ⁸ Koran chap. 2 p. 21, 22. ⁹ Hence we read that a Virgin lately appeared answering the reflections cast on her for bringing home a child, by saying she was called Gabriel to signify she had vowed a fast and therefore ought not to speak. See Koran chap. 19. ¹⁰ The words of the Koran, chap. 2, p. 22, jura. "until you distinguish a white thread from a black thread by the daybreak" a form of speaking, borrowed by Mohammed from the Jews who determine the time when they are to begin their morning lesson to be so soon as a man can discern blue from white, i. e. when the threads from the white threads in the fringes of their garments. But this explanation the commentators do not approve, pretending that by the white thread and the black thread are to be understood the light and dark streaks of the daybreak, and that the passage was at first revealed without the words of "of the daybreak" but Mohammed's followers taking the expression in the first sense regulated their practice accordingly, and continued eating and drinking till they could distinguish a white thread from a black thread as they lay before them to prevent which for the future the words "of the daybreak" were added as an explanation of the former. Al Bidawi. Vide Pocock Not in Carmen Ioran p. 80 &c. Chardin *Voy de Perse* tom. ii. p. 423. ¹¹ Vide Chardin *ibid* p. 421 &c. Reland, de Rel. Moham. j. 109 &c. ¹² See hereafter sect. vi. ¹³ Kor chap. 2 p. 22. See also chap. 97. ¹⁴ Al Bidawi, ex Fraj Mohammed.

as women with child, and giving suck, ancient people and young children), but then they are obliged, as soon as the impediment is removed, to fast an equal number of other days, and the breaking the fast is ordered to be expiated by giving alms to the poor⁷

Mohammed seems to have followed the guidance of the Jews in his ordinances concerning fasting, no less than in the former particulars. That nation, when they fast, abstain not only from eating and drinking, but from women, and from anointing themselves,⁸ from daybreak until sunset, and the stars begin to appear,⁹ spending the night in taking what refreshments they please¹. And they allow women with child and giving suck, old persons, and young children, to be exempted from keeping most of the public fasts².

Though my design here be briefly to treat of those points only which are of indispensable obligation on a Moslem, and expressly required by the Koran, without entering into their practice as to voluntary and supererogatory works, yet to show how closely Mohammed's institutions follow the Jewish, I shall add a word or two of the voluntary fasts of the Mohammedans. These are such as have been recommended either by the example or approbation of their prophet, and especially certain days of those months which they esteem sacred there being a tradition that he used to say, That a fast of one day in a sacred month was better than a fast of thirty days in another month and that the fast of one day in Ramadan was more meritorious than a fast of thirty days in a sacred month³. Among the more commendable days is that of Ashura, the tenth of Moharram, which, though some writers tell us it was observed by the Arabs, and particularly the tribe of Korush before Mohammed's time,⁴ yet as others assure us, that prophet borrowed both the name and the fast from the Jews, it being with them, the tenth of the seventh month, or Tisri, and the great day of expiation commanded to be kept by the law of Moses⁵. Al Kazwini relates that when Mohammed came to Medina and found the Jews there fasted on the day of Ashura, he asked them the reason of it, and they told him it was because on that day Pharaoh and his people were drowned Moses, and those who were with him escaping whereupon he said that he bore a nearer relation to Moses than they, and ordered his followers to fast on that day. However, it seems, afterwards he was not so well pleased in having imitated the Jews herein, and therefore declared, that if he lived another year, he would alter the day, and fast on the ninth abhorring so near an agreement with them.⁶

The pilgrimage to Mecca is so necessary a point of practice, that according to a tradition of Mohammed, he who dies without performing it may as well die a Jew or a Christian, and the same is expressly commanded in the Koran⁷. Before I speak of the time and manner of performing this pilgrimage, it may be proper to give a short account of the temple of Mecca, the chief scene of the Mohammedan worship, in doing which I need be the less prolix, because that edifice has been already described by several writers,⁸ though they, following different relations, have been led into some

⁷ See Koran, chap. 2 p. 22. ⁸ Siphra, fol. 202. ⁹ Tosephoth ad Gemar Yoma. f. 34. ¹ Vide Gemar Yoma. f. 40, and Maimon in Halachoth Tanith c. 5 sect. v. ² Vide Gemar Tanith f. 12, and Yoma, f. 83, and Es Hayim, Tanith c. 1. ³ Al Ghazali. ⁴ Al Barezi, in comment. ad Orat. Ebn Nobat. ⁵ Levit. xvi. 29 and xxiii. 27. ⁶ Ebn al Athir. Vide Pocock, spec. p. 309. ⁷ Al Ghazali. ⁸ Chap. 3 p. 47. See also chap. 22 and chap. 2, p. 16, &c. ⁹ Chardin Voy. de Perse, t. ii. p. 424. &c. Bremond Descriptioni dell'Egitto, &c. lib. i. c. 29. Pitts account of the Isl. &c. of the Mohammedans, p. 98. &c. and Douleauvilliers. Vie de Mohammed, p. 4, &c. which last author is the most particular

mistakes, and agree not with one another in several particulars nor, indeed, do the Arab authors agree in all things, one great reason whereof is their speaking of different times.

The temple of Mecca stands in the midst of the city, and is honoured with the title of *Masjed al alharâm*, i. e. *the sacred or inviolable temple*. What is principally revered in this place, and gives sanctity to the whole, is a square stone building, called the *Caaba*, as some fancy from its *height*, which surpasses that of the other buildings at Mecca,¹ but more probably from its *quadrangular* form, and *Beit Allah*, i. e. *the house of God*, being peculiarly hallowed and set apart for his worship. The length of this edifice, from north to south, is twenty four cubits, its breadth from east to west twenty three cubits, and its height twenty seven cubits the door, which is on the east side, stands about four cubits from the ground, the floor being level with the bottom of the door. In the corner next this door is the *black stone*, of which I shall take notice by and by. On the north side of the *Caaba*, within a semicircular enclosure fifty cubits long, lies the *white stone*, said to be the sepulchre of Ismael, which receives the rain water that falls off the *Caaba* by a spout, formerly of wood² but now of gold. The *Caaba* has a double roof supported within by three octagonal pillars of aloes wood between which, on a bar of iron hang some silver lamps. The outside is covered with rich black damask, adorned with an embroidered band of gold, which is changed every year and was formerly sent by the Khalifa, afterwards by the Sultans of Egypt, and is now provided by the Turkish emperors. At a small distance from the *Caaba*, on the east side, is the station or place of Abraham where is another stone much respected by the Mohammedans, of which something will be said hereafter.

The *Caaba*, at some distance, is surrounded, but not entirely, by a circular enclosure of pillars joined towards the bottom by a low balustrade, and towards the top by bars of silver. Just without this inner enclosure on the south, north, and west sides of the *Caaba*, are three buildings, which are the oratories or places where three of the orthodox sects assemble to perform their devotions (the fourth sect, viz. that of the Shiites making use of the station of Abraham for that purpose), and towards the south east stands the edifice which covers the well *Zemzem*, the treasury and the cupola of al Abbas.³

All these buildings are enclosed, at a considerable distance by a magnificent piazza, or square colonnade, like that of the Royal Exchange in London, but much larger, covered with small domes or cupolas, from the four corners whereof rise as many minarets or steeples, with double galleries, and adorned with gilded spires and crescents, as are the cupolas which cover the piazza and the other buildings. Between the pillars of both enclosures hang a great number of lamps, which are constantly lighted at night. The first foundations of this outward enclosure were laid by Omar, the second Khalif, who built no more than a low wall to prevent the court of the *Caaba*, which before lay open, from being encroached on by private buildings, but the structure has been since raised, by the liberality of many succeeding princes and great men, to its present lustre.⁴

This is properly all that is called the temple but the whole territory of Mecca being also *Haram* or sacred, there is a third enclosure, distinguished at certain distances by small turrets, some five, some seven, and others ten

¹ Ahmed Ebn Yusef ² Sharif al Edrisi, and Kitab Masaneec, apud Poc. Spec. p. 125 &c. ³ Sharif al Edrisi, ibid. ⁴ Idem, ibid. ⁵ Poc. Spec. p. 116.

miles distant from the city * Within this compass of ground it is not lawful to attack an enemy, or even to hunt or fowl, or cut a branch from a tree, which is the true reason why the pigeons at Mecca are reckoned sacred, and not that they are supposed to be of the race of that imaginary pigeon which some authors, who should have known better, would persuade us Mohammed made pass for the Holy Ghost †

The temple of Mecca was a place of worship, and in singular veneration with the Arabs from great antiquity, and many centuries before Mohammed. Though it was most probably dedicated at first to an idolatrous use, ‡ yet the Mohammedans are generally persuaded that the Caaba is almost coeval with the world, for they say that Adam, after his expulsion from paradise, begged of God that he might erect a building like that he had seen there, called Beit al Mamûr, or the frequented house, and al Dorah towards which he might direct his prayers, and which he might compass, as the angels do the celestial one. Whereupon God let down a representation of that house in curtains of light, § and set it in Mecca, perpendicularly under its original † ordering the patriarch to turn towards it when he prayed, and to compass it by way of devotion ¶ After Adam's death his son Seth built a house in the same form, of stones and clay, which being destroyed by the deluge, was rebuilt by Abraham and Ishmael † at God's command, in the place where the former had stood, and after the same model, they being directed therein by revelation ¶

After this edifice had undergone several reparations it was a few years after the birth of Mohammed rebuilt by the Koreish on the old foundation, § and afterwards repaired by Abdallah Ebn Zobair, the Khalif of Mecca, and at length again rebuilt by Yûsuf, surnamed al Hîjry Ebn Yûsuf, in the seventh fourth year of the Hîjra, with some alterations, in the form wherein it now remains ¶ Some years after, however the Khalif Harûn al Rashîd (or, as others write his father al Mohdî or his grandfather al Mansûr,) intended again to change what had been altered by al Hîjry and to reduce the Caaba to the old form in which it was left by Abdallah, but was dissuaded from meddling with it, lest so holy a place should become the sport of princes, and being new modelled after every one's fancy, should lose that reverence which was justly paid it † But notwithstanding the antiquity and holiness of this building, they have a prophecy, by tradition from Mohammed, that in the last times the Ethiopians shall come and utterly demolish it, after which it will not be rebuilt again for ever §

Before we leave the temple of Mecca, two or three particulars deserve further notice One is the celebrated black stone, which is set in silver,

* Gol. Not. in Afrig. p. 99. † Gab. Sion ta, et Jov. Hesronita. de nonnullis Orient. Urbib. ad Calc. Geogr. Nub. p. 21. ‡ Al Mogholtai in his Life of Mohammed says the pigeons of the temple of Mecca are of the breed of those which laid their eggs at the mouth of the cave, where the prophet and Abu Bâcr hid themselves when they fled from that city. See before p. 36. § See before, p. 12. ¶ Some say that the Beit al Mamûr itself was the Caaba of Adam which, having been let down to him from heaven was, at the flood taken up again into heaven and is there kept. Al Zamakh. in Kor. c. 2. † Al Juzi ex Trad. Eben Abbas. It has been observed that the primitive Christian church held a parallel opinion as to the situation of the celestial Jerusalem with respect to the terrestrial for in the apocryphal book of the revelations of St. Peter, (chap. xxvii.) after Jesus had mentioned unto Peter the creation of the seven heavens (whence by the way, it appears that this number of heavens was not devised by Mohammed), and of the angels, begins the description of the heavenly Jerusalem in these words: *We have created the upper Jerusalem above the waters which are above the third heaven, hanging directly over the lower Jerusalem &c.* Vide Gagner, Not. ad Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 28. ‡ Al Shahrastani. § Vide Kor. chap. 2, p. 16. 17. ¶ Al Jannabi, in Vita Abrah.

and lies in the south east corner of the Caaba, being half a cubit high, which looks towards Basra, about two cubits and one third, or which is the same thing, seven spans from the ground. This stone is exceedingly respected by the Mohammedans, and is kissed by the pilgrims with great devotion, being called by some the *right hand of God on earth*. They fable that it is one of the precious stones of paradise, and fell down to the earth with Adam, and being taken up again, or otherwise preserved at the desire the angel Gabriel afterwards brought it back to Abraham when he was building the Caaba. It was at first whiter than milk, but grew black long since by the touch of a menstruous woman, or as others tell us, by the sins of mankind,¹ or rather by the touches and kisses of so many people, the superficies only being black, and the inside still remaining white.² When the Karmatians,³ among other profanations by them offered to the temple of Mecca, took away this stone, they could not be prevailed on for love or money to restore it, though those of Mecca offered no less than five thousand pieces of gold for it.⁴ However, after they had kept it twenty two years, seeing they could not thereby draw the pilgrims from Mecca, they sent it back of their own accord, at the same time bantering its devotees by telling them it was not the true stone: but, as it is said, it was proved to be no counterfeit by its peculiar quality of swimming in water.⁵

Another thing observable in this temple is the stone in Abraham's place, wherein they pretend to show his footsteps, telling us he stood on it when he built the Caaba,⁶ and that it served him for a scaffold, rising and falling of itself as he had occasion,⁷ though another tradition says he stood upon it while the wife of his son Ismael whom he paid a visit to, washed his head. It is now enclosed in an iron chest out of which the pilgrims drink the water of Zemzem⁸ and are ordered to pray at it by the Koran.⁹ The officers of the temple took care to hide this stone when the Karmatians took the other.¹

The last thing I shall take notice of in the temple is the well Zemzem on the east side of the Caaba, and which is covered with a small building and cupola. The Mohammedans are persuaded it is the very spring which gushed out for the relief of Ismael, when Hagar his mother wandered with him in the desert,² and some pretend it was so named from her calling to him when she spied it, in the Egyptian tongue *Zam zem* that is, *Stay, stay*,³ though it seems rather to have had the name from the murmuring of its waters. The water of this well is reckoned holy and is highly revered, being not only drank with particular devotion by the pilgrims but also sent in bottles as a great rarity, to most parts of the Mohammedan dominions. Abdallah, surnamed al Hafedh, from his great memory particularly as to the traditions of Mohammed, gave out that he acquired that faculty by drinking large draughts of Zemzem water,⁴ to which I really believe it as efficacious as that of Helicon to the inspiring of a poet.

To this temple every Mohammedan, who has health and means sufficient,⁵ ought once at least in his life to go on pilgrimage, nor are women excused from the performance of this duty. The pilgrims meet at different places

¹ Al Zamakh, &c. in Kor. Ahmed. Fbn Yusef. ² Poc. Spec. p. 117 &c. ³ These Karmatians were a sect which arose in the year of the Hejra 278 and whose opinions overturned the fundamental points of Mohammedism. See D Herbelot's Bibl. Orient. Art. Carmath, and hereafter, sect. viii. ⁴ D Herbel p. 40. ⁵ Ahmed Fbn Yusef Abulfeda. Vide Poc. Spec. p. 119. ⁶ Abulfeda. ⁷ Vide Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 35. ⁸ Ahmed Fbn Yusef Saifuddin. ⁹ Ahmed Fbn Yusef Chap. 2, p. 16. Vide Poc. Spec. p. 120. ¹⁰ Gen. xxi. 19. ¹¹ G. Sionit. et J. Haar de nonnull Urb. Orient. p. 19. ¹² D Herbel p. 5. ¹³ See Kor chap. 3, p. 47,

near Mecca, according to the different parts from whence they come,⁶ during the months of Shāwal and Dhu'lkaada, being obliged to be there by the beginning of Dhu'lhajja, which month, as its name imports, is peculiarly set apart for the celebration of this solemnity

At the places above mentioned the pilgrims properly commence such, when the men put on the Ikrām or sacred habit, which consists only of two woollen wrappers, one wrapped about their middle to cover their privates, and the other thrown over their shoulders, having their heads bare, and a kind of slippers which cover neither heel nor the instep, and so enter the sacred territory in their way to Mecca. While they have this habit on they must neither hunt nor fowl,⁷ (though they are allowed to fish),⁸ which precept is so punctually observed, that they will not kill even a louse or a flea, if they find them on their bodies, there are some noxious animals, however, which they have permission to kill during the pilgrimage, as kites, ravens, scorpions, mice, and dogs given to bite.⁹ During the pilgrimage it behoves a man to have a constant guard over his words and actions, and to avoid all quarrelling or ill language and all converse with women, and obscene discourse, and to apply his whole intention to the good work he is engaged in

The pilgrims being arrived at Mecca, immediately visit the temple, and then enter on the performance of the prescribed ceremonies, which consist chiefly in going in procession round the Caaba, in running between the mounts Safā and Marwa, in making the station on Mount Arafat, and slaying the victims, and shaving their heads in the valley of Mina. These ceremonies have been so particularly described by others,¹ that I may be excused if I but just mention the most material circumstances thereof

In compassing the Caaba, which they do seven times, beginning at the corner where the black stone is fixed, they use a short quick pace the three first times they go round it and a grave ordinary pace the four last, which it is said was ordered by Mohammed, that his followers might show themselves strong and active, to cut off the hopes of the infidels, who gave out that the immoderate heats of Medina had rendered them weak.² But the aforesaid quick pace they are not obliged to use every time they perform this piece of devotion but only at some particular times.³ So often as they pass by the black stone they either kiss it, or touch it with their hand, and kiss that

The running between Safā and Marwa⁴ is also performed seven times, partly with a slow pace, and partly running⁵ for they walk gravely till they come to a place between two pillars, and there they run, and afterwards walk again, sometimes looking back, and sometimes stopping, like one who has lost something to represent Hagar seeking water for her son.⁶ for the ceremony is said to be as ancient as her time.⁷

On the ninth of Dhul hajja, after morning prayer, the pilgrims leave the valley of Mina, whither they come the day before, and proceed in a tumultuous and rushing manner to mount Arafat,⁸ where they stay to perform their devotions till sunset then they go to Mozdalifa, an oratory between Arafat and Mina, and there spend the night in prayer and reading the Korān. The next morning by daybreak they visit al Mashar al naram, or

⁶ Vide Bobov de Peregr Mecc. p 12, &c. ⁷ Koran chap 5. ⁸ Ibid. ⁹ Al Beid. ¹ Bobov de Peregr Mecc p 11, &c. Chardin, Voy de Persie tom 2, p 440 &c. See also Pitt account of the reli &c of Mohammedans, p 92, &c. (agnie) Vide Moh tom 2 p 258 &c. Abulfed Vit Moh p 130, &c. and Reland de Moh p 113, &c. Fbani Athir. ² Vide Pocock, Spec. p. 314. ³ See before p 15. ⁴ Al Ghazal. ⁵ Reland, in R. Moh p 121. ⁶ Ebn al Athir. ⁷ &c. ⁸ L. 2 chap 2, p 23

the sacred monument,⁹ and departing thence before sunrise, haste by Batn Mohasser to the valley of Mina, where they throw seven stones¹ at three marks or pillars, in imitation of Abraham, who meeting the devil in that place, and being by him disturbed in his devotions, or tempted to disobedience, when he was going to sacrifice his son, was commanded by God to drive him away by throwing stones at him,² though others pretend this rite to be as old as Adam, who also put the devil to flight in the same place, and by the same means.³

This ceremony being over, on the same day, the tenth of Dhulhijja, the pilgrims slay their victims in the said valley of Mina, of which they and their friends eat part, and the rest is given to the poor. These victims must be either sheep, goats, kine, or camels, males, of either of the two former kinds, and females if of either of the latter and of an age.⁴ The sacrifices being over, they shave their heads and cut their nails burying them in the same place, after which the pilgrimage is looked on as completed,⁵ though they again visit the Caaba, to take their leave of that sacred building.

The above-mentioned ceremonies by the confession of the Mohammedans themselves, were almost all of them observed by the Pagan Arabs many ages before their prophet's appearance, and particularly the compassing of the Caaba, the running between Sata and Merwa, and the throwing of the stones in Mina, and were confirmed by Mohammed with some alterations in such points as seemed most exceptionable: thus, for example, he ordered that when they compassed the Caaba, they should be *clothed*,⁶ whereas before his time they performed that piece of devotion *naked* throwing off their cloths as a mark that they had cast off their sins,⁷ or as signs of their disobedience towards God.⁸

It is also acknowledged that the greater part of these rites are of no intrinsic worth neither affecting the soul nor agreeing with natural reason, but altogether arbitrary and commanded merely to try the obedience of mankind with ut any further view and are therefore to be complied with, not that they are good in themselves but because God has so appointed.⁹ Some, however have endeavoured to find out some reasons for the arbitrary injunctions of this kind, and one writer¹ supposing men ought to imitate the heavenly bodies, not only in their purity but in their circular motion seems to argue the procession round the Caaba to be therefore a rational practice. Reland² has observed that the Romans had something like this in their worship being ordered by Numa to use a circular motion in the adoration of the gods either to represent the orbicular motion of the world, or the perfecting the whole office of prayer to that God who is maker of the universe or else in allusion to the Egyptian wheels, which were hieroglyphics of the instability of human fortune.³

The pilgrimage to Mecca, and the ceremonies prescribed to those who perform it, are, perhaps, liable to greater exception than any other of

⁹ See Koran, chap. 2, p. 23. M. Gagner has been twice guilty of a mistake in confounding this monument with the sacred enclosure of the Caaba. Vide Gagner Not ad Abulfid Vit. Moh p. 131 et Vie de Moh tom 2, p. 262. ¹ Dr. Locock from al Ghazali, says seventy, at different times and places. Spec. p. 315. ² Al Ghazali. Ahmed Ibn Yusef. ³ Ebn al Athir. ⁴ Vide Reland, ubi sup. p. 117. ⁵ See Kor. chap. 2, p. 23. ⁶ Idem. chap. 7. ⁷ Al Faki, de Tempore Ignis Arabum, apud Millium de Mohammedismo ante Moh. p. 322. Compare Isaiah lxiv. 6. ⁸ Jallal al Beid. This notion comes very near if it be not the same with that of the Adamites. ⁹ Al Ghazali vide Abulfar Hist. Dyn. p. 171. ¹ Abu Janfar Ebn Tofail, in Vita Hai Ebn Yokdhan p. 161. See Mr. Ockley's English translation thereof, p. 117. ² De Rel. Moh. p. 123. ³ Plutarch, in Numa.

Mohammed's institutions, not only as silly and ridiculous in themselves, but as relics of idolatrous superstition.⁴ Yet whoever seriously considers how difficult it is to make people submit to the abolishing of ancient customs, how unreasonable soever, which they are fond of, especially where the interest of a considerable party is also concerned, and that a man may with less danger change many things than one great one,⁵ must excuse Mohammed's yielding some points of less moment, to gain the principal. The temple of Mecca was held in excessive veneration by all the Arabs in general (if we except only the tribes of Tay, and Khathaam, and some of the posterity of al Harith Ebn Caab,⁶ who used not to go in pilgrimage thereto), and especially by those of Mecca, who had a particular interest to support that veneration, and as the most silly and insignificant things are generally the objects of the greatest superstition, Mohammed found it much easier to abolish idolatry itself than to eradicate the superstitious bigotry with which they were addicted to that temple, and the rites performed there wherefore, after several fruitless trials to wean them therefrom,⁷ he thought it best to compromise the matter and, rather than to frustrate his whole design to allow them to go on pilgrimage thither, and to direct their prayers thereto contenting himself with transferring the devotions there paid from their idols to the true God, and changing such circumstances therein as he judged might give scandal. And herein he followed the example of the most famous legislators, who instituted not such laws as were absolutely the best in themselves, but the best their people were capable of receiving and we find God himself had the same condescendence for the Jews, whose hardness of heart he humoured in many things giving them therefore statutes that were not good and judgments whereby they should not live.⁸

SECTION V

OF CERTAIN NEGATIVE PRECEPTS IN THE KORAN

HAVING in the preceding section spoken of the fundamental points of the Mohammedan religion relating both to faith and to practice I shall in this and the two following discourses speak in the same brief method of some other precepts and institutions of the Koran, which deserve peculiar notice, and first of certain things which are thereby prohibited.

The drinking of wine under which name all sorts of strong and intoxicating liquors are comprehended, is forbidden in the Koran in more places than one.⁹ Some indeed, have imagined that only excess therein is forbidden, and that the moderate use of wine is allowed by two passages in the same book.¹ but the more received opinion is, that to drink any strong liquors, either in a lesser quantity or in a greater, is absolutely unlawful, and though libertines indulge themselves in the contrary practice,² yet the more conscientious are so strict, especially if they have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca,³ that they hold it unlawful not only to taste wine, but to press

⁴ Maimonides (in Epist ad Prosel Rel.) pretends that the worship of Mercury was performed by throwing of stones, and that of Chemosh by making bare the head and putting on unsewn garments. ⁵ According to the maxim, *Tutius est multa mutare quam unum magnum.* ⁶ Al Shahrestani. ⁷ See Kor chap 2, p 17. ⁸ Ezek xx 25. Vide Spencer de Urin et Thummim, cap 4 sect. 7. ⁹ See chap. 2, p 25, and chap 6. ¹ Chap 2, p 25 and chap 16. Vide D Herbel Bibl Orient p 696. ² Vide Smith, de Morib et Institut Turcar Ep 2, p 28, &c. ³ Vide Chardin, ubi supra, p 212.

grapes for the making of it, to buy or to sell it, or even to maintain themselves with the money arising by the sale of the liquor. The Persians, however, as well as the Turks, are very fond of wine, and if one asks them how it comes to pass that they venture to drink it, when it is so directly forbidden by their religion, they answer, that it is with them as with the Christians, whose religion prohibits drunkenness and whoredom as great sins, and who glory, notwithstanding some in debauching girls and married women, and others in drinking to excess.⁴

It has been a question whether coffee comes not under the above mentioned prohibition,⁵ because the fumes of it have some effect on the imagination. This drink, which was first publicly used at Aden, in Arabia Felix, about the middle of the ninth century of the Hejra, and thence gradually introduced into Mecca, Medina, Egypt, Syria, and other parts of the Levant, has been the occasion of great disputes and disorders, having been sometimes publicly condemned and forbidden, and again declared lawful and allowed.⁶ At present the use of coffee is generally tolerated, if not granted, as is that of tobacco, though the more religious make a scruple of taking the latter, not only because it incrinates, but also out of respect to a traditional saying of their prophet (which if it could be made out to be his would prove him a prophet indeed), *That in the latter days there should be men who should bear the name of Moslems, but should not be really such, and that they should smoke a certain weed, which should be called TOBACCO* however, the eastern nations are generally so addicted to both that they say *a dish of coffee and a pipe of tobacco are a complete entertainment*, and the Persians have a proverb, *that coffee without tobacco is meat without salt*.⁷

Opium and beng (which latter is the leaves of hemp in pills or conserve) are also by the rigid Mohammedans esteemed unlawful, though not mentioned in the Koran, because they intoxicate and disturb the understanding as wine does, and in a more extraordinary manner. Yet these drugs are now commonly taken in the east, but they who are addicted to them are generally looked upon as debauchees.⁸

Several stories have been told as the occasion of Mohammed's prohibiting the drinking of wine,⁹ but the true reasons are given in the Koran, viz., because the ill qualities of that liquor surpass its good ones, the common effects thereof being quarrels and disturbances in company, and neglect, or at least indecencies, in the performance of religious duties.¹ For these reasons it was, that the priests were, by the Levitical law, forbidden to drink wine or strong drink when they entered the tabernacle,² and that the Nazarites³ and Rechabites⁴ and many pious persons among the Jews and primitive Christians wholly abstained therefrom, nay, some of the latter went so far as to condemn the use of wine as sinful.⁵ But Mohammed is said to have had a nearer example than any of these, in the more devout persons of his own tribe.⁶

⁴ Chardin ubi sup p 344. ⁵ Abd alkader Mohammed al Ansari has written a treatise concerning coffee, wherein he argues for its lawfulness. Vide D Herbel Art. Cahvah. ⁶ Vide Le Traité Historique de l Origine et du Progrès du Café a la fin du Voy de l Arabie Heure de la Roque. ⁷ Reland Dissert. Miscell tom 2 p 280. Vide Chardin Voy de Perse, tom 2, p 14, and 66. ⁸ Vide Chardin ibid p 68 &c and D Herbel p 200. ⁹ Vide Pride of Moh p 82. &c Busbeq Epist. 3, p 255 and Maundeville's Travels, p 170. ¹ Kor chap 2 p 25, chap 5 and chap 4, p 66. See Prov xxiii. 29 &c. ² Levit x 9. ³ Num vi 2. ⁴ Jerom xxxv 5, &c. ⁵ This was the heresy of those called Encratites, and Aquary Khwa! a Magian heretic also declared wine unlawful but this was after Mohammed's time. Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p 300. ⁶ Vide Reland, de Rel. Moh. p 271.

Gaming is prohibited by the Korân⁷ in the same passages, and for the same reasons, as wine. The word *al Meisar*, which is there used, signifies a particular manner of casting lots by arrows, much practised by the pagan Arabs, and performed in the following manner. A young camel being bought and killed, and divided into ten, or twenty-eight parts, the persons who cast lots for them, to the number of seven, met for that purpose, and eleven arrows were provided, without heads of feathers, seven of which were marked, the first with one notch, the second with two, and so on, and the other four had no mark at all,⁸ these arrows were put promiscuously into a bag, and then drawn by an indifferent person, who had another near him to receive them, and to see he acted fairly, those to whom the marked arrows fell won shares in proportion to their lot, and those to whom the blanks fell were entitled to no part of the camel at all, but were obliged to pay the full price of it. The winners, however, tasted not of the flesh, any more than the losers, but the whole was distributed among the poor, and this they did out of pride and ostentation it being reckoned a shame for a man to stand out, and not venture his money on such an occasion.⁹ This custom, therefore, though it was of some use to the poor, and diversion to the rich, was forbidden by Mohammed,¹ as the source of greater inconveniences, by occasioning quarrels and heart-burnings, which arose from the winners insulting of those who lost.

Under the name of *lots* the commentators agree that all other games whatsoever, which are subject to hazard or chance, are comprehended and forbidden, as dice, cards, tables, &c. And they are reckoned so ill in themselves, that the testimony of him who plays at them is, by the more rigid, judged to be of no validity in a court of justice. Chess is almost the only game which the Mohammedan doctors allow to be lawful (though it has been a doubt with some),² because it depends wholly on skill and management and not at all on chance but then it is allowed under certain restrictions, viz. that it be no hinderance to the regular performance of their devotions and that no money or other thing be played for or betted, which the Turks and Sonmites religiously observe, but the Persians and Moguls do not.³ But what Mohammed is supposed chiefly to have disliked in the game of chess, was the carved pieces, or men, with which the Pagan Arabs played, being little figures of men, elephants horses and diomedaries,⁴ and these are thought, by some commentators to be truly meant by the *images* prohibited in one of the passages of the Koran⁵ quoted above. That the Arabs in Mohammed's time actually used such images for chessmen appears from what is related, in the Sonnet, of Ali, who passing accidentally by some who were playing at chess, asked *What images they were which they were so intent upon?*⁶ for they were perfectly new to him, that game having been but very lately introduced into Arabia, and not long before into Persia, whither it was first brought from India, in the reign of Khosru Nushirwan.⁷ Hence the Mohammedan doctors infer that the game was disapproved only for the sake of the images wherefore the Sonmites always play with plain pieces of wood or ivory, but the Persians and Indians, who are not so scrupulous, continue to make use of the carved ones.⁸

⁷ Chap. 2, p. 25 chap. 5. ⁸ Some writers, as al Zamakh and al Shirazi, mention but three blank arrows. ⁹ Auctores Nodham al dorr and Nothr al dorr, al Zamakh, al Firauzabadi al Shirazi in Orat al Hariri, al Beidawi, &c. Vide Poc. Spec. p. 324 &c. ¹ Koran chap. 5 p. 81. ² Vide Hyde, de Ludis Orientali in Proleg. ad Shahliadum. ³ Vide Fund. ibid. ⁴ Vide Iudem, ibid. and in Hist. Shahiadij p. 135, &c. ⁵ Chap. 5. ⁶ Sokenker al Dimushki and Auctor libri al Mostatrafi, apud Hyde, ubi sup. p. 8. ⁷ Khondemir, apud eund. ibid. p. 41. ⁸ Vide Hyde, ubi sup. p. 8.

liberty, and when she died, her flesh was eaten by the men only, the women being forbidden to eat thereof and such a camel or sheep, from the *slitting of her ear*, they called Bahira. Or the Bahira was a she-camel, which was turned loose to feed, and whose fifth young one, if it proved a male, was killed and eaten by men and women promiscuously but if it proved a female, had its ear slit, and was dismissed to free pasture, none being permitted to make use of its flesh or milk, or to ride on it, though the women were allowed to eat the flesh of it, when it died or it was the female young of the Suba, which was used in the same manner as its dam, or else an ewe, which had yeaned five times.¹ These, however, are not all the opinions concerning the Bahira for some suppose that name was given to a she-camel, which, after having brought forth young five times (if the last was a male), had her ear slit as a mark thereof, and was let go loose to feed, none driving her from pasture or water, nor using her for carriage;² and others tell us, that when a camel had newly brought forth they used to slit the ear of her young one, saying "O God, if it live it shall be for our use, but if it die it shall be deemed rightly slain," and when it died, they ate it.³

Suba signifies a she camel turned loose to go where she will. And thus was done on various accounts as when she had brought forth females ten times together, or in satisfaction of a vow, or when a man had recovered from sickness, or returned safe from a journey, or his camel had escaped some signal danger either in battle or otherwise. A camel so turned loose was declared to be Suba, and, as a mark of it, one of the *costbræ* or bones was taken out of her back, after which none might drive her from pasture or water, or ride on her.⁴ Some say that the Suba, when she had ten times together brought forth females, was suffered to go at liberty, none being allowed to ride on her, and that her milk was not to be drank by any but her young one, or a guest, till she died, and then her flesh was eaten by men as well as women, and her last female young one had her ear slit, and was called Bahira, and turned loose as her dam had been.⁵

This appellation however, was not so strictly proper to female camels, but that it was given to the male when his young one had begotten another young one.⁶ Any servant set at liberty and dismissed by his master was also called Suba and some are of opinion that the word denotes any animal which the Araab used to turn loose in honour of their idols, allowing none to make use of them thereafter, except women only.⁷

Wasila is by one author,⁸ explained to signify a she camel which had brought forth ten times or an ewe which had yeaned seven times, and every time twins, and if the seventh time she brought forth a male and a female, they said, *Wosil it akhitha, i. e. She is joined or was brought forth with her brother*, after which none might drink the dam's milk, except men only, and she was used as the Suba. Or Wasila was particularly meant of sheep, as when an ewe brought forth a female, they took it to themselves but when she brought forth a male they consecrated it to their gods, but if both a male and a female, they said, *She is joined to her brother*, and did not sacrifice that male to their gods or Wasila was an ewe which brought forth first a male, and then a female, on which account, or because she followed her brother, the male was not killed, but if she brought forth a male only, they said, *Let this be an offering to our gods*.⁹ Another¹⁰ writes,

¹ Al Firazabali. ² Al Zamakh., al Beidawi al Mostatraf. ³ Ebn al Athir. ⁴ Al Firazab., al Zamakh. ⁵ Al Jawhari. Ebn al Athir. ⁶ Al Firauz. ⁷ Idem al Jawhari. &c. ⁸ Nothr al dorr, and Nodhm al dorr. ⁹ Al Firauz. ¹⁰ Idem al Zamakh. ¹¹ Al Jawhari.

that an ewe brought forth twins seven times together, and the eighth time a male, they sacrificed that male to their gods, but if the eighth time she brought forth a male and a female, they used to say, *She is joined to her brother*, and for the females sake they spared the male, and permitted not the dam's milk to be drank by women. A third writer tells us, that Wasila was an ewe, which having yeaned seven times, if that which she brought forth the seventh time was a male, they sacrificed it, but if a female, it was suffered to go loose, and was made use of by women only, and if the seventh time she brought forth both a male and a female, they held them both to be sacred, so that men only were allowed to make any use of them, or to drink the milk of the female. and a fourth³ describes it to be an ewe which brought forth ten females at five births one after another, i. e. every time twins, and whatever she brought forth afterwards was allowed to men, and not to women, &c

Hami was a male camel used for a stallion, which, if the females had conceived ten times by him, was afterwards *freed from labour*, and let go loose none driving him from pasture or from water, nor was any allowed to receive the least benefit from him, not even to shear his hair⁴

These things were observed by the old Arabs in honour of their false gods⁵ and as part of the worship which they paid them, and were ascribed to the divine institution, but are all condemned in the Korân, and declared to be impious superstitions⁶

The law of Mohammed also put a stop to the inhuman custom, which had been long practised by the pagan Arabs of burying their daughters alive, lest they should be reduced to poverty by providing for them, or else to avoid the disgrace which would follow, if they should happen to be made captives, or to become scandalous by their behaviour,⁷ the birth of a daughter being, for these reasons, reckoned a great misfortune⁸ and the death of one as great a happiness⁹. The manner of their doing this is differently related, some say that when an Arab had a daughter born, if he intended to bring her up he sent her, clothed in a garment of wool or hair, to keep camels or sheep in the desert, but if he designed to put her to death, he let her live till she became six years old, and then said to her mother "Perfume her and adorn her that I may carry her to her mothers, which being done, the father led her to a well or pit dug for that purpose, and having bid her to look down into it, pushed her in headlong, as he stood behind her, and then filling up the pit, levelled it with the rest of the ground. but others say, that when a woman was ready to fall in labour they dug a pit on the brink whereof she was to be delivered, and if the child happened to be a daughter, they threw it into the pit but if a son, they saved it alive¹. This custom, though not observed by all the Arabs in general, was yet very common among several of their tribes, and particularly those of Koreish and Kendah, the former using to bury their daughters alive in mount Abu Dalâma, near Mecca². In the time of ignorance, while they used this method to get rid of their daughters, Sa'adâ, grandfather to the celebrated poet al Farazdak, frequently redeemed female children from death, giving for every one two she-camels big with young, and a he-camel, and hereto al Farazdak alluded when, vaunting himself before one of the Khalifs of the family of Omeyya, he said, "I am the son of the giver of life to the dead, for which expression being censured, he excused himself by

³ Al Motarrezî. ⁴ Al Firauz al Jawhari. ⁵ Jallal. in Kor. ⁶ Kor chap 5 p 95, and chap 6. Vide Poc. Spec. p 330 334. ⁷ Al Beidawi, al Zamakhshari. ⁸ Al Mostatrafi. ⁹ See Koran, chap 16. ¹ Al Meidani. ² Al Zamakhshari. ³ Al Mostatrafi.

alleging the following words of the Korân,³ "He who saveth a soul alive shall be as if he had saved the lives of all mankind"⁴ The Arabs in thus murdering of their children, were far from being singular, the practice of exposing infants and putting them to death being so common among the ancients, that it is remarked as a thing very extraordinary in the Egyptians, that they brought up *all* their children,⁵ and by the laws of Lycurgus⁶ no child was allowed to be brought up, without the approbation of public officers. At this day, it is said, in China, the poorer sort of people frequently put their children, the females especially, to death, with impunity.⁷

This wicked practice is condemned by the Korân in several passages,⁸ one of which, as some commentators⁹ judge may also condemn another custom of the Arabians, altogether as wicked, and as common among other nations of old, viz, the sacrificing of their children to their idols, as was frequently done in particular in satisfaction of a vow they used to make, that if they had a certain number of sons born, they would offer one of them in sacrifice.

Several other superstitious customs were likewise abrogated by Mohammed, but the same being of less moment and not particularly mentioned in the Korân or having been occasionally taken notice of elsewhere, I shall say nothing of them in this place.

SECTION VI.

OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE KORAN IN CIVIL AFFAIRS.

THE Mohammedan civil law is founded on the precepts and determinations of the Koran, as the civil laws of the Jews were on those of the Pentateuch, yet being variously interpreted according to the different decisions of their civilians and especially of their four great doctors Abu Humsf Malec, al Shâfi, and Ebn Hanbal,¹ to treat thereof fully and distinctly, in the manner the curiosity and usefulness of the subject deserves, would require a large volume wherefore the most that can be expected here is a summary view of the principal institutions, without minutely entering into a detail of particulars. We shall begin with those relating to marriage and divorce.

That *polygamy*, for the moral lawfulness of which the Mohammedan doctors advance several arguments,² is allowed by the Korân, every one knows, though few are acquainted with the limitations with which it is allowed. Several learned men have fallen into the vulgar mistake, that

³ Koran chap. 5 p 86 ⁴ Al Mostatraf Vide Ebn Khalekan in Vita al Farazdak, and Proc Spec p 334. ⁵ Strabo lib 17 Vide Diodor Sic lib 1 c. 80 ⁶ Vide Plutarch in Lycurgo ⁷ Vide Pufendorf de Jure Nat. et Gent lib 6, c 7 sect 6 The Grecians also treated daughters especially in this manner, whence that saying of Posidippus,

Τὸν τριφύτι πὶ καὶ πένης οὐ τυχὼ
θυγατὶς δὲ πτωχοῦ καὶ ἡ πλουτοῦτος

⁸ A man though poor will not expose his son
But if he is rich will scarce preserve his daughter

See Potter's Antiquities of Greece, vol 2, p. 333. ⁹ Chap 6, chap 16, and chap. 17

See also chap 81 ¹ Al Zamakh al Beid

² See before, sect 2, p 29.

Mohammed granted to his followers an unbounded plurality, some pretending that a man may have as many wives,³ and others as many concubines,⁴ as he can maintain whereas, according to the express words of the Korân,⁵ no man can have more than four, whether wives or concubines,⁶ and if a man apprehend any inconvenience from even that number of ingenuous wives, it is added, as an advice (which is generally followed by the middling and inferior people),⁷ that he marry one only, or if he cannot be contented with one, that he may take up with his she slaves, not exceeding, however the limited number,⁸ and this is certainly the utmost Mohammed allowed his followers nor can we urge, as an argument against so plain a precept, the corrupt manners of his followers, many of whom, especially men of quality and fortune, indulge themselves in criminal excesses,⁹ nor yet the example of the prophet himself, who had peculiar privileges in this and other points, as will be observed hereafter. In making the above-mentioned limitation, Mohammed was directed by the decision of the Jewish doctors, who, by way of counsel, limit the number of wives to four,¹ though their law confines them not to any certain number.²

Divorce is also well known to be allowed by the Mohammedan law, as it was by the Mosaic with this difference only that according to the latter a man could not take again a woman whom he had divorced, and who had been married or betrothed to another,³ whereas Mohammed, to prevent his followers from divorcing their wives on every light occasion, or out of an inconstant humour, ordained that if a man divorced his wife the third time (for he might divorce her twice without being obliged to part with her, if he repented of what he had done), it should not be lawful for him to take her again until she had been first married and bedded by another, and divorced by such second husband.⁴ And this precaution has had so good an effect that the Mohammedans are seldom known to proceed to the extremity of divorce, notwithstanding the liberty given them, it being reckoned a great disgrace so to do and there are but few, besides those who have little or no sense of honour, that will take a wife again, on the condition enjoined.⁵ It must be observed that though a man is allowed by the Mohammedan, as by the Jewish law,⁶ to repudiate his wife even on the slightest disgust, yet the women are not allowed to separate themselves from their husbands, unless it be for ill usage want of proper maintenance, neglect of conjugal duty, impotency, or some cause of equal import, but then she generally loses her dowry,⁷ which she does not,

³ Nicæsanus, in Cribat Alcor lib 2 cap 19 Olearius, in Itinerar P Greg Tholosanus in Synt Juris lib 9 c 2 sect 22 Septemcastrensis (de Morib Turc p 24) says the Mohammedans may have twelve lawful wives and no more Ricaut falsely asserts the restraint of the number of their wives to be no precept of their religion but a rule superinduced on a politic consideration Pres State of the Ottoman empire book 3 chap 21. ⁴ Mirraze in Prodr ad Refut Alcor part 4, p 52, & 71 Pridcaux Life of Moh p 114 Chardin, Voy de Perse tom 1 p 166. Du Ruyr Sommaire de la Rel des Turcs, mis à la tête de sa version de l Alcor Ricaut ubi supra Lufendorf de Jure Nat et Gent lib 6, c 1, sect 18. ⁵ Chap 4, p 59. ⁶ Vide Gagner in notis ad Abulfedæ Vit. Moh p 150. Reland, de Rel. Moh p 243 &c and Selden Ux Hebr lib 1 cap 9. ⁷ Vide Reland ubi sup p 244. ⁸ Kor chap 4 p 59. ⁹ Sir J Maundeville (who, excepting a few silly stories he tells from hearsay, deserves more credit than some travellers of better reputation) speaking, of the Koran observes, among several other truths, that Mohammed therein commanded a man should have two wives, or three or four though the Mohammedans then took nine wives, and lemans as many as they might sustain Maundev Travels, p 164. ¹ Maimon in Halachoth Ishoth, c 14. ² Idem ibid Vide Selden Uxor Hebr lib 1 c 9. ³ Deut xxiv 3 4. Jer iii 1 Vide Selden ubi sup lib 1 c 11. ⁴ Koran chap 2, p 27. ⁵ Vide Selden ubi sup lib 3, cap 21, and Ricaut State of the Ottoman Empire, book 2, chap 21. ⁶ Deut. xxiv 1. Leo Moena, Hist deg. i Ritu Hebr part 1, c 6. Vide Selden, ubi sup. ⁷ Vide

if divorced by her husband, unless she has been guilty of impudicity, or notorious disobedience.¹

When a woman is divorced, she is obliged, by the direction of the Koran to wait till she hath had her courses thrice, or, if there be a doubt whether she be subjected to them or not, by reason of her age, three months, before she marry another, after which time expired, in case she be found not with child, she is at full liberty to dispose of herself as she pleases, but if she prove with child, she must wait till she be delivered and during her whole term of waiting, she may continue in the husband's house, and is to be maintained at his expense, it being forbidden to turn a woman out before the expiration of the term unless she be guilty of dishonesty.² Where a man divorces a woman before consummation, she is not obliged to wait any particular time,³ nor is he obliged to give her more than one half of her dower.⁴ If the divorced woman have a young child she is to suckle it till it be two years old, the father in the mean time maintaining her in all respects a widow is also obliged to do the same, and to wait four months and ten days before she marry again.⁵

These rules are also copied from those of the Jews, according to whom a divorced woman, or a widow, cannot marry another man till ninety days be past, after the divorce or death of the husband,⁶ and she who gives suck is to be maintained for two years, to be computed from the birth of the child, within which time she must not marry, unless the child die, or her milk be dried up.⁷

Whoredom in single women as well as married, was, in the beginning of Mohammedism very severely punished such being ordered to be shut up in prison till they died but afterwards it was ordained by the Sonna, that an adulteress should be stoned,⁸ and an unmarried woman guilty of fornication scourged with an hundred stripes and banished for a year.⁹ A she-slave, if convicted of adultery, is to suffer but half the punishment of a free woman¹⁰ viz. fifty stripes, and banishment for six months, but is not to be put to death. To convict a woman of adultery, so as to make it capital, four witnesses are expressly required,¹¹ and those, as the commentators say, ought to be men and if a man falsely accuse a woman of reputation of whoredom of any kind, and is not able to support the charge by that number of witnesses, he is to receive fourscore stripes and his testimony is to be held invalid for the future.¹² Fornication, in either sex, is by the sentence of the Koran to be punished with an hundred stripes.¹³

If a man accuse his wife of infidelity and is not able to prove it by sufficient evidence, and will swear four times that it is true, and the fifth time imprecate God's vengeance on him if it be false, she is to be looked on as convicted, unless she will take the like oaths, and make the like imprecation, in testimony of her innocency, which if she do, she is free from punishment, though the marriage ought to be dissolved.¹⁴

Buxeq Fp 3 p 184 Smith de Morib ac Instit Turcar Fp 2, p 52 and Chardin, Voy de Perse, tom 1 p 169 ¹ Koran chap 4 p 62, 63 ² Idem chap 2, p 28, and 27, and chap 65 ³ Ibid chap 33 ⁴ Ibid. chap 2 p 27 ⁵ Ibid chap 2, p 17 and chap 65 ⁶ Mishna, tit. Yabimoth c 4 Gemar Babyl ad cund tit Maimon in Halach Girushim Shylhan Aruch, part 3 ⁷ Mishna, and Gemara, and Maimon ubi supra Gem Babyl ad tit Cetuboth, c 5 and Jos Karo in Shylhan Aruch c 50 sect 2. Vide Selden Ux Hebr lib 2 c 11 and lib 3, c. 10 in fin ⁸ And the adulterer also according to a passage once extant in the Koran and still in force as some suppose. See the notes to Kor chap 3 p 37, and the Prel. Disc p 48 ⁹ Kor chap 4 p 61, 62 See the notes there ¹⁰ Ibid. p 63 ¹¹ Kor chap 4 p 61 62. See notes there ¹² Kor chap 24 ¹³ Ibid This law relates not to married people, as Selden supposes, Ux. Heb lib 3, c. 12. ¹⁴ Ibid. See the notes there

In most of the last-mentioned particulars, the decisions of the Korân also agree with those of the Jews. By the law of Moses, adultery, whether in a married woman or a virgin betrothed, was punished with death, and the man who debauched them was to suffer the same punishment.⁵ The penalty of simple fornication was scourging, the general punishment in cases where none is particularly appointed and a betrothed bond-maid, if convicted of adultery, underwent the same punishment, being exempted from death, *because she was not free*.⁶ By the same law, no person was to be put to death on the oath of one witness⁷ and a man who slandered his wife was also to be chastised, that is, scourged and fined one hundred shekels of silver.⁸ The method of trying a woman suspected of adultery, where evidence was wanting, by forcing her to drink the bitter water of jealousy,⁹ though disused by the Jews long before the time of Mohammed,¹ yet, by reason of the oath of cursing with which the woman was charged, and to which she was obliged to say *Amen* bears great resemblance to the expedient devised by that prophet on the like occasion.

The institutions of Mohammed relating to the pollution of women during their courses,² the taking of slaves to wife,³ and the prohibiting of marriage within certain degrees,⁴ have likewise no small affinity with the institutions of Moses,⁵ and the parallel might be carried farther in several other particulars.

As to the prohibited degrees, it may be observed, that the Pagan Arabs abstained from marrying their mothers, daughters, and aunts, both on the father's side and on the mother's, and held it a most scandalous thing to marry two sisters, or for a man to take his father's wife,⁶ which last was notwithstanding too frequently practised,⁷ and is expressly forbidden in the Korân.⁸

Before I leave the subject of marriages, it may be proper to take notice of peculiar privileges in relation thereto, which were granted by God to Mohammed as he gave out, exclusive of all other Moslems. One of them was that he might lawfully marry as many wives, and have as many concubines as he pleased, without being confined to any particular number,⁹ and thus he pretended to have been the privilege of the prophets before him. Another was that he might alter the turns of his wives, and take such of them to his bed as he thought fit without being tied to that order and equality which others are obliged to observe.¹ A third privilege was that no man might marry any of his wives² either such as he should divorce during his lifetime, or such as he should leave widows at his death which last particular exactly agrees with what the Jewish doctors have determined concerning the wives of their princes, it being judged by them to be a thing very indecent, and for that reason un-

⁵ Lev xx 10 Deut xxii 22 The kind of death to be inflicted on adulterers in common cases being not expressed, the Talmudists generally suppose it to be *strangling* which they think is designed wherever the phrase *shall be put to death* or *shall die the death*, is used, as they imagine *stoning* is by the expression *his blood shall be upon him* and hence it has been concluded by some that the woman taken in adultery mentioned in the gospel (John viii) was a *betrothed maiden* because such a one and her accomplice were plainly ordered to be stoned (Deut xxii 23, 24) But the ancients seem to be of a different opinion, and to have understood stoning to be the punishment of adulterers in general Vide Selden Ux Hebr lib 3, c 11 and 12 ⁶ Levit xix 20 ⁷ Deut xix 15, xvii 6 and Num xxxv 30 ⁸ Deut xxii 13—19 ⁹ Num v 11, &c. ¹ Vide Selden ubi sup lib 3 c 15 and Leon Medina de Riti Hebraici parte 4 c 6. ² Kor chap 2, p 26 ³ Ibid chap 4, p 60 and 63 &c. ⁴ Chap 4, p 62 ⁵ See Lev xv 24 xviii 19 and xx 18 Exod xxi 8—11 Deut xxi 10—14 Lev xviii and xx ⁶ Abulfed Hist Gen al Shahrestani apud Poc Spec p 321 and 338 ⁷ Vide Poc Ibid p 337, &c ⁸ Chap 4, p 62 ⁹ Kor chap 33 See also chap 66, and the notes there ¹ Kor chap 33 See the notes there ² Kor chap 33

lawful, for another to marry either the divorced wife or the widow of a king,³ and Mohammed, it seems, thought an equal respect, at least, due to the *prophetic* as to the *regal* dignity, and therefore ordered that his relicts should pass the remainder of their lives in perpetual widowhood.

The laws of the Koran concerning inheritances are also in several respects conformable to those of the Jews, though principally designed to abolish certain practices of the pagan Arabs, who used to treat widows and orphan children with great injustice, frequently denying them any share in the inheritance of their fathers or their husbands, on pretence that the same ought to be distributed among those only who were able to bear arms, and disposing of the widows, even against their consent, as part of their husbands' possessions.⁴ To prevent such injuries for the future, Mohammed ordered that women should be respected, and orphans have no wrong done them, and in particular that women should not be taken against their wills, as by right of inheritance, but should themselves be entitled to a distributive part of what their parents, husbands, and near relations, should leave behind them, in a certain proportion.⁵

The general rule to be observed in the distribution of the deceased's estate is, that a male shall have twice as much as a female⁶ but to this rule there are some few exceptions—a man's parents, for example, and also his brothers and sisters, where they are entitled not to the whole, but a small part of the inheritance, being to have equal shares with one another in the distribution thereof, without making any difference on account of sex.⁷ The particular proportions, in several cases, distinctly and sufficiently declare the intention of Mohammed, whose decisions expressed in the Koran⁸ seem to be pretty equitable, preferring a man's children first, and then his nearest relations.

If a man dispose of any part of his estate by will two witnesses, at the least, are required to render the same valid, and such witnesses ought to be of his own tribe, and of the Mohammedan religion, if such can be had.⁹ Though there be no express law to the contrary, yet the Mohammedan doctors reckon it very wrong for a man to give away any part of his substance from his family, unless it be in legacies for pious uses, and even in that case a man ought not to give all that he has in charity, but only a reasonable part in proportion to his substance. On the other hand, though a man make no will, and bequeath nothing for charitable uses, yet the heirs are directed on the distribution of the estate, if the value will permit, to bestow something on the poor, especially such as are of kin to the deceased, and to the orphans.¹⁰

The first law, however, laid down by Mohammed touching inheritances was not very equitable, for he declared that those who had fled with him from Mecca, and those who had received and assisted him at Medina, should be deemed the nearest of kin, and consequently heirs to one another, preferably to and in exclusion of their relations by blood, nay, though a man were a true believer, yet if he had not fled his country for the sake of religion and joined the prophet, he was to be looked on as a stranger¹¹ but this law continued not long in force, being quickly abrogated.¹²

It must be observed that among the Mohammedans the children of their

³ Mishna, tit Sanhedr c 2 and Gemar in eund tit Maimon Halachoth Meilachim c. 2. Vide Selden Ux. Hebr lib 1 c. 10. Prid Life of Moham. p 118.

⁴ See c. 4. p 59—62, and the notes there. Vide etiam Poc. Spec. p 337. ⁵ Kor c. 4. ubi sup. ⁶ Ibid. p 60 and 80. Vide Chardin, Voy de Perse, t. ii p 293.

⁷ Kor Ibid. p 60 61. Ibid and p 80. ⁸ Kor c. 5, p. 96. ⁹ Ibid r 4. p. 60. ¹⁰ Ibid c 8. ¹¹ Ibid and c 33.

concubines or slaves are esteemed as equally legitimate with those of their legal and ingenuous wives, none being accounted bastards, except such only as are born of common women, and whose fathers are unknown.

As to private contracts between man and man, the conscientious performance of them is frequently recommended in the Korân.³ For the preventing of disputes, all contracts are directed to be made before witnesses,⁴ and in case such contracts are not immediately executed, the same ought to be reduced into writing in the presence of two witnesses⁵ at least, who ought to be Moslems and of the male sex, but if two men cannot be conveniently had, then one man and two women may suffice the same method is also directed to be taken for the security of debts to be paid at a future day, and where a writer is not to be found, pledges are to be taken.⁶ Hence, if people trust one another without writing witnesses, or pledge, the party on whom the demand is made is always acquitted if he denies the charge on oath, and swears that he owes the plaintiff nothing, unless the contrary be proved by very convincing circumstances.⁷

Wilful murder, though forbidden by the Koran under the severest penalties to be inflicted in the next life,⁸ is yet by the same book allowed to be compounded for on payment of a fine to the family of the deceased, and freeing a Moslem from captivity but it is in the election of the next of kin or the *revenger of blood*, as he is called in the Pentateuch, either to accept of such satisfaction or to refuse it, for he may, if he pleases, insist on having the murderer delivered into his hands to put to death in such a manner as he shall think fit.⁹ In this particular Mohammed has gone against the express letter of the Moslem law which declares that no satisfaction shall be taken for the life of a murderer,¹ and he seems, in so doing to have had respect to the customs of the Arabs in his time, who, being of a vindictive temper used to revenge murder in too unmerciful a manner, whole tribes frequently engaging in bloody wars on such occasions, the natural consequence of their independency, and having no common judge or superior.

If the Mohammedan laws seem light in case of murder, they may perhaps be deemed too rigorous in case of manslaughter, or the killing of a man undesignedly, which must be redeemed by fine (unless the next of kin shall think fit to remit it out of charity), and the freeing of a captive but if a man be not able to do this he is to fast two months together, by way of penance.² The fine for a man's blood is set in the *Sonna* at a hundred camels,⁴ and is to be distributed among the relations of the deceased, according to the laws of inheritances, but it must be observed that though the person slain be a Moslem, yet if he be of a nation or party at enmity, or not in confederacy with those to whom the slayer belongs, he is not then bound to pay any fine at all, the redeeming a captive being, in such case, declared a sufficient penalty.⁵ I imagine that Mohammed, by these regulations, laid so heavy a punishment on involuntary manslaughter, not only to make people beware incurring the same, but also to humour, in some degree the revengeful temper of his countrymen, which might be with difficulty, if at all, prevailed on to accept a lighter satisfaction. Among the

³ Kor c 5, p 81 c 17 c 2 p 34 &c ⁴ Chap 2, p 34. ⁵ The same seems to have been required by the Jewish law, even in cases where life was not concerned. See Deut xix 15 Matt. xviii 16 John viii 17 2 Cor xiii 1 ⁶ Kor c. 2, p 34. Vide Chardin Voy. de Perse, t ii p 294 &c and the notes to Kor c 5, p 90. Kor c 4 p 72 ⁷ Ibid c 2, p 20 21 c 17 ⁸ Vide Chardin, ubi sup p 229 &c. ⁹ Numb xxxv 31 ¹ This is particularly forbidden in the Koran, c. 17 ² Kor c 4, p 72. ³ See the notes to c. 37 ⁴ Kor c. 4, p 72.

Jews, who seem to have been no less addicted to revenge than their neighbours, the manslayer who had escaped to a city of refuge was obliged to keep himself within that city, and to abide there till the death of the person who was high priest at the time the fact was committed, that his absence and time might cool the passion and mitigate the resentment of the friends of the deceased, but if he quitted his asylum before that time, the revenger of blood, if he found him, might kill him without guilt,⁶ nor could any satisfaction be made for the slayer to return home before the prescribed time.⁷

Theft is ordered to be punished by cutting off the offending part, the hand,⁸ which at first sight, seems just enough but the law of Justinian, forbidding a thief to be maimed,⁹ is more reasonable, because stealing being generally the effect of indigence to cut off that limb would be to deprive him of the means of getting his livelihood in an honest manner.¹ The Sonna forbids the inflicting of this punishment, unless the thing stolen be of a certain value. I have mentioned in another place the further penalties which those incur who continue to steal and of those who rob or assault people on the road.²

As to injuries done to men in their persons the law of retaliation which was ordained by the law of Moses³ is also proved by the Koran⁴ but this law, which seems to have been allowed by Mohammed to his Arabians for the same reason as it was to the Jews viz to prevent particular revenges, to which both nations were extremely addicted,⁵ being neither strictly just nor practicable in many cases, is seldom put in execution, the punishment being generally turned into a mulct or fine which is paid to the party injured.⁶ Or rather Mohammed designed the works of the Koran relating thereto should be understood in the same manner as those of the Pentateuch most probably ought to be, that is not of an actual retaliation according to the strict literal meaning but of a retribution proportionable to the injury for a criminal had not his eyes put out, nor was a man mutilated according to the law of Moses, which, besides condemning those who had wounded any person, whose death did not ensue to pay a fine only,⁷ the expression *eye for eye and tooth for tooth* being only a proverbial manner of speaking the sense whereof amounts to this, *That every one shall be punished by the judges according to the heinousness of the fact*.⁸

In injuries and crimes of an inferior nature where no particular punishment is provided by the Koran and where a pecuniary compensation will not do, the Mohammedans according to the practice of the Jews in the like case, have recourse to *stripes or drubbing*⁹ the most common chastisement used in the east at this day as well as formerly, the cudgel, which, for its virtue and efficacy in keeping the people in good order, and within the bounds of duty, they say came down from heaven, being the instrument wherewith the judge's sentence is generally executed.¹

Notwithstanding the Koran² by the Mohammedans in general regarded as the fundamental part of their civil law, and the decisions of the Sonna

⁶ See Numb xxxv 26, 27, 28. ⁷ Ibid ver 32. ⁸ Kor c 7 p 86. ⁹ Novel 134 c 13.

¹ Vide Puffendorf de Jure Nat et Gent lib viii c 3 sect 26. ² See the notes to c 5 p 86. ³ Exod xxi 24 & Lev xxiv 20 Deut xix 21.

⁴ Chap 5 p 48. ⁵ Vide Grotium de Jure Belli et Pacis lib 1 c 2 sect 3. ⁶ Vide Chardin t ii p 299. The *talis* likewise established among the old Romans by the laws of the twelve tables was not to be inflicted unless the delinquent could not agree with the person injured. Vide A Gell Noct Attic lib xx c 1 and Festum in voce *talis*. ⁷ See Exod xxi 18, 19 and 22. ⁸ Far beyra in Grot ubi sup. Vide Clerie in Exod xxi 24 and Deut xix 21. ⁹ See Deut xxi 2, 3. ¹ Vide Grelot Voy de Constant p 220, and Chardin ubi sup p 302.

among the Turks, and of the Imams, among those of the Persian sect, with the explanations of their several doctors, are usually followed in judicial determinations, yet the secular tribunals do not think themselves bound to observe the same in all cases, but frequently give judgment against those decisions, which are not always consonant to equity and reason, and therefore distinction is to be made between the written civil law, as administered in the ecclesiastical courts, and the law of nature or common law, (if I may so call it,) which takes place in the secular courts, and has the executive power on its side.²

Under the head of civil laws may be comprehended the injunction of warring against the infidels, which is repeated in several passages of the Koran,³ and declared to be of high use in the sight of God, those who are slain fighting in defence of the faith being reckoned *martyrs*, and promised immediate admission into paradise.⁴ Hence this duty is greatly magnified by the Mohammedan divines, who call the sword the *key of heaven and hell*, and persuade their people that the least drop of blood spilt *in the way of God*, as it is called, is most acceptable unto him, and that the defending the territories of the Moslems for one night is more meritorious than a fast of two months.⁵ On the other hand, desertion, or refusing to serve in these holy wars, or to contribute towards the carrying them on, if a man has ability, is accounted a most heinous crime being frequently declaimed against in the Koran.⁶ Such a doctrine, which Mohammed ventured not to teach till his circumstances enabled him to put it in practice, it must be allowed, was well calculated for his purpose, and stood him and his successors in great stead for what dangers and difficulties may not be despised and overcome by the courage and constancy which these sentiments necessarily inspire? Nor have the Jews and Christians, how much soever they detest such principles in others, been ignorant of the force of enthusiastic heroism, or omitted to spirit up their respective partizans, by the like arguments and promises. 'I let him who has listed himself *in defence of the law*, says Maimonides,⁷ "rely on him who is the hope of Israel, and the saviour thereof in the time of trouble,"⁸ and let him know that he fights for the profession of the divine unity—wherefore let him put his life in his hand,⁹ and think neither of wife nor children, but banish the memory of them from his heart, having his mind wholly fixed on the war. For if he should begin to waver in his thoughts he would not only confound himself, but sin against the law, nay, the blood of the whole people hangeth on his neck, for if they are discomfited, and he has not fought stoutly with all his might, it is equally the same as if he had shed the blood of them all, according to that saying, let him return, lest his brethren's heart fail as his own.¹⁰ To the same purpose doth the Kabala accommodate that other passage, "Cursed be he who doth the work of the Lord negligently, and cursed be he who keepeth back his sword from blood."¹¹ On the contrary, he who behaveth bravely in battle, to the utmost of his endeavour, without trembling, with intent to glorify God's name, he ought to expect the victory with confidence, and to apprehend no danger or misfortune, but may be assured that he will have a house built him in Israel, appropriated to him and his children for ever, as it is said, God shall certainly make my lord a sure house, because he hath fought the battles of the Lord, and his life

² Vide Chardin, ubi sup. p. 290 &c. ³ Chap. 22, c. 2, p. 22, c. 4, p. 69, &c. c. 8, 9, c. 47, and c. 61, &c. ⁴ Chap. 2, p. 18, c. 3, p. 51, 55, c. 47, and c. 61. ⁵ Roland, le Juif Milit. Moham. p. 5 &c. ⁶ Vide c. 9, and c. 3, p. 52 &c. ⁷ See before, p. 34. ⁸ Halach. Melachum, c. 7. ⁹ Jer. xiv. 8. ¹⁰ Job. xiii. 14. ¹¹ Dent. xx. 8.

shall be bound up in the bundle of life with the Lord his God"⁴ More passages of this kind might be produced from the Jewish writers, and the Christians come not far behind them "We are desirous of knowing," says one,⁵ writing to the Franks engaged in the holy war, "the charity of you all, for that every one (which we speak not because we wish it) who shall faithfully lose his life in this warfare shall be by no means denied the kingdom of heaven" And another⁶ gives the following exhortation, "Laying aside all fear and dread, endeavour to act effectually against the enemies of the holy faith and the adversaries of all religions for the Almighty knoweth, if any of you die, that he dieth for the truth of the faith, and the salvation of his country, and the defence of Christians and therefore he shall obtain of him a celestial reward" The Jews, in deed, had a divine commission, extensive and explicit enough to attack, subdue, and destroy the enemies of their religion and Mohammed pretended to have received one in favour of himself and his Moslems in terms equally plain and full, and therefore it is no wonder that they should act consistently with their avowed principles but that Christians should teach and practise a doctrine so opposite to the temper and whole tenor of the gospel, seems very strange, and yet the latter have carried matters farther, and shown a more violent spirit of intolerance than either of the former

The laws of war according to the Mohammedans have been already so exactly set down by the learned Reland, that I need say very little of them I shall therefore only observe some conformity between their military laws and those of the Jews

While Mohammedism was in its infancy, the opposers thereof taken in battle were doomed to death without mercy, but this was judged too severe to be put into practice when that religion came to be sufficiently established, and past the danger of being subverted by its enemies⁷ The same sentence was pronounced not only against the seven Canaanitish nations,⁸ whose possessions were given to the Israelites and without whose destruction, in a manner, they could not have settled themselves in the country designed them, but against the Amalekites⁹ and Midianites,¹⁰ who had done their utmost to cut them off in their passage thither When the Mohammedans declare war against people of a different faith, they give them their choice of three offers, viz. either to embrace Mohammedism, in which case they become not only secure in their persons families, and fortunes, but entitled to all the privileges of other Moslems, or to submit and pay tribute,¹¹ by doing which they are allowed to profess their own religion, provided it be not gross idolatry, or against the moral law, or else to decide the quarrel by the sword, in which last case, if the Moslems prevail, the women and children which are made captives become absolute slaves, and the men taken in the battle may either be slain, unless they turn Mohammedans, or otherwise disposed of at the pleasure of the prince¹² Hewitt agrees the laws of war given to the Jews, which relate to the nations not devoted to destruction,¹³ and Joshua is said to have sent even to the inhabitants of Canaan, before he entered the land, three schedules in one of which was written, *Let him fly, who will*, in the second, *Let him surrender, who will*, and in the third, *Let him fight, who will*,¹⁴ though

⁴ 1 Sam. xxv 28 29 ⁵ Nicolaus, in Jure Canon c Omnium 23 quest 5 ⁶ Leo IV ib quest 8 ⁷ In his treatise De Jure Militari Mohammedanor in the third vol. of his Dissertationes Miscellanæ. ⁸ See Kor c 47, and the notes there and c 4, p 71, c. 5 p 86 ⁹ Deut xx 16—18 ¹⁰ 1b c xxv 17—19 ¹¹ Numb xxxi 17 ¹² See 9, and the notes there ¹³ See the notes to c 47 ¹⁴ Deut xx. 10—15

none of those nations made peace with the Israelites (except only the Gibeonites, who obtained terms of security by stratagem, after they had refused those offered by Joshua), *it being of the Lord to harden their hearts, that he might destroy them utterly* ¹

On the first considerable success of Mohammed in war, the dispute which happened among his followers, in relation to the dividing of the spoil, rendered it necessary for him to make some regulation therein. he therefore pretended to have received the divine commission to distribute the spoil among the soldiers at his own discretion, ² reserving thereout, in the first place, one fifth part ³ for the uses after mentioned, and in consequence hereof, he took himself to be authorized on extraordinary occasions to distribute it as he thought fit, without observing an equality. Thus he did, for example, with the spoil of the tribe of Hawazen taken at the battle of Honein, which he bestowed by way of presents on the Meccans only, passing by those of Medina, and highly distinguishing the principal Korashites, ⁴ that he might ingratiate himself with them, after he had become master of their city ⁵. He was also allowed in the expedition against those of al Nadir to take the whole booty to himself, and to dispose thereof as he pleased, because no horses or camels were made use of in that expedition, ⁶ but the whole army went on foot, and this became thenceforward a law ⁷ the reason of which seems to be, that the spoil taken by a party consisting of infantry only should be considered as the more immediate gift of God, ⁸ and therefore property left to the disposition of his Apostle. According to the Jews, the spoil ought to be divided into two equal parts, one to be shared among the captors, and the other to be taken by the prince, ⁹ and by him employed for his own support and the use of the public. Moses, it is true, divided one-half of the plunder of the Midianites among those who went to battle, and the other half among all the congregation ¹⁰ but this, they say, being a peculiar case, and done by the express order of God himself, must not be looked on as a precedent ¹¹. It should seem, however, from the words of Joshua to the two tribes and a half, when he sent them home into Gilead after the conquest and division of the land of Canaan, that they were to divide the spoil of their enemies with their brethren, after their return. and the half which was in succeeding times taken by the king was in all probability taken by him as head of the community, and representing the whole body. It is remarkable, that the dispute among Mohammed's men about sharing the booty at Bedr, ¹² arose on the same occasion as did that among David's soldiers in relation to the spoils recovered from the Amalekites, ¹³ those who had been in the action insisting that they who tarried by the stuff should have no part of the spoil, and that the

Hierosol apud Maimonid Halach Melachim c 6 sect v R Buchai ex lib Siphre Vide Selden de Jure Nat et Gent sec. Hebr lib 6 c 13 14 and Schickardi Jus Regium Hebr c 5 Theor 16 ¹ Josh x 20 The Jews however say that the Gergashites, believing they could not escape the destruction with which they were threatened by God if they persisted to defend themselves fled into Africa in great numbers (vide Palm Hieras ubi sup). And this is assigned as the reason why the Gergashites are not mentioned among the other Canaanitish nations who assembled to fight against Joshua (Josh ix. 1) and who were doomed to utter extirpation (Deut xx. 17). But it is observable, that the Gergashites are not omitted by the Septuagint in either of those texts and that their name appears in the latter of them in the Samaritan Pentateuch. they are also joined with the other Canaanites as having fought against Israel in Josh xxiv 11. ² Kor c. 8. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Abulfed in Vit. Moh. p. 118, &c. Vide Kor c. 9, and the notes there. ⁵ Kor c. 59, and the notes there. ⁶ Vide Abulfed ubi sup p. 91. ⁷ Vide Kor c. 59, ubi sup. ⁸ Gemar Babyl ad tit. Sanhedr c. 2. Vide Selden de Jure Nat et Gent sec. Hebr lib 6 c 16. ⁹ Num xxxi. 27. ¹⁰ Vide Maim Halach Melach c 4. ¹¹ Josh xxii. 8. ¹² See Kor c. 8, and the notes there. ¹³ 1 Sam xxv. 21—25.

same decision was given in both cases, which became a law for the future, to wit, that they should part alike.

The fifth part, directed by the Korân to be taken out of the spoil before it be divided among the captors, is declared to belong to God, and to the apostle and his kindred, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller ¹ which words are variously understood. Al Shafei was of opinion that the whole ought to be divided into five parts, the first, which he called God's part to go to the treasury, and be employed in building and repairing fortresses, bridges, and other public works, and in paying salaries to magistrates, civil officers, professors of learning, ministers of public worship &c. the second part to be distributed among the kindred of Mohammed, that is, the descendants of his grandfather Hashem, and of his great uncle al Motaleb,² as well the rich as the poor, the children as the adult, the women as the men, observing only to give a female but half the share of a male. the third part to go to the orphans, the fourth part to the poor, who have not wherewithal to maintain themselves the year round and are not able to get their livelihood, and the fifth part to travellers who are in want on the road notwithstanding they may be rich men in their own country. ³ According to Malik Ebn Ans, the whole is at the disposition of the Imam or prince who may distribute the same at his own discretion where he sees most need.⁴ Abul Aliyâ went according to the letter of the Koran, and declared his opinion to be that the whole should be divided into six parts, and that God's part should be applied to the service of the Caba while others suppose God's part and the apostle's to be one and the same.⁵ Abu Hanifa thought that the share of Mohammed and his kindred sank at that prophet's death, since which the whole ought to be divided among the orphans, the poor and the traveller.⁶ Some insist that the kindred of Mohammed entitled to a share of the spoils are the posterity of Hashem only, but those who think the descendants of his brother al Motaleb have also a right to a distributive part allege a tradition in their favour, purporting that Mohammed himself divided the share belonging to his relations among both families, and when Othman Ebn Ass in and Jober Ebn Mâtâm (who were descended from Abdulshams and Nowfil, the other brothers of Hashem) told him, that, though they disputed not the preference of the Hashemites, they could not help taking it ill to see such difference made between the family of al Motaleb and themselves who were related to him in an equal degree, and yet had no part in the distribution—the prophet replied, that the descendants of al Motaleb had forsaken him neither in the time of ignorance, nor since the revelation of Islam, and joined his fingers together in token of the strict union between them and the Hashemites.⁷ Some exclude none of the tribe of Korâish from receiving a part in the division of the spoil, and make no distinction between the poor and the rich, though, according to the more reasonable opinion, such of them as are poor only are intended by the text of the Koran, as is agreed in the case of the stranger and others go so far as to assert that the whole fifth commanded to be reserved belongs to them only, and that the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller, are to be understood of such as are of that tribe.⁸ It must be observed, that immoveable possessions, as lands, &c, taken in war, are subject to the same laws as the moveable, excepting only, that the fifth part of the former is not actually divided, but the income and profits thereof, or of the price thereof, if sold, are applied to public and

¹ Korân c. 8. ² Note al Shafei himself was descended from this latter. ³ Al Beid Vide Beland. de Jure Milit. Moham p 42. &c. ⁴ Idem. ⁵ Idem. ⁶ Idem. ⁷ Idem. ⁸ Idem.

pious uses, and distributed once a year, and that the prince may either take the fifth part of the land itself, or of the fifth part of the income and produce of the whole, as he shall make his election.

SECTION VII

OF THE MONTHS COMMANDED BY THE KORAN TO BE KEPT SACRED, AND OF THE SETTING APART OF FRIDAY FOR THE SPECIAL SERVICE OF GOD

It was a custom among the ancient Arabs to observe four months in the year as sacred, during which they held it unlawful to wage war, and took off the heads from their spears, ceasing from incursions and other hostilities. During those months, whoever was in fear of his enemy lived in full security, so that if a man met the murderer of his father or his brother, he durst not offer him any violence.¹ A great argument, says a learned writer of a humane disposition in that nation, who being, by reason of the independent governments of their several tribes, and for the preservation of their just rights, exposed to frequent quarrels with one another, had yet learned to cool their inflamed breasts with moderation, and restrain the rage of war by stated times of truce.²

This institution obtained among all the Arabian tribes except only those of Tay and Khath'um, and some of the descendants of al Harith bin Kaab (who distinguished no time or place as sacred³) and was so religiously observed, that there are but few instances in history (four, say some, six, say others) of its being transgressed, the wars which were carried on without regard thereto being therefore termed impious. One of those instances was in the war between the tribes of Koraish and Kusailan wherein Mohammed himself served under his uncles, being then fourteen, or, as others say twenty⁴ years old.

The months which the Arabs held sacred were al Moharram, Rajeb, Dhu lkaada, and Dhu lhyja, the first, the seventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth in the year.⁵ Dhu lhyja being the month wherein they performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, not only that month, but also the preceding and the following were for that reason kept inviolable, that every one might safely and without interruption pass and repress to and from the festival.⁶ Rajeb is said to have been more strictly observed than any of the other three,⁷ probably because in that month the pagan Arabs used to fast,⁸ Ramadan, which was afterwards set apart by Mohammed for that purpose,

¹ Al Kaswini apud Golius in notis ad Alfraq p 4 &c Al Shahrestani apud Poc Spec p 311 Al Jawhari al Kirauzab ² Golius, ubi sup p 5 ³ Al Shahrestani ubi sup See before, p 87 ⁴ Al Mogholtai ⁵ Abulfeda, Vit Moh p 11 ⁶ Al Kodai al Kirauz apud Poc Spec p 174 Al Mogholtai mentions both opinions ⁷ Mr Bayle (Dict. Hist et Crit Art la Mecque Rem F) accuses Dr Prideaux of an inconsistency for saying in one place (Life of Moh p 64) that these sacred months were the first, the seventh the eleventh and the twelfth, and intimating in another place (ib p 89) that three of them were contiguous. But this must be mere absence of mind in Mr Bayle for are not the eleventh, the twelfth, and the first months contiguous? The two learned professors Golius and Reland, have also made a small slip in speaking of these sacred months, which, they tell us, are the two first and the two last in the year Vide Golii and Lex Arab col 601, et Reland. de Jure Milit Mohammedanor p 5 ⁸ Vide Gol in Alfraq p 9 ⁹ Vide ibid. p 6 ¹ Al Makrizi, apud Poc ubi sup.

being in the time of ignorance dedicated to drinking in excess.³ By reason of the profound peace and security enjoyed in this month, one part of the provisions brought by the caravans of purveyors annually set out by the Koreish for the supply of Mecca⁴ was distributed among the people, the other part being, for the like reason, distributed at the pilgrimage.⁵

The observance of the aforesaid months seemed so reasonable to Mohammed, that it met with his approbation, and the same is accordingly confirmed and enforced by several passages of the Korin,⁶ which forbid war to be waged during those months against such as acknowledge them to be sacred, but grant, at the same time, full permission to attack those who make no such distinction, in the sacred months as well as in the profane.⁷

One practice, however, of the Arabs, in relation to these sacred months, Mohammed thought proper to reform: for some of them, weary of sitting quiet for three months together, and eager to make their accustomed incursions for plunder, used by way of expedient, whenever it suited their inclinations or convenience, to put off the observing of al Moharran to the following month Safar,⁸ thereby avoiding to keep the former which they supposed it lawful for them to profane, provided they sanctified another month in lieu of it and gave public notice thereof at the preceding pilgrimage. This transferring the observation of a sacred month to a profane month is what is truly meant by the Arabic word al Nasi, and is absolutely condemned and declared to be an impious innovation, in a passage of the Korin⁹ which Dr Prideaux¹⁰ misread by Goliush,¹¹ imagines to relate to the prolonging of the year, by adding an intercalary month thereto. It is true, the Arabs, who imitated the Jews in their manner of computing by lunar years, had also learned their method of reducing them to solar years, by intercalating a month sometimes in the third and sometimes in the second year,¹² by which means they fixed the pilgrimage of Mecca (contrary to the original institution) to a certain season of the year, viz to autumn as most convenient for the pilgrims, by reason of the temperateness of the weather, and the plenty of provisions,¹³ and it is also true that Mohammed forbade such intercalation by a passage in the same chapter of the Korin: but then it is not the passage above mentioned which prohibits a different thing, but one a little before it, wherein the number of months in the year according to the ordinance of God is declared to be twelve,¹⁴ whereas if the intercalation of a month were allowed every third or second year would consist of thirteen, contrary to God's appointment.

The setting apart of one day in the week for the more peculiar attendance on God's worship, so strictly required by the Jewish and Christian religions, appeared to Mohammed to be so proper an institution, that he could not but imitate the professors thereof in that particular: though for the sake of distinction he might think himself obliged to order his followers to observe a different day from either. Several reasons are given why the sixth day of the week was pitched on for this purpose,¹⁵ but Mohammed seems to have preferred that day, chiefly because it was the day on which the people used to be assembled long before his time,¹⁶ though such assemblies were had, perhaps, rather on a civil than a religious account. However it

³ Al Makrizi apud Poc ubi sup et Auctor Neahk al Azhar, ibid. ⁴ See Koran, c. 106. ⁵ Al Ldrisi apud Poc. Specim p 127. ⁶ Chap 9, c. 2, p 23 c. 4, p 81 c. 5 p 95, &c. ⁷ Chap 9 c 2, p 23. ⁸ See the notes to c. 9 ubi sup. ⁹ Chap 9 ibid. ¹⁰ Life of Moham p 66. ¹¹ In Alfrag p 12. ¹² See Frid. Preface to the first vol of his Connect. p vi &c. ¹³ Vide Gol. ubi sup. ¹⁴ Kor c. 9 c. 2 p 20. ¹⁵ See c 63, and the notes there. ¹⁶ Al Beidawi

be, the Mohammedan writers bestow very extraordinary encomiums on this day, calling it the prince of days, and the most excellent day on which the sun rises,⁷ pretending also that it will be the day whereon the last judgment will be solemnized⁸ and they esteem it a peculiar honour to Islam, that God has been pleased to appoint this day to be the feast day of the Moslems, and granted them the advantage of having first observed it⁹

Though the Mohammedans do not think themselves bound to keep their day of public worship so holy as the Jews and Christians are certainly obliged to keep theirs, there being a permission, as is generally supposed, in the Koran,¹⁰ allowing them to return to their employments or diversion after divine service is over, yet the most devout disapprove the applying of any part of that day to worldly affairs, and require it to be wholly dedicated to the business of the life to come¹

Since I have mentioned the Mohammedan weekly fast, I beg leave just to take notice of their two Beirams,² or principal annual feasts. The first of them is called, in Arabic, Id al feti, i. e. The feast of breaking the fast, and begins the first of Shawal immediately succeeding the fast of Ramadan, and the other is called Id al loran, or Id al adha, i. e. The feast of the sacrifice, and begins on the tenth of Dhu l hagg, when the victims are slain at the pilgrimage of Mecca³. The former of these feasts is properly the lesser Beiram, and the latter the greater Beiram⁴ but the vulgar and most authors who have written of the Mohammedan affairs, exchange the epithets, and call that which follows Ramadan the greater Beiram, because it is observed in an extraordinary manner and kept for three days together at Constantinople and in other parts of Turkey and in Persia for five or six days, by the common people at least, with great demonstrations of public joy to make themselves amends, as it were, for the mortification of the preceding month,⁵ whereas the feast of sacrifice, though it be also kept for three days and the first of them be the most solemn day of the pilgrimage, the principal act of devotion among the Mohammedans is taken much less notice of by the generality of people, who are not struck therewith, because the ceremonies with which the same is observed are performed at Mecca, the only seat of that solemnity

SECTION VIII.

OF THE PRINCIPAL SECTS AMONG THE MOHAMMEDANS, AND OF THOSE WHO HAVE PRETENDED TO PROHIBIT AMONG THE ISLA, IN OR SINCE THE TIME OF MOHAMMAD

BEFORE we take a view of the sects of the Mohammedan, it will be necessary to say something of the two sciences by which all disputed questions among them are determined, viz. then Scholastic and Practical Divinity

Then scholastic divinity is a mongrel science, consisting of logical, metaphysical, theological and philosophical disquisitions, and built on principles and methods of reasoning very different from what are used by those

⁷ Fbn al Athir et al Ghazali apud Poc Spec p 317 ⁸ Idem ⁹ Al Ghazali Ibid ¹⁰ Chap 63, ubi sup ¹ Al Ghazali, ubi sup p 318 ² The word Beiram is Turkish, and properly signifies a fast day or holiday ³ See chap 9 and before, sect. iv p 86 ⁴ Vide Reland, de Rel Moham p 109, et D'Herbel Bibl Orient Art. Beiram ⁵ Hyde, in notis ad Bobov p 16 Chardin, Voy de Perse, tom ii. p 450 Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, lib ii c 24 &c ⁶ Vide Chardin, et Ricaut, ubi sup

who pass among the Mohammedans themselves for the sounder divines or more able philosophers,⁷ and therefore in the partition of the sciences this is generally left out, as unworthy a place among them.⁸ The learned Maimonides⁹ has laboured to expose the principles and systems of the scholastic divines, as frequently repugnant to the nature of the world and the order of the creation, and intolerably absurd.

This art of handling religious disputes was not known in the infancy of Mohammedism, but was brought in when sects sprang up, and articles of religion began to be called in question, and was at first made use of to defend the truth of those articles against innovators,¹ and while it keeps within those bounds is allowed to be a commendable study, being necessary for the defence of the faith but when it proceeds farther, out of an itch of disputation, it is judged worthy of censure.

This is the opinion of al Ghazali,² who observes a medium between those who have too high a value for this science, and those who absolutely reject it. Among the latter was al Shafei, who declared that in his judgment, if any man employed his time that way, he deserved to be fixed to a stake and carried about through all the Arab tribes, with the following proclamation to be made before him. This is the reward of him who, leaving the Koran and the Sunna, applied himself to the study of scholastic divinity.³ Al Ghazali, on the other hand, thinks that it was introduced by the invasion of heresies, it is necessary to be retained in order to quell them but then in the person who studies this science he requires three things, diligence, acuteness of judgment and probity of manners, and is by no means for suffering the same to be publicly explained.⁴ This science, therefore among the Mohammedans is the art of controversy by which they discuss points of faith concerning the essence and attributes of God and the conditions of all possible things either in respect to their creation or final retribution, according to the rules of the religion of Islam.⁵

The other science is practical divinity or jurisprudence and is the knowledge of the decisions of the law which regard practice, gathered from distinct proofs.

Al Ghazali declares that he had much the same opinion of this science as of the former its origin being owing to the corruption of religion and morality, and therefore judged both sciences to be necessary not in themselves, but by accident only to curb the irregular imaginations and passions of mankind (as guards become necessary in the highways by reason of robbers), the end of the first being the suppressing of heresies and of the other the decision of legal controversies, for the quiet and peaceable living of mankind in this world, and for the preserving the rule by which the magistrate may prevent one man from injuring another, by declaring what is lawful and what is unlawful, by determining the satisfaction to be given, or punishment to be inflicted and by regulating other outward actions, and not only so, but to decide of religion itself and its conditions, so far as relates to the profession made by the mouth, it not being the business of the civilian to inquire into the heart.⁶ the depravity of men's manners, however, has made this knowledge of the laws so very requisite, that it is usually called the science by way of excellence, nor is any man reckoned learned who has not applied himself thereto.⁷

⁷ Poc. Spec. p. 170.

⁸ Apud Ebn Sina, in Libello de Divisione Scientiarum et Nasiriddin al Idhar in prefat. ad I. thec. ⁹ More Nevoch lib. i. c. 71. et 73. ¹ Al Ghazali, apud Poc. ubi sup.

² Ibid. ³ Vide Poc. Ibid. p. 197. ⁴ Al Ghazali, Ibid.

⁵ Ebn al Kossâ, apud eund. Ibid. p. 198. ⁶ Al Ghazali. Vide Ibid. p. 198—206.

⁷ Vide Ibid. p. 204.

The points of faith, subject to the examination and discussion of the scholastic divines, are reduced to four general heads, which they call the four bases, or great fundamental articles.⁸

The first basis relates to the attributes of God, and his unity consistent therewith. Under this head are comprehended the questions concerning the eternal attributes, which are asserted by some, and denied by others, and also the explication of the essential attributes, and attributes of action, what is proper for God to do, and what may be affirmed of him, and what it is impossible for him to do. These things are controverted between the Ashárians, the Keramians, the Mojassemians or Corporealists, and the Mótazalites.⁹

The second basis regards predestination, and the justice thereof which comprises the questions concerning God's purpose and decree, man's compulsion or necessity to act, and his co-operation in producing actions, by which he may gain to himself good or evil, and also those which concern God's willing good and evil, and what things are subject to his power, and what to his knowledge, some maintaining the affirmative, and others the negative. These points are disputed among the Kadarians, the Najarians, the Jaharians, the Ashárians, and the Keramians.¹

The third basis concerns the promises and threats, the precise acceptation of names used in divinity and the divine decisions, and comprehends questions relating to faith repentance, promises, threats, forbearance, infidelity, and error. The controversies under this head are on foot between the Morgians, the Waidians, the Mótazalites, the Asharians, and the Keramians.

The fourth basis regards history and reason, that is, the just weight they ought to have in matters belonging to faith and religion, and also the mission of prophets and the office of Imam, or chief pontiff. Under this head are comprised all casuistical questions relating to the moral beauty or turpitude of actions, inquiring whether things are allowed or forbidden by reason of their own nature, or by the positive law, and also questions concerning the preference of actions, the favour or grace of God, the innocence which ought to attend the prophetic office, and the conditions requisite in the office of Imam, some asserting it depends on right of succession, others on the consent of the faithful, and also the method of transferring it, with the former and of confirming it with the latter. These matters are the subjects of dispute between the Shites, the Motazalites, the Keramians, and the Ashárians.²

The different sects of Mohammedans may be distinguished into two sorts, those generally esteemed orthodox, and those which are esteemed heretical.

The former, by a general name, are called Sonnites or Traditionists, because they acknowledge the authority of the Sonna, or collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of their prophet, which is a sort of supplement to the Koran, directing the observance of several things omitted in that book and in name, as well as design, answering to the Mishna of the Jews.⁴

The Sonnites are subdivided into four chief sects, which, notwithstanding some differences as to legal conclusions in their interpretation of the Koran and matters of practice, are generally acknowledged to be orthodox in

⁸ Vide Abulfarag Hist. Dynast. p. 166. ⁹ Al Shahrestani apud Poc. ubi sup. p. 204 &c. ¹ Idem ibid. p. 20. ² Idem ibid. p. 206. ³ Idem, ibid. ⁴ Vide Poc. Spec. p. 298. Priid Life of Moham. p. 51 &c. Reland, de Rel. Moham. p. 68 &c. Milham, de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 363, 369.

radicals, or matters of faith, and capable of salvation, and have each of them their several stations or oratories in the temple of Mecca.⁵

The founders of these sects are looked upon as the great masters of jurisprudence, and are said to have been men of great devotion and self denial, well versed in the knowledge of those things which belong to the next life and to man's right conduct here, and directing all their knowledge to the glory of God. This is all Ghazali's encomium of them, who thinks it derogatory to their honour that their names should be used by those who, neglecting to imitate the other virtues which make up their character, apply themselves only to attain the skill, and follow their opinions in matters of legal practice.⁶

The first of the four orthodox sects is that of the Hanafites, so named from their founder, Abu Hanifa al Nomani Ebn Thabet, who was born at Cufa, in the eightieth year of the Hejra, and died in the one hundred and fiftieth, according to the more preferable opinion as to the time.⁷ He ended his life in prison at Baghdad where he had been confined because he refused to be made Kadi or judge,⁸ on which account he was very harshly dealt with by his superiors, yet could not be prevailed on, either by threats or ill treatment to undertake the charge, choosing rather to be punished by them than by God, says al Ghazali who adds that when he excused himself from accepting the office by alleging that he was unfit for it, being asked the reason, he replied, 'If I speak the truth I am unfit, but if I tell a lie a liar is not fit to be a judge.' It is said that he read over the Koran in the prison where he died, no less than seven thousand times.⁹

The Hanafites are called by an Arabian writer¹ the followers of reason and those of the three other sects, followers of tradition, the former being principally guided by their own judgment in their decisions and the latter adhering more tenaciously to the traditions of Mohammed.

The sect of Abu Hanifa heretofore obtained chiefly in Irak but now generally prevails among the Turks and Tartars. His doctrine was brought into great credit by Abu Yusuf, chief justice under the Khalifs al Hadi and Harun al Ra'id.²

The second orthodox sect is that of Malec Ibn Ans, who was born at Medina in the year of the Hejra, 90, 93, 94,⁴ or 95 and died there in 177,⁵ 178,⁶ or 179⁷ (for so much do authors differ). This doctor is said to have paid great regard to the traditions of Mohammed.⁸ In his last illness, a friend going to visit him found him in tears, and asking him the reason of it, he answered, "How should I not weep? and who has more reason to weep than I? Would to God that for every question decided by me according to my own opinion I had received so many stripes! then would my accounts be easier. Would to God I had never given any decision of my own!"⁹ Al Ghazali thinks it a sufficient proof of Malec directing his knowledge to the glory of God, that being once asked his opinion as to for what questions, his answer to thirty two of them was, that he did not

⁵ See l. c. p. 52. ⁶ Vide Poc. Spec. p. 293. ⁷ Ibn Khalecan. ⁸ This was the true cause of his imprisonment and death and not his refusing to subscribe to the opinion of absolute predestination as D Herbelot writes (Bibl. Orient. p. 21), misled by the dubious acceptance of the word Kada, which signifies not only God's decree in particular but also the giving sentence as a judge in general nor could Abu Hanifa have been reckoned orthodox had he denied one of the principal articles of faith. ⁹ Poc. Spec. p. 297, 298. ¹ Al Shahrestani ibid. ² Idem. ³ Vide D Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 21. ⁴ Abulfeda. ⁵ Ibn Khalecan. ⁶ Idem. ⁷ Abulfeda. ⁸ Eusebius, p. 114. ⁹ Ibn Khalec. Vide Poc. Spec. p. 294. ¹ Idem.

know, it being no easy matter for one who has any other view than God's glory to make so frank a confession of his ignorance²

The doctrine of Malec is chiefly followed in Barbary and other parts of Africa.

The author of the third orthodox sect was Mohammed Ebn Edris al Shufi, born either at Gaza or Ascalon in Palestine, in the year of the Hejra one hundred and fifty, the same day (as some will have it), that Abu Hanifa died, and was carried to Mecca at two years of age, and there educated.³ He died in two hundred and four,⁴ in Egypt, whither he went about five years before⁵ This doctor is celebrated for his excellency in all parts of learning, and was much esteemed by Ebn Hanbal his contemporary, who used to say that "he was as the sun to the world, and as health to the body" Ebn Hanbal, however, had so ill an opinion of al Shâfeî, at first, that he forbade his scholars to go near him, but some time after one of them, meeting his master trudging on foot after al Shafeî, who rode on a mule, asked him how it came about that he forbade them to follow him, and did it himself? to which Ebn Hanbal replied, "Hold thy peace, if thou but attend his mule thou wilt profit thereby"⁶

Al Shafei is said to have been the first who discoursed of jurisprudence, and reduced that science into a method,⁷ one wittily saying that the relations of the traditions of Mohammed were asleep till al Shafei came and waked them⁸ He was a great enemy to the scholastic divines, as has been already observed⁹ Al Ghuzali tells us that al Shufi used to divide the night into three parts, one for study, another for prayer, and the third for sleep It is also related of him that he never so much as once swore by God, either to confirm a truth or to affirm a falsehood, and that being once asked his opinion, he remained silent for some time, and when the reason of his silence was demanded he answered, "I am considering first whether it be better to speak or to hold my tongue The following saying is also recorded of him, viz., Whoever pretends to love the world and its Creator at the same time is a liar¹ The followers of this doctor are from him called Shafites, and were formerly spread into Miwarrah and other parts eastward, but are now chiefly of Arabia and Persia.

Ahmed Ebn Hanbal the founder of the fourth sect, was born in the year of the Hejra one hundred and sixty four, but as to the place of his birth there are two traditions some say he was born at Meir in Khorasan, of which city his parents were, and that his mother brought him from thence to Baghdad at her breast, while others assure us that she was with child of him when she came to Baghdad, and that he was born there² Ebn Hanbal in process of time attained a great reputation on account of his virtue and knowledge, being so well versed in the traditions of Mohammed, in particular, that it is said he could repeat no less than a million of them³ He was very intimate with al Shafei, from whom he received most of his traditionary knowledge, being his constant attendant till his departure for Egypt.⁴ Refusing to acknowledge the Koran to be created,⁵ he was, by order of the Kalif al Motasem, severely scourged and imprisoned⁶ Ebn Hanbal died at Baghdad, in the year two hundred and forty-one, and was followed to his grave by eight hundred thousand men, and sixty thousand women. It is related, as something very extraordinary, if not miraculous,

¹ Al Ghazali Vide Poc Spec p 294 ² Ebn Khalecan ³ Yet Abulfeda says he lived fifty-eight years ⁴ Ebn Khalecan ⁵ Idem ⁶ Idem ⁷ Idem ⁸ Al Zafarani apud Poc. Spec p 293 ⁹ See before, p 109 ¹ Vide Poc. Spec p 293—297 ² Ebn Khalecan ³ Idem ⁴ Idem ⁵ See before, sect. iii. p 48, &c. ⁶ Ebn Khalecan, Abu Ifarag Hist Dyn p 252, &c.

that on the day of his death no less than twenty thousand Christians, Jews, and Magians, embraced the Mohammedan faith.⁷ This sect increased so fast, and became so powerful and bold, that in the year three hundred and twenty three, in the kalifat of al Rudi, they raised a great commotion in Baghdad, entering people's houses, and spilling their wine, if they found any, and beating the singing women they met with, and breaking their instruments, and a severe edict was published against them, before they could be reduced to their duty ⁸ but the Hanbalites at present are not very numerous, few of them being to be met with out of the limits of Arabia.

The heretical sects among the Mohammedans are those which hold heterodox opinions in fundamentals or matters of faith.

The first controversies relating to fundamentals began when most of the companions of Mohammed were dead ⁹ for in their days was no dispute unless about things of small moment, if we except only the discussions concerning the Imams, or rightful successors of their prophet, which were stirred up and fomented by interest and ambition, the Arabs continual employment in the wars, during that time, allowing them little or no leisure to enter into nice inquiries and subtle distinctions but no soon as the ardour of conquest a little abated than they began to examine the Koran more nearly, whereupon differences in opinion became unavoidable, and at length so greatly multiplied, that the number of their sects, according to the common opinion are seventy three. For the Mohammedans seem ambitious that their religion should exceed others even in this respect, saying that the Magians are divided into seventy sects the Jews into seventy-one the Christians into seventy-two and the Moslems into seventy-three as Mohammed had foretold ¹ of which sects they reckon one to be always orthodox and entitled to salvation ²

The first heresy was that of the Kharijites, who *revolted* from Ali in the thirty seventh year of the Hejra, and not long after Mahud al Jolani Ghailin of Damascus and Jonas al Aswani broached heterodox opinions concerning predestination, and the ascribing of good and evil unto God whose opinions were followed by Wasel Fbn Ata.³ This latter was the scholar of Hasan of Basra in whose school a question being proposed whether he who had committed a grievous sin was to be deemed an infidel or not, the Kharijites (who used to come and dispute there) maintaining the affirmative, and the orthodox the negative Wasel, without waiting his masters decision, withdrew abruptly and began to publish among his fellow scholars a new opinion of his own to wit that such a sinner was in a middle state, and he was thereupon expelled the school, he and his followers being thenceforth called Motazalites or Separatists.⁴

The several sects which have arisen since this time are variously compounded and decomposed of the opinions of four chief sects, the Motazalites the Sufians, the Kharijites and the Shites.⁵

1 The Motazalites were the followers of the before-mentioned Wasel

¹ In Khalecan ² Abu Ifar ibi sup 301 &c. ³ Al Shahrestani apud Poc. Spec. p. 194. Auctor Sharh al Mawakef apud eund. p. 210. ⁴ Vide loc. Spec. p. 194. ⁵ Al Shahrestani apud eund. p. 211. ⁶ Idem and Auctor Sharh al Mawakef ibi sup. ⁷ Idem ibi p. 211, 212. ⁸ Ft Fbn Khalecan in Vita Waseli. ⁹ Al Shahrestani who also reduces them to four chief sects puts the Kadarians in the place of the Motazalites. Abu Ifaragius (Hist. Dyn. p. 106) reckons six principal sects adding the Jabarians and the Morgians and the author of Sharh al Mawakef, eight viz., the Motazalites, the Shites, the Kharijites, the Morgians, the Najrians, the Jabarians, the Moshabihites, and the sect which he calls al Najia because that alone will be saved, but according to him the sect of the Asharians. ¹⁰ de Poc. Spec. p. 209.

Ebn Atâ. As to their chief and general tenets, 1 They entirely rejected all eternal attributes of God, to avoid the distinction of persons made by the Christians, saying that eternity is the proper or formal attribute of his essence, that God knows by his essence, and not by his knowledge,⁶ and the same they affirmed of his other attributes⁷ (though all the Motazalites do not understand these words in one sense), and hence this sect were also named Moat'alites, from their divesting God of his attributes⁸ and they went so far as to say, that to affirm these attributes is the same thing as to make more eternals than one, and that the unity of God is inconsistent with such an opinion,⁹ and this was the true doctrine of Wâsel their master, who declared that whoever asserted an eternal attribute asserted there were two gods.¹ This point of speculation concerning the divine attributes was not ripe at first, but was at length brought to maturity by Wâsel's followers, after they had read the books of the philosophers.² 2 They believed the word of God to have been created *in subiecto* (as the schoolmen term it), and to consist of letters and sound, copies thereof being written in books, to express or imitate the original. They also went farther, and affirmed that whatever was created *in subiecto* is also an accident, and liable to perish.³ They denied absolute predetermination, holding that God was not the author of evil, but of good only, and that man was a free agent.⁴ which being properly the opinion of the Kadriâns, we defer what may be farther said thereof till we come to speak of that sect. On account of this tenet and the first, the Motazalites look on themselves as the defenders of the unity and justice of God.⁵ 4 They held that if a professor of the true religion be guilty of a grievous sin, and die without repentance, he will be eternally damned though his punishment will be lighter than that of the infidels.⁶ 5 They denied all vision of God in paradise by the corporeal eye, and rejected all comparisons or similitudes applied to God.⁷

This sect are said to have been the first inventors of scholastic divinity,⁸ and are subdivided into several inferior sects, amounting, as some reckon to twenty, which mutually brand one another with infidelity,⁹ the most remarkable of them are —

1 The Hodeiâns or followers of Hamd in Abu Hodeil, a Môtazalite doctor, who differed something from the common form of expression used by this sect saying that God knew by his knowledge, but that his knowledge was his essence, and so of the other attributes. Whose opinion he took from the philosophers, who affirm the essence of God to be simple and without multiplicity, and that his attributes are not posterior or accessory to his essence or subsisting therein, but are his essence itself and thus the more orthodox take to be next kin to making distinctions in the deity which is the thing they so much abhor in the Christians.¹ As to the Koran being uncreated, he made some distinction, holding the word of God to be partly not *in subiecto* (and therefore uncreated), as when he spake the word *Kun* i. e. *Fiat*, at the creation, and partly *in*

⁶ Maimonides teaches the same not as the doctrine of the Môtazalites, but his own. Vide Mor. Nev. lib. I, c. 57. Al Shahrestani apud Poc. Spec. p. 214. Abulfarag p. 167. ⁸ Vide Poc. Spec. p. 224. ⁹ Sharh al Mawakef, and al Shahrest. apud Poc. p. 216. Maimonides (in Proleg. ad Pirke Aboth, sect. viii.) asserts the same thing. ¹ Vide Poc. ibid. ² Al Shahrest. ib. p. 215. ³ Abulfarag and al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 217. See before, sect. iii. p. 48. ⁴ Vide Poc. Spec. p. 240. ⁵ Al Shahrest and Sharh al Mawakef apud Poc. ubi sup. p. 214. ⁶ Maracc. Prodr. ad Ref. Alcor. part. iii. p. 74. ⁷ Idem ib. ⁸ Vide Poc. Spec. p. 213, and D. Herbel. Art. Motazelah. ⁹ Auctor al Mawakef apud Poc. ib. ¹ Al Shahrestani, apud Poc. p. 215—217.

subjecto, as the precepts, prohibitions, &c.² Marracci³ mentions an opinion of Abu Hodeil's concerning predestination, from an Arab writer,⁴ which being by him expressed in a manner not very intelligible, I choose to omit.

2 The Jobbaisians, or followers of Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Abd al Wahhâb, surnamed al Jobbâi, whose meaning when he made use of the common expression of the Môtazalites, that God knows by his essence, &c was, that God's being knowing is not an attribute, the same with knowledge, nor such a state as rendered his being knowing necessary.⁵ He held God's word to be created *in subjecto*, as in the preserved table, for example, the memory of Gabriel, Mohammed, &c.⁶ This sect, if Marracci has given the true sense of his author, denied that God could be seen in paradise without the assistance of corporeal eyes, and held that man produced his acts by a power superadded to health of body and soundness of limbs, that he who was guilty of a mortal sin was neither a believer nor an infidel, but a transgressor (which was the original opinion of Wasel), and, if he died in his sins, would be doomed to hell for eternity and that God conceals nothing of whatever he knows from his servants.⁷

3 The Hashemians, who were so named from their master Abu Hashem al Salam, the son of Abu Ali al Jobbâi and whose tenets nearly agreed with those of the preceding sect.⁸ Abi Fâshem took the Motazalite form of expression, that God knows by his essence, in a different sense from others, supposing it to mean, that God hath or is endued with a disposition, which is a known property, or quality, posterior or accessory to his existence.⁹ His followers were so much afraid of making God the author of evil, that they would not allow him to be said to create an infidel, because, according to their way of arguing an infidel is a compound of infidelity and man, and God is not the creator of infidelity.¹ Abu Hâshem, and his father Abu Ali al Jobbâi, were both celebrated for their skill in scholastic divinity.²

4 The Nodhamians, or followers of Ibrahim al Nodhâm, who, having read books of philosophy set up a new sect, and imagining he could not sufficiently remove God from being the author of evil without divesting him of his power in respect thereto taught that no power ought to be ascribed to God concerning evil and rebellious actions but this he affirmed against the opinion of his own disciples who allowed that God could do evil, but did not because of turpitude.³ Of his opinion as to the Koran being created we have spoken elsewhere.⁴

5 The Havetians so named from Ahmed Ebn Hayet, who had been of the sect of the Nodhamians, but broached some new notions on reading the philosophers. His peculiar opinions were, 1 That Christ was the eternal Word incarnate, and took a true and real body and will judge all creatures in the life to come.⁵ he also farther asserted, that there are two gods, or creators, the one eternal, viz the most high God, and the other not eternal viz Christ,⁶ which opinion, though Dr Pocock urges the same as an argument that he did not rightly understand the Christian mysteries,⁷ is not much different from that of the Arians and Socinians. 2 That there is a successive transmigration of the soul from one body into another, and that

² Al Shahrestani apud Poc p 217 &c ³ In Prodr part 3 p 74 ⁴ Al Shahrest. ⁵ Idem apud Poc. Spec. p 215 ⁶ Idem and Auctor al Mawâkef ib p 218 ⁷ Marracci ubi sup p 75, ex al Shahrest. ⁸ Vide Fund ib ⁹ Al Shahrest. apud Poc. p 215 ¹ Idem p 242 ² Ebn Khalecan in vitis eorum. ³ Al Shahrest ubi sup p 241 242 ⁴ Vide Marracc. Prod part 3 p 74 ⁵ See before, sect. iii p 49 ⁶ Al Shahrest ubi sup p 218 ⁷ Abu'lfarag p 167 ⁸ Al Shahrest, al Mawâkef, et Ebn Khas apud Poc ubi sup p 219 ⁹ Vide Poc. ib

the last body will enjoy the reward or suffer the punishment due to each soul,² and 3 That God will be seen at the resurrection, not with the bodily eyes, but those of the understanding.³

6 The Jahedhians, or followers of Amru Ebn Bahr, surnamed al Jahedh, a great doctor of the Môtazalites, and very much admired for the elegance of his composures,¹ who differed from his brethren in that he imagined the damned would not be eternally tormented in hell, but should be changed into the nature of fire, and that the fire would of itself attract them, without any necessity of their going into it.² He also taught that if a man believed God to be his Lord, and Mohammed the apostle of God, he became one of the faithful, and was obliged to nothing farther.³ His peculiar opinion as to the Koran has been taken notice of before.⁴

7 The Mozdarians, who embraced the opinions of Isa Ebn Sobeh al Mozdar, and those very absurd ones for, besides his notions relating to the Koran⁵ he went so directly counter to the opinion of those who ascribed God of the power to do evil, that he affirmed it possible for God to be a liar, and unjust.⁶ He also pronounced him to be an infidel who thrust himself into the supreme government.⁷ nay he went so far as to assert men to be infidels while they said, There is no God but God, and even condemned all the rest of mankind as guilty of infidelity, upon which Ibrahim Ebn al Sendi asked him whether paradise, whose breadth equals that of heaven and earth, was created only for him and two or three more who thought as he did? to which it is said he could return no answer.⁸

8 The Bisharian, who maintained the tenets of Bashâr Ebn Motamer, the master of al Mozdari,⁹ and a principal man among the Motazalites. He differed in some things from the general opinion of that sect carrying man's free agency to a great excess, making it even independent and yet he thought God might doom an infant to eternal punishment but granted he would be unjust in so doing. He taught that God is not always obliged to do that which is best for if he pleased he could make all men true believers. These sectaries also held, that if a man repent of a mortal sin, and afterwards return to it, he will be liable to suffer the punishment due to the former transgression.¹

9 The Thumami, who followed Thumama Ebn Bashâr a chief Môtazalite. Their peculiar opinions were, 1 That sinners should remain in hell for ever. 2 That free actions have no producing author. 3 That at the resurrection all infidels, idolaters, atheists, Jews, Christians, Magians, and heretics shall be reduced to dust.²

10 The Kadarians which is really a more ancient name than that of Motazalites, Mabad al Johni and his adherents being so called, who disputed the doctrine of predestination before Wasel quitted his master,³ for which reason some use the denomination of Kadarians as more extensive than the other, and comprehend all the Motazalites under it.⁴ This sect deny absolute predestination, saying that evil and injustice ought not to be attributed to God, but to man, who is a free agent, and may therefore be rewarded or punished for his actions, which God has granted him power either to do or to let alone.⁵ And hence it is said they are called Kadarians, because they deny al Kadr, or God's absolute decree, though others,

* Marracc et al Shahrest. ubi sup. * Marracc ibid p 75. 1 Vide D Herbel Bibl Orient. art Giahedh. 2 Al Shahrest ubi sup p 260. 3 Marracc. ubi sup. 4 Sect. iii p 49. 5 Vide ibid et p 48. 6 Al Shahrest apud Poc. p 241. 7 Marracc ubi sup p 75. 8 Al Shahrest ubi sup. p 220. 9 Loc. Spec p 22. 1 Marracc ubi sup. 2 Idem ibid. 3 Al Shahrest. 4 Al Firauzab. Vide loc. Spec p 231 232 et 214. Al Shahrest. Vide Poc. Spec p 235 et 240 &c.

thinking it not so proper to affix a name to a sect from a doctrine which they combat, will have it come from Kadr, or Kodrat, i. e. power, because they assert man's power to act freely.⁶ Those, however, who give the name of Kadarians to the Môtazalites are their enemies, for they disclaim it, and give it to their antagonists the Jabarians, who likewise refuse it as an infamous appellation,⁷ because Mohammed is said to have declared the Kadarians to be the Magians of his followers.⁸ But what the opinion of these Kadarians in Mohammed's time was, is very uncertain: the Môtazalites say the name belongs to those who assert predestination, and make God the author of good and evil,⁹ viz. the Jabarians, but all the other Mohammedan sects agree to fix it on the Môtazalites who, they say, are like the Magians in establishing two principles, light, or God, the author of good, and darkness, or the devil, the author of evil: but this cannot absolutely be said of the Môtazalites for they (at least the generality of them) ascribe men's good deeds to God, but their evil deeds to themselves, meaning thereby that man has a free liberty and power to do either good or evil, and is master of his actions, and for this reason it is said that the other Mohammedans call them Magians because they assert another author of actions besides God.¹ And, indeed it is a difficult matter to say what Mohammed's own opinion was in this matter, for, on the one side, the Koran itself is pretty plain for absolute predestination, and many sayings of Mohammed are recorded to that purpose,² and one in particular, wherein he introduces Adam and Moses disputing before God in this manner: Thou, says Moses art Adam, whom God created, and animated with the breath of life and caused to be worshipped by the angels, and placed in paradise, from whence mankind have been expelled for thy fault: whither to Adam answered, Thou art Moses, whom God chose for his apostle, and intrusted him with his word by giving thee the tables of the law, and whom he vouchsafed to admit to discourse with himself: how many years dost thou find the law was written before I was created? Says Moses Forty. And dost thou not find replied Adam these words therein, And Adam rebelled against his Lord and transgressed all which Moses confessing Dost thou therefore blame me, continued he, for doing that which God wrote of me that I should do, forty years before I was created, nay, for what was decreed concerning me fifty thousand years before the creation of heaven and earth?³ In the conclusion of which dispute Mohammed declared that Adam had the better of Moses. On the other side, it is urged in the behalf of the Môtazalites, that Mohammed declaring that the Kadarians and Magians had been cursed by the tongues of seventy prophets, and being asked who the Kadarians were answered, Those who assert that God predestinated them to be guilty of rebellion, and yet punishes them for it: al Hasan is also said to have declared, that God sent Mohammed to the Arabs while they were Kadarians, or Jabarians, and laid their sins upon God: and to confirm the matter this sentence of the Koran is quoted,⁴ When they commit a filthy action, they say, We found our fathers practising the same, and God hath commanded us so to do: Say, Verily God commandeth not filthy actions.⁵

II The Sufatians held the opposite opinion to the Môtazalites in respect to the eternal attributes of God which they assumed, making no distinction between the essential attributes and those of operation: and hence

⁶ Vide Poc. Spec. p. 238. ⁷ Al Motarrezî al Shihrest. Vide ibid. p. 232. ⁸ Idem &c. ibid. ⁹ Idem, ibid. ¹ Vide Poc. Spec. p. 233, &c. ² Vide ibid. p. 237. ³ Ibn al Athir al Bokhari, apud Poc. p. 236. ⁴ Chap. 7. ⁵ Al Motarrezî apud eund. p. 237, 238.

they were named Sefatians, or Attributists Their doctrine was that of the first Mohammedans, who were not yet acquainted with these nice distinctions, but this sect afterwards introduced another species of declarative attributes, or such as were necessarily used in historical narration, as hands, face, eyes, &c. which they did not offer to explain, but contented themselves with saying they were in the law, and that they called them declarative attributes⁶ However, at length, by giving various explications and interpretations of these attributes, they divided into many different opinions some, by taking the words in the literal sense, fell into the notion of a likeness or similitude between God and created beings, to which it is said the Karaites among the Jews, who are for the literal interpretation of Moses's law, had shown them the way⁷ others explained them in another manner, saying that no creature was like God, but that they neither understood, nor thought it necessary to explain the precise signification of the words which seem to affirm the same of both, it being sufficient to believe that God hath no companion or similitude Of this opinion was Malec Ebn Ans, who declared as to the expression of God's sitting on his throne, in particular, that though the meaning is known, yet the manner is unknown, and that it is necessary to believe it, but heresy to make any question about it⁸

The sects of the Sefatians are,

1 The Ash'arites, the followers of Abu'l Hasan al Ash'ari, who was first a Motazalite, and the scholar of Abu Ali al Jobbar but disagreeing from his master in opinion as to God's being bound (as the Motazalites assert) to do always that which is best or most expedient, left him, and set up a new sect of himself The occasion of this difference was the putting a case concerning three brothers, the first of whom lived in obedience to God the second in rebellion against him, and the third died an infant Al Jobbar being asked what he thought would become of them answered, that the first would be rewarded in paradise, the second punished in hell, and the third neither rewarded nor punished but what, objected al Ash'ari, if the third say, O Lord, if thou hadst given me longer life, that I might have enticed paradise with my believing brother, it would have been better for me, to which al Jobbar replied that God would answer, I knew that if thou hadst lived longer thou wouldst have been a wicked person, and therefore cast into hell¹ Then, retorted al Ash'ari the second will say, O Lord, why didst thou not take me away while I was an infant, as thou didst my brother, that I might not have deserved to be punished for my sins, nor be cast into hell? To which al Jobbar could return no other answer, than that God prolonged his life to give him an opportunity of obtaining the highest degree of perfection, which was best for him but al Ash'ari demanding further, why he did not for the same reason grant the other a longer life, to whom it would have been equally advantageous, al Jobbar was so put to it, that he asked whether the devil possessed him? No, says al Ash'ari, but the master's ass will not pass the bridge,¹ i. e. he is posed

The opinions of the Ash'arites were, 1 That they allowed the attributes of God to be distinct from his essence, yet so as to forbid any comparison to be made between God and his creatures² This was also the opinion of Ahmen Ebn Hanbul, and David al Ispahani, and others, who herein followed Malec Ebn Ans, and were so cautious of any assimilation of God to created beings, that they declined whoever moved his hand while he read

⁶ Al Shahrest apud Poc. Spec. p. 223. ⁷ Vide Poc. ibid p. 224. ⁸ Vide eund. ibid. ¹ Auctor al Mawakif et al Safadi, apud Poc. ubi sup p. 230, &c. Ebn b. Halec in Vita al Jobbar. ² Al Shahrest apud Poc. Spec. p. 230

these words I have created with my hand, or stretched forth his finger in repeating this saying of Mohammed The heart of the believer is between two fingers of the Merciful, ought to have his finger cut off ³ and the reasons they gave for not explaining any such words were, that it is forbidden in the Korân, and that such explications were necessarily founded on conjecture and opinion, from which no man ought to speak of the attributes of God, because the words of the Korân might by that means come to be understood differently from the author's meaning nay some have been so superstitiously scrupulous in this matter as not to allow the words hand, face, and the like, when they occur in the Koran, to be rendered into Persian or any other language, but require them to be read in the very original words, and thus they call the safe way ⁴ 2 As to predestination, they held that God hath one eternal will, which is applied to whatsoever he willeth, both of his own actions and those of men so far as they are created by him, but not as they are required or guided by them that he willeth both their good and their evil, their profit and their hurt, and as he willeth and knoweth, he willeth concerning men that which he knoweth, and hath commanded the pen to write the same in the preserved table and this is his decree, and eternal immutable counsel and purpose ⁵ They also went so far as to say that it may be agreeable to the way of God that man should be commanded what he is not able to perform ⁶ But while they allow man some power, they seem to restrain it to such a power as cannot produce any thing new, only God, say they so orders his providence that he creates after, or under, and together with every created or new power, in such a way which is ready whenever a man wills it, and sets about it ⁷ and this action is called *Qasb*, i. e. Acquisition being in respect to its creation from God but in respect to its being produced, employed, and required, from man ⁸ And this being generally esteemed the orthodox opinion, it may not be improper farther to explain the same in the words of some other writers. The elective actions of men, says one, fall under the power of God alone, nor is their own power effectual thereto but God causeth to exist in man power and choice, and if there be no impediment, he causeth his action to exist also, subject to his power, and joined with that and his choice, which action, as created, is to be ascribed to God, but as produced, employed, or acquired, to man. So that by the acquisition of an action is properly meant a man's joining or connecting the same with his power and will, yet allowing herein no impression or influence on the existence thereof, save only that it is subject to his power ⁹ Others, however, who are also on the side of al Ashâri, and reputed orthodox, explain the matter in a different manner and grant the impression or influence of the created power of man on his action and that this power is what is called Acquisition. ¹⁰ But the point will be still clearer, if we hear a third author, who rehearses the various opinions, or explications of the opinion of this sect, in the following words, viz. Abu l Hasan al Ashâri asserts all the actions of men to be subject to the power of God, being created by him, and that the power of man hath no influence at all on that which he is empowered to do, but that both the power, and what is subject thereto, fall under the power of God al Kadi Abu Beccr says that the essence or substance of the action is the effect of the power of God, but its being either an action of obedience, as prayer, or an action of disobedience, as fornication, are qualities of the action, which proceed from the power of man, Abd almalec, known by the title of Imâm al Haramain,

³ Al Shahrest apud Poc. Spec p 228 &c ⁴ Vide Poc ibid ⁵ Al Shahrest apud eund. p. 245 &c ⁶ Idem, ibid p 246. ⁷ Al Shahrest, apud Poc p 245, &c. ⁸ Auctor Sharh al Mawakef, apud eund p 247 ⁹ Al Shahrest ibid p 248.

Abu'l Hosein of Basra, and other learned men, held that the actions of men are effected by the power which God hath created in man, and that God causeth to exist in man both power and will, and that this power and will do necessarily produce that which man is empowered to do and Abu Ishâk al Istarâyemî taught, that that which maketh impression, or hath influence on an action, is a compound of the power of God and the power of man¹. The same author observes, that their ancestors, perceiving a manifest difference between those things which are the effects of the election of man, and those things which are the necessary effects of inanimate agents, destitute both of knowledge and choice, and being at the same time pressed by the arguments which prove that God is the Creator of all things, and consequently of those things which are done by men, to conciliate the matter, chose the middle way, asserting actions to proceed from the power of God, and the acquisition of man, God's way of dealing with his servants being, that when man intended obedience, God createth in him an action of obedience and when he intendeth disobedience, he createth in him an action of disobedience, so that man seemeth to be the effective producer of his action, though he really be not². But this, proceeds the same writer, is again pressed with its difficulties, because the very intention of the mind is the work of God, so that no man hath any share in the production of his own actions, for which reason the ancients disapproved of too nice an inquiry into this point, the end of the dispute concerning the same being, for the most part either the taking away of all precepts positive as well as negative, or else the associating of a companion with God, by introducing some other independent agent besides him. Those, therefore, who would speak more accurately, use this form. There is neither compulsion nor free liberty, but the way lies between the two, the power and will in man being both created by God though the merit or guilt be imputed unto man. Yet, after all, it is judged the safest way to follow the steps of the primitive Moslems and, avoiding subtle disputations and too curious inquiries to leave the knowledge of this matter wholly unto God³. 3 As to mortal sin

¹ Auctor Sharh al Tawakka apud eund. ibid. p. 248 &c. Idem ibid. p. 249 250
² Idem ibid. p. 250 251. I trust the reader will not be offended if as a farther illustration of what has been said on this subject, (in producing of which I have purposely kept to the original Mohammedan expressions) I transcribe a passage or two from a postscript subjoined to the epistle I have quoted above, (sect. iv. p. 77) in which the point of free will is treated *ex professo*. Therein the Moorish author having mentioned the two opposite opinions of the Kadarians, who allow free will and the Jabarians, who make man a necessary agent, (the former of which opinions, he says seems to approach nearest to that of the greater part of Christians, and of the Jews) declares the true opinion to be that of the Sonnites who assert that man hath power and will to choose good and evil and can moreover know he shall be rewarded if he do well, and shall be punished if he do ill but that he depends notwithstanding on God's power and willeth if God willeth, but not otherwise. Then he proceeds briefly to refute the two extreme opinions, and first to prove that of the Kadarians, though it be agreeable to God's justice inconsistent with his attributes of wisdom and power. "Sapientia enim Dei" says he, "comprehendit quicquid fuit et futurum est ab æternitate in finem usque mundi et postea. Et ita novit ab æterno omnia opera creaturarum, sive bona, sive mala, quæ fuerint creata cum potentia Dei, et ejus libera et determinata voluntate, sicut ipsi visum fuit. Denique novit eum qui futurus erat malus, et tamen creavit eum, et similiter bonum, quem etiam creavit neque negari potest quin si ipsi libuisset, potuisset omnes creare bonos placuit tamen Deo creare bonos et malos, cum Deo soli sit absoluta et libera voluntas, et perfecta electio, et non homini. Ita enim Salomon in suis proverbiis dixit, Vitam et mortem, bonum et malum, divitias et paupertatem, esse et venire a Deo. Christiani etiam dicunt S. Paulum dixisse in suis epistolis. Dicit etiam Iulianus figulo, Quare facis unum vas ad honorem, et aliud vas ad contumeliam? Cum igitur miser homo fuerit creatus a voluntate Dei et potentia, nihil aliud potest tribui ipsi quàm ipse sensus cognoscendi et sentiendi an bene vel malè faciat. Quæ unica causa (id est, sensus cognoscendi) erit ejus
 1 -- vel malum causa per talem enim sensum novit quid boni vel mali adversus

the Ashârians taught, that if a believer guilty of such sin die without repentance, his sentence is to be left to God, whether he pardon him out of mercy, or whether the prophet intercede for him, (according to that saying recorded of him, 'My intercession shall be employed for those among my people who shall be guilty of grievous crimes,') or whether he punish him in proportion to his desert, and afterwards, through his mercy admit him into paradise but that it is not to be supposed he will remain for ever in hell with the infidels seeing it is declared that whoever shall have faith in his heart but of the weight of an ant shall be delivered from hell fire⁴ And this is generally received for the orthodox doctrine in this point, and is diametrically opposite to that of the Motazalites.

These were the more rational Sefâtians, but the ignorant part of them not knowing how otherwise to explain the expressions of the Koran relating to the declarative attributes, fell into most gross and absurd opinions making God corporeal, and like created beings⁵ Such were,

2 The Moshabbenites, or assimilators, who allowed a resemblance between God and his creatures⁶ supposing him to be a figure composed of members or parts, either spiritual or corporeal, capable of local motion of ascent and descent, &c.⁷ Some of this sect inclined to the opinion of the Dei præcepta fecerit. The opinion of the Jabarians on the other hand he rejects as contrary to man's consciousness of his own power and choice and inconsistent with God's justice and his having given mankind laws to the observing or transgressing, of which he has a mixed rewards and punishments. After this he proceeds to explain the third opinion in the following words. Tertia opinio Zunis (i.e. Sonnitaram) quæ verè est affirmat homini potentiam esse sed limitatam a sua causa id est divinitatem a Dei potentia et voluntate et propter illam cognitionem qua de liberat bene vel malè facere esse dignum pœna vel premio. Manifestum est in alternitate non fuisse aliam potentiam præter Dei nostri omnipotentem, cuius potentia pendebant omnia possiblea id est quæ poterant esse cum ab ipso fuerint creata. Sapientia vero Dei novit etiam quæ non sunt futura et potentia ejus etsi non creaverit ea potuit tamen si ita Deo placuisset. Ita novit sapientia Dei quæ sunt impossibilia id est quæ non poterant esse quæ tamen nullo pacto pendent ab ejus potentia ab ejus enim potentia nulla pendent nisi possiblea. — Dicimus enim a Dei potentia non pendere creatum dum alium ipsi imitem nec erit aliquid quod moveatur et quiescat simul et d tempore cum hoc sint ex impossibilitate comprehendit tamen sua sapientia tale aliquid non pendere ab ejus potentia. — A potentiâ igitur Dei pendet solum quod potest esse et possibile est esse quæ semper parata est dari et quiescat simul. — hoc penitus agnoscamus cognoscimus pariter omne quod est si futurum est sive sint opera nostra sive quidvis aliud pendere a sola potentia Dei. Et hoc non privativum intelligitur sed in genere de omni quod est et movetur sive in celi sive in terra et nec aliqua potentia potest impediri Dei potentia cum nulla alia potentia absolutè sit præter Dei potentia vero nostra non est a se nisi a Dei potentia et cum potentia nostra dicitur esse a causa sua idco dicimus potentiam nostram esse straminis comparatam cum potentia Dei eo enim modo quo stramen movetur a motu maris ita nostra potentia et voluntas a Dei potentia. Itaque Dei potentia semper est parata etiam ad occidendum aliquem ut si quis hominem occidat non dicimus potentiam hominis id factum sed æterna potentia Dei error enim est id tribuere potentiam hominis. Potentia enim Dei cum semper sit parata et ante ipsum hominem ad occidendum si sola hominis potentia id factum esse diceremus et moriretur potentia sancti Dei (quæ antè erat) jam ibi esset frustra, quia post mortem non potest potentia Dei cum iterum occidere ex quo sequitur potentiam Dei impediri a potentia hominis et potentiam hominis antecere et antecellere potentiam Dei quod est absurdum et impossibile. Igitur Deus est qui operatur æterna sua potentia, si verò homini injeiatur culpa, sive in tali homicidio, sive in aliis hoc est quantum ad præcepta et legem. Homini tribuitur solum opus externè, et ejus electio quæ est a voluntate ejus et potentia non verò internè. — Hoc est punctum illud indivisibile et secretum, quod a paucissimis capitur, ut sapientissimus Sidi Abo Hamet Elgaceli (i.e. Dominus Abu Hamed al Gharah) affirmat (cujus spiritui Deus concedat gloriam, Amen!) sequentibus verbis. Ita abditum et profundum et abstrusum est intelligere punctum illud Liberi Arbitrii, ut neque characteres ad scribendum, neque ullæ rationes ad exprimendum sufficiant, et omnes quotquot de hac re locuti sunt hæserunt confusi in ripa tanti et tam spaciosi maris."

Holûlians, who believed that the divine nature might be united with the human in the same person, for they granted it possible that God might appear in a human form as Gabriel did and to confirm their opinion they allege Mohammed's words, that he saw his lord in a most beautiful form, and Moses talking with God face to face⁸. And,

3 The Kerâmians, or followers of Mohammed Ebn Kerâm, called also Mojassemians, or Corporealists, who not only admitted a resemblance between God and created beings, but declared God to be corporeal⁹. The more sober among them, indeed when they applied the word body to God, would be understood to mean that he is a self subsisting being, which with them is the definition of body but yet some of them affirmed him to be finite, and circumscribed either on all sides, or on some only (as beneath, for example), according to different opinions,¹⁰ and others allowed that he might be felt by the hand, and seen by the eye. Nay, one David al Jiwârî went so far as to say, that his deity was a body composed of flesh and blood, and that he had members as hands, feet, a head, a tongue, eyes, and ears, but that he was a body, however, not like other bodies neither was he like to any created being he is also said further to have affirmed that from the crown of the head to the breast he was hollow, and from the breast downward solid, and that he had black curled hair¹. These most blasphemous and monstrous notions were the consequence of the literal acceptance of those passages in the Korân, which figuratively attribute corporeal actions to God and of the words of Mohammed, when he said, that God created man in his own image and that he himself had felt the fingers of God, which he laid on his back to be cold he adds which this sect are charged with fitching on their prophet a great number of spurious and forged traditions to support the opinion the greater part whereof they borrowed from the Jew, who are accused as naturally prone to a simulate God to men, so that they describe him as weeping for Noah's flood till his eyes were sore². And indeed though we grant the Jews may have imposed on Mohammed and his followers in many instances, and told them as solemn truths things which themselves believed not or had invented, yet in my expressions of this kind are to be found in their writings as when they introduce God roaring like a lion at every watch of the night and crying 'Alas! that I have laid waste my house and sufficed my temple to be burnt and sent my children into banishment among the heathen &c³.

4 The Jaburians, who are the direct opponents of the Kadûrians, denying free agency in man, and ascribing his actions wholly unto God⁴. They take their denomination from al Jabr which signifies necessity or compulsion, because they hold man to be necessarily and inevitably constrained to act as he does by force of God's eternal and immutable decree⁵. This sect is distinguished into several species, some being more rigid and extreme in their opinion, who are thence called pure Jaburians, and others more moderate, who are therefore called middle Jaburians. The former will not allow man to be said either to act, or to have any power at all, either operative or acquiring, asserting that man can do nothing, but produces all his actions by necessity having neither power, nor will, nor choice, any more than an inanimate agent they also declare that rewarding and punishing are also the effects of necessity, and the same they say of the imposing of commands. This was the doctrine of the Jahmians, the followers of Jahm Ebn Safwân, who likewise held that paradise and hell

⁸ Vide Marracc Prodr part iii p 76 ⁹ Al Shahrest ubi sup ¹⁰ Idem ibid p 225. ¹ Idem, ibid p 226, 227. ² Idem, ibid p 227, 228. ³ Talm. Berachoth. ⁴ Al Shahrest.

will vanish, or be annihilated, after those who are destined thereto respectively shall have entered them, so that at last there will remain no existing being besides God,* supposing those words of the Korân, which declare that the inhabitants of paradise and of hell shall remain therein for ever, to be hyperbolical only, and intended for corroboration, and not to denote an eternal duration in reality⁷ The moderate Jabarians are they who ascribe some power to man, but such a power as hath no influence on the action for as to those who grant the power of man to have a certain influence on the action, which influence is called Acquisition some⁸ will not admit them to be called Jabarians, though others reckon those also to be called middle Jabarians, and to contend for the middle opinion between absolute necessity and absolute liberty, who attribute to man acquisition or concurrence, in producing the action, whereby he gaineth commendation or blame, (yet without admitting it to have any influence on the action,) and therefore make the Ashârians a branch of this sect⁹ Having again mentioned the term Acquisition, we may perhaps have a clearer idea of what the Mohammedians mean thereby, when told, that it is defined to be an action directed to the obtaining of profit or the removing of hurt and for that reason never applied to any action of God who acquireth to himself neither profit nor hurt¹ Of the middle or moderate Jabarians, were the Najarians, and the Derârians The Najarians were the adherents of Al Hasan Fbn Mohammedi al Najâr, who taught that God was he who created the actions of men both good and bad, and that man acquired them and also that man's power had an influence on the action or a certain co-operation which he called acquisition, and herein he agreed with al Ash'ari² The Derârians were the disciples of Darrâ Fbn Amru who held also that men's actions are really created by God and that man really acquired them³ The Jabarians also say, that God is absolute Lord of his creatures, and may deal with them according to his own pleasure without rendering account to any and that if he should admit all men without distinction into paradise it would be no impartiality or if he should cast them all into hell it would be no injustice⁴ And in this particular likewise they agree with the Ashârians, who assert the same⁵ and say that reward is a favour from God, and punishment a piece of justice, obedience being by them considered as a sign only of future reward, and transgression as a sign of future punishment⁶

5 The Morgians, who are said to be derived from the Jabarians.⁷ These teach that the judgment of every true believer, who hath been guilty

* Al Shahrest. al Mozerzi et Fbn al Kossa, apud eund p. 239, 243, &c.
⁷ Item ibid p. 260. ⁸ Al Shahrest. ⁹ Fbn al Kossa, et al Mawakef. ¹ Fbn al Kossa, apud For ubi sup. p. 240. ² Al Shahrest. apud eund p. 245. ³ Idem ibid. ⁴ Abulfarag p. 168 &c. ⁵ Al Shahrestani ubi sup. p. 242 &c. Sharh al Fawa'id, ibid. To the same effect writes the Moorish author quoted above from whom I will venture to transcribe the following passage with which he concludes his discourse on Free will. Intellectus siquid lumine naturali novit Deum esse rectum judicem et justum qui non aliter afficit creaturam quam justè etiam Deum esse absolutum Dominum et hanc ortis machinam esse ejus, et ab eo creatam Deum nullis debere rationem reddere cùm quicquid agat, agat jure proprio sibi et ita absolute potest afficere primum vel poenâ quem vult, cum omnis creatura sit ejus nec facit cuiquam injuriam etsi eam tormentis et poenis æternis afficiat plus enim boni et commodi accepit creatura quando accepit esse a suo creatore, quàm incommodi et damni quando ab eo damnata est et affecta tormentis et poenis. Hoc autem intelligitur si Deus absolute id faceret. Quando enim Deus pietate et misericordiâ motus, eligit aliquos ut ipsi serviant, Dominus Deus gratia sua id facit ex infinita bonitate; et quando aliquos derelinquit, et poenis et tormentis afficit, ex justitia et rectitudine. Et tandem dicimus omnes poenas esse justas quæ a Deo veniunt et nostrâ tantum culpâ, et omnia bona esse a pietate et misericordiâ ejus infinita." Al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 256.

of a grievous sin, will be deferred till the resurrection, for which reason they pass no sentence on him in this world, either of absolution or condemnation. They also hold that disobedience with faith hurteth not, and that on the other hand, obedience with infidelity profiteth not.^a As to the reason of their name the learned differ, because of the different significations of its root, each of which they accommodate to some opinion of the sect. Some think them so called because they postpone works to intention, that is, esteem works to be inferior in degree to intention and profession of the faith,^b others, because they allow hope, by asserting that disobedience with faith hurteth not, &c., others take the reason of the name to be, their deferring the sentence of the heinous sinner till the resurrection,^c and others, their degrading of Ali, or removing him from the first degree to the fourth^d for the Morgians, in some points relating to the office of Imam, agree with the Kharejites. This sect is divided into four species three of which, according as they happen to agree in particular dogmas with the Kharejites, the Kadarians, or the Jabarians, are distinguished as Morgians of those sects, and the fourth is that of the pure Morgians, which last species is again subdivided into five others.^e The opinions of Mokatel and Bishar both of a sect of the Morgians called Thaibanians should not be omitted. The former asserted that disobedience hurts not him who professes the unity of God and is endued with faith, and that no true believer shall be cast into hell. He also taught that God will surely forgive all crimes besides infidelity, and that a disobedient believer will be punished, at the day of resurrection, on the bridge^f laid over the midst of hell, where the flames of hell fire shall catch hold on him, and torment him in proportion to his disobedience and that he shall then be admitted into paradise.^g The latter held that if God do cast the believers guilty of grievous sins into hell yet they will be delivered thence after they shall have been sufficiently punished, but that it is neither possible nor consistent with justice that they should remain therein for ever which, as has been observed, was the opinion of al Ashari.

III The Kharejites are they who depart or revolt from the lawful prince established by public consent, and thence comes their name which signifies revolters or rebels.^h The first who were so called were twelve thousand men who revolted from Ali after they had fought under him at the battle of Siffin, taking offence at his submitting the decision of his right to the Khalifat which Moawiyah disputed with him to arbitration, though they themselves had first obliged him to it.ⁱ These were also called Mohakkemites, or Judicianians, because the reason which they gave for their revolt was, that Ali had referred a matter concerning the religion of God to the judgment of men, whereas the judgment, in such case, belonged only unto God.^j The heresy of the Kharejites consisted chiefly in two things.

1 In that they affirmed a man might be promoted to the dignity of Imam, or prince, though he was not of the tribe of Koreish nor even a freeman, provided he was a just and pious person, and endued with the other requisite qualifications, and also held, that if the Imam turned aside from the truth, he might be put to death or deposed, and that there was no absolute necessity for any Imam at all in the world. 2 In that they charged Ali with sin, for having left an affair to the judgment of men, which ought to have been determined by God alone, and went so far as to declare him guilty of infidelity, and to curse him on that account.^k In the

^a Abulfar p. 169. ^b Al Firus. ^c Ebn al Athir, Al Mota'ar. ^d Al Shahrest. ubi sup p. 254 &c. ^e Idem ibid. ^f See before, sect. iv p. 65. ^g Al Shahrest. ubi sup p. 257. ^h Idem, ibid p. 209. ⁱ See Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 66, &c. ^j Al Shahrest. ubi sup p. 270. ^k Idem, ibid.

38th year of the Hejra, which was the year following the revolt, all these Khârejites, who persisted in their rebellion, to the number of four thousand, were cut to pieces by Ali, and as several historians² write, even to a man but others say nine of them escaped, and that two fled into Oman, two into Kerman, two into Sejestân, two into Mesopotamia, and one to Tel Mawrun, and that these propagated their heresy in those places, the same remaining there to this day³. The principal sects of the Kharejites, besides the Mohakkemites above mentioned are six, which, though they greatly differ among themselves in other matters, yet agree in these, viz that they absolutely reject Othmân and Ali, preferring the doing of this to the greatest obedience, and allowing marriages to be contracted on no other terms, that they account those who are guilty of grievous sins to be infidels, and that they hold it necessary to resist the Imam when he transgresses the law. One sect of them deserves more particular notice, viz

The Waidians, so called from al Waid, which signifies the threats denounced by God against the wicked. These are the antagonists of the Morgians, and assert that he who is guilty of a grievous sin ought to be declared an infidel or apostate, and will be eternally punished in hell, though he were a true believer⁴ which opinion of theirs, as has been observed occasioned the first rise of the Motizilites. One Jaafu Lbn Mobrshshu, of the sect of the Nodhuniâns, was yet more severe than the Waidians, pronouncing him to be a reprobate and an apostate who steals but a grain of corn⁵.

IV The Shîtes are the opponents of the Kharejites their name properly signifies sectaries or adherents in general, but is peculiarly used to denote those of Ali Lbn Abi Taleb, who maintain him to be lawful Khalîf and Imam and that the supreme authority both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to his descendants, notwithstanding they may be deprived of it by the injustice of others, or their own fear. They also teach that the office of Imam is not a common thing depending on the will of the vulgar so that they may set up whom they please, but a fundamental affair of religion and an article which the prophet could not have neglected or left to the fancy of the common people⁶. Many, some, thence called Imamîns, go so far as to assert, that religion consists solely in the knowledge of the true Imam⁷. The principal sects of the Shîtes are five, which are subdivided into an almost innumerable number, so that some understand Mohammed's prophecy of the seventy odd sects of the Shîtes only. Their general opinions are 1 That the peculiar designation of the Imam, and the testimonies of the Koran and Mohammed concerning him, are necessary points. 2 That the Imams ought necessarily to keep themselves free from light sins as well as more grievous. 3 That every one ought publicly to declare who it is that he adheres to, and from whom he separates himself by word, deed, or engagement, and that herein there should be no dissimulation. But in this last point some of the Zeidiâns, a sect so named from Zeid, the son of Ali, surnamed Zein al âbedîn, and great grandson of Ali, dissented from the rest of the Shîtes⁸. As to the other articles, wherein they agreed not, some of them came pretty near to the notions of the Motazalites, others to those of the Moshabbehites, and others to those of the Sonnites.⁹ Among the latter of these, Mohammed al Buker, another son of Zein al âbedîn's, seems to claim a place for his opinion as to the will of God was, that God

² Abulfeda al Jannabi Elmacinus, p 40 ³ Al Shahrestani See Ockley's Hist of the Saracens ubi sup p 63 ⁴ Abulfar p 169 Al Shahrest apud Poc Spec. p 256 ⁵ Vide Poc ibid p 257 ⁶ Al Shahrest ibid p 261 Abulfar p 169 ⁷ Al Shahrest ibid p 262 ⁸ Idem, ibid. Vide D Herbel Bibl Orient. Art Schiah. Vide Poc ibid.

willeth something in us, and something from us, and that what he willeth from us he hath revealed to us, for which reason he thought it preposterous that we should employ our thoughts about those things which God willeth in us, and neglect those which he willeth from us and as to God's decree, he held that the way lay in the middle, and that there was neither compulsion nor free liberty¹ A tenet of the Khattâbians, or disciples of one Abu'l Khattâb, is too peculiar to be omitted These maintained paradise to be no other than the pleasures of this world, and hell fire to be the pains thereof, and that the world will never decay which proposition being first laid down, it is no wonder they went further, and declared it lawful to indulge themselves in drinking wine and whoring and to do other things forbidden by the law, and also to omit doing the things commanded by the law²

Many of the Shutes carried their veneration for Ali and his descendants so far, that they transgressed all bounds of reason and decency, though some of them were less extravagant than others The Gholaites, who had their name from their excessive zeal for their Imâms were so highly transported therewith, that they raised them above the degrees of created beings, and attributed divine properties to them, transgressing on either hand by deifying of mortal men and by making God corporeal for one while they liken one of their Imâms to God, and another while they liken God to a creature³ The sects of these are various, and have various appellations in different countries Abd'illah Lbn Saba (who had been a Jew and had asserted the same thing of Joshua the son of Nun) was theingleader of one of them This man gave the following salutation to Ali, viz Thou art thou, &c Thou art God and hereupon the Gholaites became divided into several species, some maintaining the same thing, or something like it of Ali, and others of some one of his descendants, affirming that he was not dead, but would return again in the clouds, and fill the earth with justice⁴ But how much soever they disagreed in other things they unanimously held a metempsychosis, and what they call al Holul, or the descent of God on his creatures, meaning thereby, that God is present in every place, and speaks with every tongue, and appears in some individual persons⁵ and hence some of them asserted then Imâms to be prophets and at length gods⁶ The Nusairians and the Ishlâlians taught that spiritual substances appear in grosser bodies, and that the angels and the devil have appeared in this manner They also assert that God hath appeared in the form of certain men, and since, after Mohammed, there hath been no man more excellent than Ali, and after him his sons have excelled all other men, that God hath appeared in their form, spoken with their tongue and made use of their hands, for which reason, say they, we attribute divinity to them⁷ And, to support these blasphemies they tell several miraculous things of Ali, as his moving the gates of Khaibar,⁸ which they urge as a plain proof that he was endued with a particle of divinity and with sovereign power, and that he was the person in whose form God appeared with whose hands he created all things, and with whose tongue he published his commands, and therefore they say he was in being before the creation of heaven and earth⁹ In so impious a manner do they seem to wrest those things which are said in Scripture of Christ, by applying them to Ali These extravagant fancies of the Shutes,

¹ Al Shahrest ibid p 263 ² Idem et Ebn al Kossa ibid p 260, &c ³ Idem ibid ⁴ Idem, ibid p 264 Vide Murray Prodi part iii p 80 &c ⁵ Al Shahrest ibid p 265 ⁶ Vide D Herbel Bibl Or Ait Hakem beamillah ⁷ Idem ibid Abulfar p 169 ⁸ See Prod Life of Mohum p 93 ⁹ Al Shah ubi sup p 266.

however in making their Imâms partakers of the divine nature, and the impiety of some of those Imâms in laying claim thereto, are so far from being peculiar to this sect that most of the other Mohammedan sects are tainted with the same madness, there being many found among them, and among the Sufis especially, who pretend to be nearly related to heaven, and who boast of strange revelations before the credulous people¹ It may not be amiss to hear what al Ghazali has written on this occasion "Matters come to that pass," says he, "that some boast of a union with God, and discourse familiarly with him, without the interposition of a veil, saying, It hath been thus said to us, and We have thus spoken, afflicting to imitate Husein al Hallaj who was put to death for some words of this kind uttered by him, he having said (as was proved by credible witnesses), I am the Truth,² or Abu Yazid al Bastami, of whom it is related that he often used the expression, Sobhani, &c Praise be unto me!³ But this way of talking is the cause of great mischief among the common people, insomuch that husbandmen, neglecting the tillage of their land, have pretended to the like privileges, nature being tickled with discourses of this kind, which furnish men with an excuse for leaving their occupations, under pretence of purifying their souls, and attaining I know not what degrees and conditions. Nor is there any thing to hinder the most stupid fellows from forming the like pretensions, and catching at such vain expressions for whenever what they say is denied to be true they fail not to reply that our unbelief proceeds from learning and logic, affirming learning to be a veil, and logic the work of the mind whereas what they tell us appears only within, being discovered by the light of truth But this is that truth the sparks whereof have flown into several countries, and occasioned great mischiefs, so that it is more for the advantage of God's true religion to put to death one of those who utter such things than to bestow life on ten others"⁴

Thus far have we treated of the chief sects among the Mohammedans of the first ages omitting to say any thing of the more modern sects, because the same are taken little or no notice of by their own writers, and would be of no use to our present design⁵ It may be proper, however, to mention a word or two of the great schism at this day subsisting between the Sunnites and the Shutes, or partisans of Ali, and maintained on either side with implacable hatred and furious zeal Though the difference arose at first on a political occasion, it has notwithstanding been so well improved by additional circumstances, and the spirit of contradiction, that each party detest and anathematize the other as abominable heretics, and farther from the truth than either the Christians or the Jews⁶ The chief points wherein they differ are, 1 That the Shutes reject Abu Becr, Omar, and Othman, the first three Khalifs, as usurpers and intruders, whereas the Sunnites acknowledge and respect them as rightful Imams 2 The Shutes prefer Ali to Mohammed, or, at least esteem them both equal, but the Sunnites admit neither Ali nor any of the prophets to be equal to Mohammed 3 The Sunnites charge the Shutes with corrupting the Koran, and neglecting its precepts, and the Shutes retort the same charge on the Sunnites 4 The Sunnites receive the Sonna, or book of traditions of their prophet, as of canonical authority, whereas the Shutes reject it as apocryphal and unworthy of credit And to these disputes, and some others of less moment, is principally owing the antipathy which has long reigned between

¹ Pocock Spec p 267 ² Vide D Herbel Bibl Orient Art Hallage ³ Vide Ibid A t Bastham ⁴ Al Ghazali apud Poc ubi sup ⁵ The reader may meet with some account of them in Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire lib 2, c. 12 ⁶ Vide ibid c 10 et Chardin, Voy de Perse tom ii p 169 170 &c

the Turks, who are Sonnites, and the Persians who are of the sect of Ali. It seems strange that Spinoza, had he known of no other schism among the Mohammedans, should yet never have heard of one so publicly notorious as this between the Turks and Persians, but it is plain he did not, or he would never have assigned it as the reason of his preferring the order of the Mohammedan church to that of the Roman, that there have arisen no schisms in the former since its birth ⁷

As success in any project seldom fails to draw in imitators, Mohammed's having raised himself to such a degree of power and reputation by acting the prophet induced others to imagine they might arrive at the same height by the same means. His most considerable competitors in this prophetic office were Moseilama and al Aswad, whom the Mohammedans usually call the two liars.

The former was of the tribe of Honeifa who inhabited the province of Yamama, and a principal man among them. He headed an embassy sent by his tribe to Mohammed in the ninth year of the Hejra, and professed himself a Moslem ⁸ but on his return home, considering that he might possibly share with Mohammed in his power, the next year he set up for a prophet also, pretending to be joined with him in the commission to recall mankind from idolatry to the worship of the true God ⁹ and he published written revelations, in imitation of the Koran, of which Abulfatigius¹⁰ has preserved the following passage, viz. Now hath God been gracious unto her that was with child, and hath brought forth from her the soul which runneth between the peritonæum and the bowels. Moseilama, having formed a considerable party among those of Honeifa, began to think himself upon equal terms with Mohammed, and sent him a letter offering to go halves with him,¹ in these words. From Moseilama the apostle of God, to Mohammed the apostle of God—Now let the earth be half mine and half thine. But Mohammed, thinking himself too well established to need a partner, wrote him this answer. From Mohammed the apostle of God, to Moseilama the liar,—The earth is God's, he giveth the same for inheritance unto such of his servants as he pleaseth, and the happy issue shall attend those who fear him ². During the few months which Mohammed lived after this revolt, Moseilama rather gained than lost ground, and grew very formidable, but Abu Becr, his successor, in the eleventh year of the Hejra, sent a great army against him, under the command of that consummate general Khaled Ebn al Wahd, who engaged Moseilama in a bloody battle, wherein the false prophet happening to be slain by Wahsha, the negro slave who had killed Hamza at Ohod, and by the same lance,³ the Moslems gained an entire victory, ten thousand of the apostates being left dead on the spot, and the rest returning to Mohammedism ⁴.

Al Aswad, whose name was Aihala, was of the tribe of Ans, and governed that and the other tribes of Arabs descended from Madhhaj ⁵. This man was likewise an apostate from Mohammedism, and set up for himself the very year that Mohammed died ⁶. He was surnamed Dhulhemar or the master of the ass, because he used frequently to say, The master of the ass

⁷ The words of Spinoza are "Ordinem Romanæ ecclesiæ—politicum et plurimos lucrosos esse fateor nec ad decipiendam plebem, et hominum animos coerendum commodiorem isto crederem nisi ordo Mahumedanæ ecclesiæ esset, qui longe eundem antecellit. Nam a quo tempore hæc superstitio incepta nulla in eorum ecclesiæ schismata orta sunt." Opera Posth. p. 613. ⁸ Abulfed. p. 160. ⁹ Idem Elmac. p. 9. ¹⁰ Hist. Dynast. p. 164. ¹ Abulfed. ubi sup. ² Al Beidawi in Kor. c. 5. ³ Abulfed. ubi sup. ⁴ Idem ibid. Abulfarag. p. 173. Elmac. p. 16 &c. See Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. vol. 1. p. 15, &c. ⁵ Al Soheili, apud Gagnier, in not. ad Abulf. Vit. Moh. p. 158. ⁶ Elmac. p. 9.

is coming unto me, and pretended to receive his revelations from two angels named Sohaik and Shoraik^a. Having a good hand at legerdemain, and a smooth tongue, he gained mightily on the multitude by the strange feats which he showed them and the eloquence of his discourse^b; by these means he greatly increased his power, and having made himself master of Najran and the territory of el Tayef,^c on the death of Badh in the governor of Yamn for Mohammed, he seized that province also, killing Shahr, the son of Budhan, and taking to wife his widow, whose father, the uncle of Fuuz the Deilamite, he had also slain^d. These news being brought to Mohammed he sent to his friends, and to those of Hamdan, a party of whom, conspiring with Kais Ebn Abd al Yaghuthi who bore el Aswad a grudge, and with Fuuz and al Aswad's wife, broke by night into his house, where Fuuz surprised him and cut off his head. While he was despatching he roared like a bull, at which his guards came to the chamber door, but were sent away by his wife who told them the prophet was only agitated by the divine inspiration. This was done the very night before Mohammed died. The next morning the conspirators caused the following proclamation to be made, viz. I bear witness that Mohammed is the apostle of God, and that Aihala is a liar, and letters were immediately sent away to Mohammed, with an account of what had been done, but a messenger from heaven outstripped them, and acquainted the prophet with the news, which he imparted to his companions a little before his death, the letters themselves not arriving till Abu Becr was chosen Khalif. It is said that Mohammed on this occasion told those who attended him, that before the day of judgment thirty more impostors, besides Moseilama and al Aswad, should appear, and every one of them set up for a prophet. The whole time from the beginning of Aswad's rebellion to his death was about four months^e.

In the same eleventh year of the Hejra, but after the death of Mohammed, as seems most probable, Toleiha Ebn Khowailed set up for a prophet, and Sejj Bint al Mondar for a prophetess.

Toleiha was of the tribe of Asad, which adhered to him together with great numbers of the tribes of Ghattin and Tiy. Against them likewise was Khaleel sent, who engaged and put them to flight, obliging Toleiha with his shattered troops to retire into Syria, where he staid till the death of Abu Becr. then he went to Omri and embraced Mohammedism in his presence, and having taken the oath of fidelity to him, returned to his own country and people^f.

Sejj surnamed Omm Sailer, was of the tribe of Tamim, and the wife of Abu Calidala, a soothsayer of Yamama. She was followed not only by those of her own tribe, but by several others. Thinking a prophet the most proper husband for her, she went to Moseilama, and married him, but after she had staid with him three days, she left him, and returned home^g. What became of her afterwards I do not find. Ebn Shohnah has given us a part of the conversation which passed at the interview between those two pretenders to inspiration, but the same is a little too immodest to be translated.

In succeeding ages several impostors from time to time started up, most of whom quickly came to nothing, but some made a considerable figure, and propagated sects which continued long after their decease. I shall give a brief account of the most remarkable of them, in order of time.

^a Abulfed ubi sup. ^b Al Soheili, ubi sup. ^c Abulfed ubi sup. ^d Idem, et Elmac ubi sup. ^e Idem, al Jannabi ubi sup. ^f Idem ibid. ^g Ebn Shohnah and Elmacinus call her the daughter of al Hareth. ^h Elmac p 16 al Beidawi, in kor c 5. ⁱ Ebn Shohnah. Vide Elmac p 16.

In the reign of al Mohdi, the third Khalif of the race of al Abbas, one Hakem Ebn Hashem,⁷ originally of Meru in Khorasan, who had been an under secretary to Abu Moslem, the governor of that province, and afterwards turned soldier, passed thence into Marwarah nahr, where he gave himself out for a prophet. He is generally named by the Arab writers al Mokanna, and sometimes al Borkai, that is, the veiled, because he used to cover his face with a veil, or a gilded mask, to conceal his deformity, having lost an eye in the wars, and being otherwise of a despicable appearance, though his followers pretended he did it for the same reason as Moses did, viz. lest the splendour of his countenance should dazzle the eyes of the beholders. He made a great many proselytes at Nakhshab and Kash,⁸ deluding the people with several juggling performances, which they swallowed for miracles and particularly by causing the appearance of a moon to rise out of a well for many nights together, whence he was also called, in the Persian tongue, Sazandeh mah, or the moon maker. This impious impostor, not content with being reputed a prophet, arrogated divine honours to himself, pretending that the deity resided in his person and the doctrine whereon he built this was the same with that of the Gholutes above mentioned, who affirmed a transmigration or successive manifestation of the divinity, through and in certain prophets and holy men, from Adam to these latter days (of which opinion was also Abu Moslem himself⁹), but the particular doctrine of al Mokanna was, that the person in whom the deity had last resided was the aforesaid Abu Moslem, and that the same soul, since his death, passed into himself. The faction of al Mokanna, who had made himself master of several fortified places in the neighbourhood of the cities above mentioned, growing daily more and more powerful, the Khalif was at length obliged to send an army to reduce him, at the approach whereof al Mokanna retired into one of his strongest fortresses, which he had well provided for a siege, and sent his emissaries abroad to persuade people that he raised the dead to life, and knew future events. But being straitly besieged by the Khalif's forces, when he found there was no possibility for him to escape, he gave poison in wine to his whole family and all that were with him in the castle, and when they were dead he burnt their bodies, together with their clothes, and all the provisions, and cattle, and then, to prevent his own body being found, he threw himself into the flames, or, as others say, into a tub of aqua fortis or some other preparation, which consumed every part of him, except only his hair, so that when the besiegers entered the place they found no creature in it, save one of al Mokanna's concubines, who suspecting his design, had hid herself and discovered the whole matter. This contrivance, however, failed not to produce the effect which the impostor designed among the remaining part of his followers, for he had promised them that his soul should transmigrate into the form of a grey headed man, riding on a greyish beast, and that after so many years, he would return to them, and give them the earth for their possession, the expectation of which promise kept the sect in being for several ages after,⁹ under the name of Mobeyyidites, or, as the Persians call them, Sefid jamehghia, i. e. the clothed in white, because they wore their garments of that colour, in opposition, as is supposed, to the Khalifs of the family of Abbâs, whose banners and habits

⁷ Or Fbn Ata according to Fbn Shohnah. ⁸ This explains a doubt of Mr Bayle concerning a passage of Elmacinus, as translated by Erpenius, and corrected by Bespier Vide Bayle, Dict. Hist. Art. Abumuslimus vers la fin, et Rem. B. ⁹ They were a sect in the days of Abu Ifaragius, who lived about five hundred years after this extraordinary event, and nay, for aught I know be so still.

black. The historians place the death of al Mokanna in the 162nd or 163rd year of the Hejra.¹

In the year of the Hejra 201, Babec, surnamed al Khorremi and Khorremdin, either because he was of a certain district near Adherbijân, called Khorrem, or because he instituted a merry religion, which is the signification of the word in Persian, began to take on him the title of a prophet. I do not find what doctrine he taught, but it is said he professed none of the religions then known in Asia. He gained a great number of devotees in Adherbijân and the Persian Irak, and grew powerful enough to wage war with the Khalif al Mâmun, whose troops he often beat, killing several of his generals, and one of them with his own hand, and by these victories he became so formidable that al Motasem, the successor of al Mâmun, was obliged to employ the forces of the whole empire against him. The general sent to reduce Babec was Afshid, who, having overthrown him in battle, took his castles one after another with invincible patience, notwithstanding the rebels gave him great annoyance, and at last shut up the impostor in his principal fortress, which being taken, Babec found means to escape thence in disguise, with some of his family and principal followers, but taking refuge in the territories of the Greeks, was betrayed in the following manner. Sahel, an Armenian officer, happening to know Babec, enticed him, by offers of service and respect, into his power, and treated him as a mighty prince, till when he sat down to eat, Sahel clapt himself down by him, at which Babec being surprised, asked him how he dared to take that liberty unasked? "It is true, great king," replied Sahel, "I have committed a fault, for who am I, that I should sit at your majesty's table. And immediately sending for a smith, he made use of this bitter sarcasm, "Stretch forth your legs, great king, that this man may put fetters on them." After this Sahel sent him to Afshid, though he had offered a large sum for his liberty, having first served him in his own kind, by causing his mother, sister and wife, to be ravished before his face, for so Babec used to treat his prisoners. Afshid, having the arch rebel in his power, conducted him to al Motasem, by whose order he was put to an ignominious and cruel death. This man had maintained his ground against the power of the Khalifs for twenty years, and had cruelly put to death above two hundred and fifty thousand people, it being his custom never to spare man, woman, or child, either of the Mohammedans or their allies.² The sectaries of Babec which remained after his death seem to have been entirely dispersed, there being little or no mention made of them by historians.

About the year 235, one Mahmud Ibn Faraj pretended to be Moses resuscitated, and played his part so well that several people believed in him, and attended him when he was brought before the Khalif al Motawakkel. That prince, having been an ear witness of his extravagant discourses, condemned him to receive ten buffets from every one of his followers, and then to be drubbed to death, which was accordingly executed, and his disciples were imprisoned till they came to their right minds.³

The Karmatians, a sect which bore an inveterate malice against the Mohammedans, began first to raise disturbances in the year of the Hejra 278, and the latter end of the reign of al Môtamed. Their origin is not well known, but the common tradition is, that a poor fellow, whom some call

¹ Ex Abu'lfarag Hist Dyn p 226 Lobb al Tawarikh, Ebn Shohnah al Tabari, et Khondamir Vide D Herbel Bibl Orient Art Hakem Ben Haschem ² Ex Abu'lfarag p 252, &c Elmacin p 141 &c and Khondamir Vide D Herbel Art. Babec. ³ Ebn Shohnah Vide D Herbel p 537

Karmata, came from Khuzistân to the villages near Cûfa, and there feigned great sanctity and strictness of life, and that God had enjoined him to pray fifty times a day, pretending also to invite people to the obedience of a certain Imâm of the family of Mohammed and this way of life he continued till he had made a very great party, out of whom he chose twelve, as his apostles, to govern the rest, and to propagate his doctrines. But the governor of the province, finding men neglected their work, and their husbandry in particular, to say those fifty prayers a day, seized the fellow, and having put him in prison, swore that he should die, which being overheard by a girl belonging to the governor, she, pitying the man, at night took the key of the dungeon from under her master's head as he slept, and having let the prisoner out, returned the key to the place whence she had it. The next morning the governor found the bird flown, and the accident being publicly known raised great admiration, his adherents giving it out that God had taken him into heaven. Afterwards he appeared in another province, and declared to a great number of people he had got about him, that it was not in the power of any to do him hurt, notwithstanding which, his courage failing him, he retired into Syria, and was not heard of any more. His sect, however, continued and increased, pretending that their master had manifested himself to be a true prophet, and had left them a new law, wherein he had changed the ceremonies and form of prayer used by the Moslems, and introduced a new kind of fast, and that he had also allowed them to drink wine, and dispensed with several things commanded in the Koran. They also turned the precepts of that book into allegory, teaching that prayer was the symbol of obedience to their Imâm and fasting that of silence, or concealing their dogmas from strangers, they also believed fornication to be the sin of infidelity, and the guilt thereof to be incurred by those who revealed the mysteries of their religion, or paid not a blind obedience to their chief. They are said to have produced a book, wherein was written (among other things) 'In the name of the most merciful God. Al Farj, Ebn Othman, of the town of Nasrana, saith, that Christ appeared unto him in a human form, and said, Thou art the invitation thou art the demonstration thou art the camel thou art the beast thou art John the son of Zacharias thou art the Holy Ghost"⁴ From the year above mentioned the Karmatians, under several leaders, gave almost continual disturbance to the Khalifs and their Mohammedan subjects for several years, committing great disorders and outrages in Chaldea, Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, and at length establishing a considerable principality, the power whereof was in its meridian in the reign of Abu Dhafer, famous for his taking of Mecca, and the indignities by him offered to the temple there, but which declined soon after his time, and came to nothing⁵

To the Karmatians the Ismaelians of Asia were very near of kin if they were not a branch of them for these, who were also called al Molahedah, or the impious, and by the writers of the history of the holy wars, Assassins, agreed with the former in many respects, such as their inveterate malice against those of other religions, and especially the Mohammedan, their unlimited obedience to their prince, at whose command they were ready for assassinations or any other bloody and dangerous enterprise, they pretended attachment to a certain Imâm of the house of Ali, &c. These Ismaelians, in the year 488, possessed themselves of al Jebâl, in the Persian Irak, under the conduct of Hasan Sabah, and that prince and his

⁴ Apud Abulfar p 275 ⁵ Ex Abulfar ibid Elmacino, p 174, &c Ebn Shohnah, Khondamir Vide D Heber Art Carmath.

descendants enjoyed the same for a hundred and seventy one years, till the whole race of them was destroyed by Holagu the Tartar⁶

The Batenites, which name is also given to the Ismaeliens by some authors, and likewise to the Karmatians,⁷ were a sect which professed the same abominable principles, and were dispersed over several parts of the East⁸. The word signifies Esoterics, or people of inward or hidden light or knowledge

Abul Teyyeb Ahmed, surnamed al Motanabbî, of the tribe of Jôfa, is too famous on another account not to claim a place here. He was one of the most excellent poets among the Arabians, there being none besides Abu Temim who can dispute the prize with him. His poetical inspiration was so warm and exalted, that he either mistook it, or thought he could persuade others to believe it to be prophetic, and therefore gave himself out to be a prophet indeed, and thence acquired his surname, by which he is generally known. His accomplishments were too great not to have some success, for several tribes of the Arabs of the deserts, particularly that of Kelab, acknowledged him to be what he pretended. But Lulu, governor of those parts for Akhsid king of Egypt and Syria, soon put a stop to the further progress of this new sect, by imprisoning their prophet, and obliging him to renounce his chimerical dignity, which having done, he regained his liberty, and applied himself solely to his poetry, by means whereof he got very considerable riches, being in high esteem at the courts of several princes. Al Motanabbî lost his life, together with his son on the bank of the Tigris, in defending the money which had been given him by Adado 'ddawla, sultan of Persia, against some Arabian robbers who demanded it of him, with which money he was returning to Cufa, his native city. This accident happened in the year 311⁹.

The last pretender to prophecy I shall now take notice of is one who appeared in the city of Amusia, in Natolia in the year 638, and by his wonderful feats seduced a great multitude of the people there. He was by nation a Turkman, and called himself Bîba and had a disciple named Isaac, whom he sent about to invite those of his own nation to join him. Isaac accordingly, coming to the territory of Somesat, published his commission, and prevailed on many to embrace his master's sect, especially among the Turkimans, so that at last he had six thousand horse at his heels, besides foot. With these Baba and his disciples made open war on all who would not cry out with them, There is no God but God, Baba is the apostle of God, and they put great numbers of Mohammedans, as well as Christians, to the sword in those parts, till at length both Mohammedans and Christians, joined together, gave them battle, and having entirely routed them, put them all to the sword, except their two chiefs who, being taken alive, had their heads struck off by the executioner¹⁰. I could mention several other impostors of the same kind, which have arisen among the Mohammedans since their prophet's time, and very near enough to complete the number foretold by him. but I apprehend the reader is by this time tired as well as myself, and shall therefore here conclude this discourse, which may be thought already too long for an introduction.

⁶ Vide Abulfar p 505, &c D Herbel p 104 437 505 620, and 784. ⁷ Vide Fimacim p 174, and 286. D Herbel p 194. ⁸ Vide Abulfar p 361, 374 380, 483, ⁹ Pref in Opera Motanabbis MS. Vide D Herbel p 638, &c. ¹⁰ Abulfar p 479 Ibn Shohnah D Herbel Art Baba.

AL KORAN.

CHAPTER I.

INTITLED, THE PREFACE OR INTRODUCTION,* REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD *

PRAISE be to GOD, the LORD of all creatures,^b the most merciful, the king of the day of judgment Thee do we worship, and of thee do we beg assistance Direct us in the right way, in the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious, not of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray *

* In Arabic *al Fatihat* This chapter is a prayer and held in great veneration by the Mohammedans who give it several other honourable titles as the chapter of *prayer*, of *praise* of *thanksgiving* of *treasure*, &c They esteem it as the quintessence of the whole Koran and often repeat it in their devotions both public and private as the Christians do the Lord's Prayer¹

* This formula is prefixed to all the chapters (with the exception of one) It is expressly recommended in the Koran The Mohammedans pronounce it whenever they slaughter an animal and at the commencement of their reading, and of all important actions It is with them that which the sign of the cross is with Christians Giaab one of their celebrated authors says that when these words were sent down from heaven the clouds fled on the side of the east, the winds were lulled the sea was moved the animals erected their ears to listen the devils were precipitated from the celestial spheres &c—*Savary*

^b The original words are *Rabbilalamin* which literally signify *Lord of the worlds*, but *alamin* in this and other places of the Koran properly means the three species of rational creatures, men, gnomes and angels Father Marracci has endeavoured to prove from this passage that Mohammed believed a plurality of worlds which he calls the error of the Munchies &c² but this imputation the learned Richard has shown to be entirely groundless³ Savary translates it "Sovereign of the worlds"

This last sentence contains a petition that God would lead the supplicants into the true religion by which is meant the Mohammedan in the Koran often called *the right way*, in this place more particularly defined to be *the way of those to whom God hath been gracious*, that is of the prophets and faithful who preceded Mohammed, under which appellations are also comprehended the Jews and Christians such as they were in the times of their primitive purity, before they had deviated from their respective institutions, *not the way of the modern Jews*, whose signal calamities are marks of the just anger of God against them for their obstinacy and

¹ Vide Bobovium de Precib. Mohammed p. 3 et seq. ² In Prodomo ad Refut. Alcorani, part iv p. 76, et in notis ad Alc. cap. 1. ³ De Religione Mohammed. p. 362.

CHAPTER II

INTITLED THE COW,^a REVEALED PARTLY AT MECCA, AND
PARTLY AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

A. L. M* There is no doubt in this book, *it is a direction to the pious, who believe in the mysteries^f of faith, who observe the appointed times of prayer, and distribute alms out of what we have bestowed on them, and who believe in that revelation, which hath been sent down unto thee, and that which hath been sent down unto the prophets before thee,^g and have firm assurance of the life to come* ^h *these are directed by their LORD, and they shall prosper* As for the unbelievers, it will be equal to them whether thou admonish them, or do not admonish them, they will not believe God hath sealed up their hearts and their hearing, a dimness covereth their sight, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment There are some who say, We believe in God, and the last day, but are not *really* believers, they seek to deceive God and those who do believe but they deceive themselves only, and are not sensible thereof There is an infirmity in their hearts, and GOD hath increased that infirmity,ⁱ and they shall suffer a most painful punishment, because they have disbelieved. When one saith unto them, Act not corruptly^k in the earth,

disobedience *nor of the Christians of this age, who have departed from the true doctrine of Jesus and are bewildered in a labyrinth of error^l*

This is the common exposition of the passage, though al Zamakhshari and some others by a different application of the negatives, refer the whole to the true believers, and then the sense will run thus *The way of those to whom thou hast been gracious, against whom thou art not incensed and who have not erred.* Which translation the original will very well bear

^a This title was occasioned by the story of the red heifer mentioned pp 9, 10

^b As to the meaning of these letters see the preliminary discourse, sect. 3

^c The Arabic word is *ghayb* which properly signifies a thing that is *absent at a great distance, or invisible* such as the resurrection paradise, and hell And this is agreeable to the language of scripture, which defines faith to be *the evidence of things not seen.*^d

^e The Mohammedans believe that God gave written revelations not only to Moses, Jesus and Mohammed but to several other prophets,^f though they acknowledge none of those which preceded the Koran to be now extant except the Pentateuch of Moses, the Psalms of David and the Gospel of Jesus which yet they say were even before Mohammed's time altered and corrupted by the Jews and Christians, and therefore will not allow our present copies to be genuine

^g The original word *al-akhirat* properly signifies *the latter part* of any thing, and by way of excellence *the next life the latter or future state* after death and is opposed to *al-dunya, this world*, and *al-oula, the former or present life* The Hebrew word *ahharith*, from the same root, is used by Moses in this sense and is translated *latter end*^h

ⁱ Mohammed here and elsewhere, frequently imitates the truly inspired writers, in making God by operation on the minds of reprobates to prevent their conversion This fatality or predestination, as believed by the Mohammedans, hath been sufficiently treated of in the preliminary discourse

^k Literally *corrupt not in the earth*, by which some expositors understand the sowing of false doctrine, and corrupting people's principles.

^l Jahhalo ddin Al Baidawi, &c. ^m Heb xi 1 See also Rom xxiv 25 2 Cor iv 18, and v 7 ⁿ Vide Beland, De Relig Moham p 34, et Dissert de Samaritanis, p 34, &c. ^o Numb xxiv 20 Deut viii 16

they reply, Verily we are men of integrity¹ Are not they themselves corrupt doers? but they are not sensible thereof And when one saith unto them, Believe ye as others^m believe, they answer, Shall we believe as fools believe? Are not they themselves fools? but they know it not When they meet those who believe, they say, We do believe but when they retire privately to their devils,ⁿ they say, We really *hold* with you, and only mock at those people God shall mock at them, and continue them in their impiety, they shall wander in confusion These are the *men* who have purchased error at the price of *true* direction but their traffic hath not been gainful, neither have they been *rightly* directed. They are like unto one who kindleth a fire,^o and when it hath enlightened all around him,^p God taketh away their light^q and leaveth them in darkness, they shall not see, *they are* deaf, dumb, and blind, therefore will they not repent Or like a stormy cloud from heaven, fraught with darkness, thunder, and lightning,^r they put their fingers in their ears, because of the noise of the thunder, for fear of death, God encompasseth the infidels the lightning wanteth but little of taking away their sight, so often as it enlighteneth them, they walk therein, but when darkness cometh on them, they stand still, and if God so pleased, he would certainly deprive them of their hearing and their sight, for God is almighty O men of Mecca, serve your Lord who hath created you, and those who have been before you peradventure ye will fear *him*, who hath spread the earth as a bed for you, and the heaven as a covering, and hath caused water to descend from heaven, and thereby produced fruits for your sustenance. Set not up therefore any equals unto God, against your own knowledge. If ye be in doubt concerning that *revelation* which we have sent down unto our servant, produce a chapter like unto it, and call upon your witnesses,

¹ According to the explication in the preceding note this word must be translated *reformers* who promote true piety by their doctrine and example

^m The first companions and followers of Mohammed⁸

ⁿ The prophet making use of the liberty zealots of all religions have by prescription, of giving ill language bestows this name on the Jewish rabbins and Christian priests though he seems chiefly to mean the former, against whom he had by much the greater spleen

^o In this passage Mohammed compares those who believed not in him to a man who wants to kindle a fire but as soon as it burns up and the flames give a light, shuts his eyes lest he should see As if he had said, You O Arabians, have long desired a prophet of your own nation and now I am sent unto you and have plainly proved my mission by the excellence of my doctrine and revelation, you resist conviction and refuse to believe in me therefore shall God leave you in your ignorance

^p The sense seems to be here imperfect and may be completed, by adding the words *he turns from it, shuts his eyes*, or the like

^q That is of the believers to whom the word *these*, being in the plural, seems to refer, though it is not unusual for Mohammed in affectation of the prophetic style, suddenly to change the number against all rules of grammar

^r Here he compares the unbelieving Arabs to people caught in a violent storm To perceive the beauty of this comparison, it must be observed, that the Mohammedan doctors say, this tempest is a type or image of the Koran itself the thunder signifying the threats therein contained, the lightning, the promises and the darkness, the mysteries The terror of the threats makes them stop their ears unwilling to hear truths so disagreeable, when the promises are read to them they attend with pleasure; but when any thing mysterious or difficult of belief occurs, they stand stock still, and will not submit to be directed.

⁸ Tallalo ddin.

besides God,¹ if ye say truth. But if ye do *it* not, nor shall *ever* *to do it*, justly fear the fire whose fuel is men and stones, prepared for the unbelievers. But bear good tidings unto those who believe, and do good works, that they shall have gardens watered by rivers, so often as they eat of the fruit thereof for sustenance, they *shall* say, this is what we have formerly eaten of, and they shall be supplied with *several sorts of fruit* having a mutual resemblance to one another². There shall they enjoy wives subject to no impurity, and there shall they continue for ever. Moreover, God will not be ashamed to propound in a parable a gnat,³ or even a more despicable thing⁴ for they who believe will know it to be the truth from their LORD, but the unbelievers will say, What meaneth GOD by this parable? he will thereby mislead many, and will direct many thereby but he will not mislead *any* thereby, except the transgressors, who make void the covenant of GOD after the establishing thereof, and cut in sunder that which GOD hath commanded to be joined, and act corruptly in the earth, they shall perish. How *is it that* ye believe not in GOD? Since ye were dead, and he gave you life,⁵ he will hereafter cause you to die, and will again restore you to life, then shall ye return unto him. It is he who hath created for you whatsoever is on earth, and then set his mind to the creation of heaven, and formed it into seven heavens, he knoweth all things. When thy LORD said unto the angels, I am going to place a substitute on earth,⁶ they said, Wilt thou place there one who

¹ *e* Your false gods and idols

Some commentators⁹ approve of this sense, supposing the fruits of paradise though of various tastes are alike in colour and outward appearance but others¹ think the meaning, to be that the inhabitants of that place will find their fruits of the same or the like kinds as they used to eat while on earth.

² God is no more ashamed to propound a gnat as a parable, than to use a more dignified illustration. —*Savary*

³ This was revealed to take off an objection made to the Koran by the infidel for condescending to speak of such insignificant insects as the spider, the pismire, the bee &c.²

⁴ *e* Ye were dead while in the wombs of your fathers and he gave you life in your mothers wombs and after death ye shall be again raised at the resurrection³

⁵ Concerning the creation of Adam here intimated, the Mohammedans have several peculiar traditions. They say the angels Gabriel, Michael, and Israfil were sent by God one after another to fetch for that purpose seven handfuls of earth from different depths and of different colours (whence some account for the various complexions of mankind⁴) but the earth being apprehensive of the consequence and desiring them to represent her fear to God that the creature he designed to form would rebel against him and draw down his curse upon her they returned without performing God's command whereupon he sent Azrail on the same errand who executed his commission without remorse for which reason, God appointed that angel to separate the souls from the bodies being therefore called the *angel of death*. The earth he had taken was carried into Aribu to a place between Mecca and Fayf where being first kneaded by the angels it was afterwards fashioned by God himself into a human form and left to dry⁵ for the space of forty days, or as others say, as many years, the angels in the mean time often visiting it and Lblis (then one of the angels who are nearest to God's presence afterwards the devil) among the rest but he not contented with looking on it, kicked it with his foot till it rung and knowing God designed that creature to be his superior took a secret resolution never to acknowledge him as such. After this God animated the figure of clay and endued it with an intelligent soul and when he had placed him in paradise, formed Eve out of his left side⁶.

⁹ Jallalo ddin ¹ Al Zamakhshari ² Yahya ³ Jallalo ddin ⁴ Al Termedi, from a tradition of Abu Musa al Ashari ⁵ Koran c 50 ⁶ Khond amir Jallalo ddin Comment in Koran, &c. Vide D Herbelot Biblioth Orient. p 50

will do evil therein, and shed blood? but we celebrate thy praise, and sanctify thee. God answered, Verily I know that which ye know not, and he taught Adam the names of all things, and then proposed them to the angels, and said, Declare unto me the names of these things if ye saw truth. They answered, Praise be unto thee, we have no knowledge but what thou teachest us, for thou art knowing and wise. God said, O Adam, tell them their names. And when he had told them their names, God said, Did I not tell you that I know the secrets of heaven and earth, and know that which ye discover, and that which ye conceal? And when we said unto the angels, Worship^a Adam, they *all* worshipped *him*, except Eblis, *who* refused and was puffed up with pride, and became of the *number of unbelievers*.^b And we said, O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife in the garden,^c and eat of *the fruit* thereof plentifully whereever ye will, but approach not this tree,^d lest ye become of *the number of the transgressors*. But Satan caused them to forfeit *paradise*,^e and turned them out of *the state of happiness* wherein they had been, whereupon we said, Get ye down,^f the one of you an enemy unto the other, and there shall be a dwelling place for you on

^a This story Mohammed borrowed from the Jewish traditions which say that the angels having spoken of man with some contempt when God consulted them about his creation God made answer that the man was wiser than they and to convince them of it he brought all kinds of animals to them and asked them their names which they not being able to tell he put the same question to the man who named them one after another and being asked his own name and God's name he answered *very* justly and gave God the name of Jehovah — the angels adoring of Adam is also mentioned in the Talmud^g

^b The original word signifies properly to *prostrate one's self* till the forehead touches the ground which is the humblest posture of adoration and strictly due to God only but it is sometimes as in this place, used to express that civil worship or homage which may be paid to creatures^h

^c This occasion of the devil's fall has some affinity with an opinion which has been pretty much entertained among Christiansⁱ viz that the angels being informed of God's intention to create man after his own image and to dignify human nature by Christ's assuming it some of them thinking their glory to be eclipsed thereby envied man's happiness and so revolted

^d Mohammed as appears by what presently follows does not place this garden or paradise on earth but in the seventh heaven^j

^e Concerning this tree or the forbidden fruit the Mohammedans as well as the Christians, have various opinions. Some say it was in ear of wheat some will have it to have been a fig tree, and others a vine. The story of the fall is told with some further circumstances in the beginning of the seventh chapter

^f They have a tradition that the devil offering to get into paradise to tempt Adam was not admitted by the guard whereupon he begged of the animals one after another, to carry him in that he might speak to Adam and his wife but they all refused him except the serpent, who took him between two of his teeth, and so introduced him. They add that the serpent was then of a beautiful form, and not in the shape he now bears^k

^g The Mohammedans say that when they were cast down from paradise Adam fell on the Isle of Ceylon or Serendib and lived near Jeddah (the port of Mecca) in Arabia, and that after a separation of 200 years Adam was on his repentance conducted by the angel Gabriel to a mountain near Mecca where he found and knew his wife the mountain being thence named Arafat and that he afterwards retired with her to Ceylon, where they continued to propagate their species^l

It may not be improper here to mention another tradition concerning the gigantic stature of our first parents. Their prophet they say affirmed Adam to have been as tall as a high palm tree^m but this would be too much in proportion, if that were really the print of his foot, which is pretended to be such, on the top of a mountain in the

¹ Vide Rivin Serpent Seduct p 56 ² R Moses Haddarshan, in Beresbit rabbah

³ Jallalo'ddin ⁴ Irenæus Lact Greg Nyssen &c ⁵ Vid Marrace in Ale p 24

⁶ Vide ibid p 22 ⁷ Vide ib ⁸ D Herbelot, Bibl Orient p 55 ⁹ Yahya

earth,* and a provision for a season. And Adam learned words of prayer from his LORD, and GOD turned unto him, for he is easy to be reconciled and merciful. We said, Get ye all down from hence, hereafter shall there come unto you a direction from me,^s and whoever shall follow my direction, on them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved, but they who shall be unbelievers, and accuse our signs^b of falsehood, they shall be the companions of hell fire, therein shall they remain for ever. O children of Israel,ⁱ remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and perform your covenant with me, and I will perform my covenant with you, and revere me and believe in the revelation which I have sent down, confirming that which is with you, and be not the first who believe not therein, neither exchange my signs for a small price,[†] and fear me. Clothe not the truth with vanity, neither conceal the truth against your own knowledge, observe the stated times of prayer, and pay your legal alms, and bow down yourselves with those who bow down. Will ye command men to do justice, and forget your own souls? yet ye read the book of the law do ye not therefore understand? Ask help with perseverance and prayer, this indeed is grievous unless to the humble, who seriously think they shall meet their LORD, and that to him they shall return. O children of Israel, remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and that I have preferred you above all nations, dread the day wherein one soul shall not make satisfaction for another soul, neither shall any intercession be accepted from them, nor shall any compensation be received, neither shall they be helped. Remember when we delivered you from the people of Pharaoh, who grievously oppressed you, they slew your male children, and let your females live therein was a great trial from your LORD. And when we divided the sea for you and delivered you, and drowned Pharaoh's people while ye looked on.^k And when we treated with Moses forty nights,

isle of Ceylon thence named Pico de Adam and by the Arab writers Rahun being somewhat above two spans long (though others say it is seventy cubits long and that when Adam set one foot here he had the other in the sea),^l and too little if Eve were of so enormous a size as it is said that when her head lay on one hill near Mecca, her knees rested on two others in the plain, about two musket shots asunder.^m

* 'We said to them, Get ye down. You have been mutual enemies. I he earth shall be your habitation and your inheritance till the time —Savary

ⁿ God here promises Adam that his will should be revealed to him and his posterity which promise the Mohammedans believe was fulfilled at several times by the ministry of several prophets from Adam himself who was the first to Mohammed, who was the last. The number of books revealed unto Adam they say was ten.¹

^b This word has various significations in the Koran sometimes, as in this passage, it signifies divine revelation or scripture in general, sometimes the verses of the Koran in particular, and at other times visible miracles. But the sense is easily distinguished by the context.

ⁱ The Jews are here called upon to receive the Koran as verifying and confirming the Pentateuch, particularly with respect to the union of God and the mission of Mohammed.² And they are exhorted not to conceal the passages of their law which bear witness to those truths nor to corrupt them by publishing false copies of the Pentateuch for which the writers were but poorly paid.³

[†] Corrupt not my doctrine for vile gain. Fear me —Savary

^k See the story of Moses and Pharaoh more particularly related chap. vii. and xx. &c

¹ Monconys, Voyage, part I p. 372, &c. See Knox's Account of Ceylon. ² Anciennes Relations des Indes, &c p. 3. ³ Monconys ubi sup. ⁴ Vide Hottinger, Hist. Orient. p. 11. Reland, de Relig. Mohammed p. 21. ⁵ Yahya. ⁶ Jallalo'ddin.

then ye took the calf¹ for your God, and did evil, yet afterwards we forgave you, that peradventure ye might give thanks. And when we gave Moses the book of the law, and the distinction between good and evil, that peradventure ye might be directed. And when Moses said unto his people, O my people, verily ye have injured your own souls,* by your taking the calf for your God, therefore be turned unto your creator, and slay those among you who have been guilty of that crime,^m this will be better for you in the sight of your Creator and thereupon he turned unto you, for he is easy to be reconciled, and merciful. And when ye said, O Moses we will not believe thee, until we see God manifestly, therefore a punishment came upon you while ye looked on, then we raised you to life after ye had been dead, that peradventure ye might give thanks.ⁿ And we caused clouds to overshadow you, and manna and quails^o to descend upon you, saying, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food and they injured not us,[†] but injured their own souls. And when we said, Enter into this city,^p and eat of the provisions thereof plentifully as ye will, and enter the gate worshipping, and say, Forgiveness!^q we will

¹ The person who cast this calf, the Mohammedans say was (not Aaron but) al Sameri one of the principal men among the children of Israel some of whose descendants, it is pretended, still inhabit an island of that name in the Arabian Gulf.⁴ It was made of the rings⁴ and bracelets of gold, silver, and other materials which the Israelites had borrowed of the Egyptians for Aaron, who commanded in his brother's absence having ordered Sameri to collect those ornaments from the people who carried on a wicked commerce with them, and to keep them together till the return of Moses. al Sameri, understanding the founder's art put them all together into a furnace, to melt them down into one mass which came out in the form of a calf.⁶ The Israelites, accustomed to the Egyptian idolatry paying a religious worship to this image al Sameri went further, and took some dust from the footsteps of the horse of the angel Gabriel who marched at the head of the people and threw it into the mouth of the calf which immediately began to low and became animated.⁷ for such was the virtue of that dust.⁸ One writer says that all the Israelites adored this calf except only 12 000.⁹

* 'O my people, why did ye give yourselves up to wickedness, by worshipping a calf? — *Savary*

^m In this particular the narration agrees with that of Moses who ordered the Levites to slay every man his brother.¹ but the scripture says *there fell of the people that day about 3000* (the Vulgate says 23 000) *men*.² whereas the commentators of the Koran make the number of the slain to amount to 70,000 and add that God sent a dark cloud which hindered them from seeing one another lest the sight should move those who executed the sentence to compassion.³

ⁿ The persons here meant are said to have been seventy men, who were made choice of by Moses and heard the voice of God talking with him. But not being satisfied with that, they demanded to see God whereupon they were all struck dead by lightning, and on Moses's intercession restored to life.⁴

^o The eastern writers say, these quails were of a peculiar kind to be found nowhere but in Yaman, from whence they were brought by a south wind in great numbers to the Israelites camp in the desert.⁵ The Arabs call these birds *Salwa*, which is plainly the same with the Hebrew *Salwim*, and say they have no bones, but are eaten whole.⁶

[†] "Your murmurs have been injurious only to yourselves" — *Savary*

^p Some commentators suppose it to be Jericho others, Jerusalem

^q The Arabic word is *Hittaton*, which some take to signify that profession of the unity of God, so frequently used by the Mohammedans, *La ilāha illa llāho There is no god but God.*

⁴ Geogr Nubiens p 45 ⁵ Koran, c 7 ⁶ See Exod xxxii 24 ⁷ Koran, c. 7
⁸ Jallalo ddin, Vide D Herbelot Bibl Orient p 650 ⁹ Abu Ifeda. ¹ Exod. xxxii 26, 27 ² Ibid 28. ³ Jallalo ddin, &c. ⁴ Ismael Ebnah. ⁵ See Psalm lxxviii 26 ⁶ Vide D Herbelot Bibl Orient. p 477

pardon you your sins, and gave increase unto the well doers. But the ungodly changed the expression into another, different from what had been spoken unto them, and we sent down upon the ungodly indignation from heaven* because they had transgressed. And when Moses asked drink for his people, we said, Strike the rock¹ with thy rod, and there gushed thereout twelve fountains² according to the number of the tribes, and all men knew their respective drinking place. Eat and drink of the bounty of God and commit not evil on the earth, acting unjustly. And when ye said, O Moses we will by no means be satisfied with one kind of food, pray unto thy Lord therefore for us, that he would produce for us of that which the earth bringeth forth, herbs and cucumbers, and gulfic, and lentils, and onions,³ Moses answered,⁴ Will ye exchange that which is better for that which is worse? Get ye down into Egypt, for there shall ye find what ye desire and they were smitten with vileness and misery, and drew on themselves indignation from God. Thus they suffered, because they believed not in the signs of God and killed the prophets unjustly, thus, because they rebelled and transgressed. Surely those who

* According to Jallalo ddin instead of *Hittaton* they cried *Habbat fi shairat* i.e. a grain in an ear of barley and in ridicule of the divine command to enter the city in an humble posture they indecently crept in upon their breech.

¹ A pestilence which carried off near 70 000 of them.⁷

² The commentators say this was a stone which Moses brought from Mount Sinai and the same that fled away with his garments which he laid upon it one day while he washed they add that Moses ran after the stone naked till he found himself ere he was aware in the midst of the people who on this accident were convinced of the falsehood of a report which had been raised of their prophet, that he was bursten, or as others write an hermaphrodite.⁸

They describe it to be a square piece of white marble shaped like a man's head wherein they differ not much from the accounts of European travellers who say this rock stands among several lesser ones about 100 paces from Mount Horeb and appears to have been loosened from the neighbouring mountains, having no coherence with the others that it is a huge mass of red granite almost round on one side and flat on the other twelve feet high, and as many thick, but broader than it is high and about sixty feet in circumference.⁹

Marracci thinks this circumstance looks like a Pabblical fiction or else that Mohammed confounds the water of the rock at Horeb, with the twelve wells at Ilhim¹ for he says several who have been on the spot, affirm there are but three orifices whence the water issued. But it is to be perceived that Mohammed had better means of information in this respect, than to fall into such a mistake for the rock stands within the borders of Arabia and some of his countrymen must needs have seen it if he himself had not as it is most probable he had. And in effect he seems to be in the right. For one who went into those parts in the end of the fifteenth century tells us expressly that the water issued from twelve places of the rock according to the number of the tribes of Israel *egressæ sunt aquæ largissimæ in duodecim locis petreæ juxta numerum duodecim tribuum Israel*.² A late curious traveller³ observes that there are twenty four holes in the stone which may be easily counted, that is to say twelve on the flat side and as many on the opposite round side every one being a foot deep and an inch wide and he adds, that the holes on one side do not communicate with those on the other which a less accurate spectator not perceiving (for they are placed horizontally, within two feet of the top of the rock) might conclude they pierced quite through the stone, and so reckon them to be but twelve.

⁴ See Numb xi 5 &c

⁵ Moses replied Do ye wish to enjoy a more advantageous lot? Return to Egypt, you will find there that which you desire —Savary

⁷ Jallalo ddin ⁸ Jallalo ddin Yahya. ⁹ Breydenbach, Itinerar charta m p 1 Sicard dans les Memoires des Missions vol vii p 14 ¹ Exod xv 27 Numb xxxiii 9 ² Marracci Irodr part iv p 80 ³ Breydenbach ubi sup ⁴ Sicard, ubi sup.

believe, and those who Judaize, and Christians, and Sabians,* whoever believeth in God, and the last day, and doth that which is right, they shall have their reward with their Lord, *there shall come no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved* Call to mind also when we accepted your covenant, and lifted up the mountain of Sinar over you,^a saying, Receive the law which we have given you, with a resolution to keep it, and remember that which is contained therein, that ye may beware After this ye again turned back, so that if it had not been for God's indulgence and mercy towards you, ye had certainly been destroyed Moreover ye know *what befell* those of your nation who transgressed on the sabbath day,^a We said unto them, Be ye *changed into apes*, driven away from the society of men And we made them an example unto those who were contemporary with them, and unto those who came after them, and a warning to the pious And when Moses said unto his people verily God commandeth you to sacrifice a cow,^b they answered, Dost thou make a

^a From these words which are repeated in the fifth chapter several writers⁵ have wrongly concluded that the Mohammedans hold it to be the doctrine of their prophet, that every man may be saved in his own religion provided he be sincere and lead a good life It is true some of their doctors do assign this to be the purport of the words⁶ but then they say the latitude he by granted was soon revoked for that this passage is abrogated by several other in the Koran which expressly declare that none can be saved who is not of the Mohammedan faith and particularly by those words of the third chapter *Whoever followeth any other religion than Islam (i. e. the Mohammedan) it shall not be accepted of him and at the last day he shall be of those who perish*⁷ However, others are of opinion that this passage is not abrogated but interpreted differently taking the meaning of it to be that no man, whether he be a Jew a Christian or a Siban shall be excluded from salvation provided he quit his erroneous religion and become a Moslem which they say is intended by the following words *Whoever believeth in God and the last day and doth that which is right* And this interpretation is approved by Mr Ireland who thinks the words here import no more than those of the apostle *In every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness is accepted of him*⁸ from which it must not be inferred that the religion of nature or any other is sufficient to save without faith in Christ⁹

The Mohammedan tradition is that the Israelites refusing to receive the law of Moses, God tore up the mountain by the roots, and shook it over their heads to terrify them into a compliance¹

^a The story to which this passage refers is as follows —In the days of David some Israelites dwelt at Ailah or Lloth on the Red Sea where on the night of the sabbath the fish used to come in great numbers to the shore and stay there till the sabbath to tempt them but the night following they returned into the sea again At length some of the inhabitants neglecting God's command caught the fish on the sabbath and dressed and ate them and afterwards cut canals from the sea for the fish to enter, with sluices which they shut on the sabbath, to prevent their return to the sea The other part of the inhabitants who strictly observed the sabbath used both persuasion and force to stop this impiety, but to no purpose the offenders growing only more and more obstinate whereupon David cursed the sabbath breakers and God transformed them into apes It is said that one going to see a friend of his that was among them found him in the shape of an ape moving his eyes about wildly and asking him whether he was not such a one the ape made a sign with his head that it was he whereupon the friend said to him, Did not I advise you to desist? at which the ape wept They add that these unhappy people remained three days in this condition, and were afterwards destroyed by a wind which swept them all into the sea²

^b The occasion of this sacrifice is thus related A certain man at his death left his son, then a child, a cow calf, which wandered in the desert till he came to age,

⁵ Selden de Jure Nat et Gentium sec Hebr 1 6 c 12 Angel a S Joseph Gazophylac Persic p 365 Nic Cusanus in Cribratione Alcorani 1 3 c 2 &c
⁶ See Chardin's Voyages, vol II p 326, 331 ⁷ Abu Iklasm Hebatallah de Abrogante et Abrogato ⁸ Acts x 35 ⁹ Vide Reland de Rel Moham. p 128, &c. ¹ Jallaloddin. ² Abu Isfeda.

Yaman, by means of a fleet built at Sues but their successors have not been able to maintain their conquests, for, except the port of Jodda, where they have a Basha whose authority is very small, they possess nothing considerable in Arabia.¹⁰

Thus have the Arabs preserved their liberty, of which few nations can produce so ancient monuments, with very little interruption from the very deluge, for though very great armies have been sent against them, all attempts to subdue them were unsuccessful. The Assyrian or Median empires never got footing among them.¹ The Persian monarchs, though they were their friends, and so far respected by them as to have an annual present of frankincense,² yet could never make them tributary,³ and were so far from being their masters, that Cambyzes, on his expedition against Egypt, was obliged to ask their leave to pass through their territories,⁴ and when Alexander had subdued that mighty empire, yet the Arabians had so little apprehension of him, that they alone, of all the neighbouring nations, sent no ambassadors to him, either first or last, which, with a desire of possessing so rich a country, made him form a design against it, and had he not died before he could put it in execution,⁵ this people might possibly have convinced him that he was not invincible, and I do not find that any of his successors either in Asia or Egypt, ever made any attempt against them.⁶ The Romans never conquered any part of Arabia properly so called, the most they did was to make some tribes in Syria tributary to them, as Pompey did one commanded by Sampsiceramus or Shams alkerâm who reigned at Hems or Emesa,⁷ but none of the Romans, or any other nations that we know of, ever penetrated so far into Arabia as Ælius Gallus under Augustus Cæsar,⁸ yet he was so far from subduing it, as some authors pretend,⁹ that he was soon obliged to return without effecting any thing considerable, having lost the best part of his army by sickness and other accidents.¹ This ill success probably discouraged the Romans from attacking them any more, for Trajan, notwithstanding the flatteries or the historians and orators of his time, and the medals struck by him, did not subdue the Arabs, the province of Arabia, which it is said he added to the Roman empire, scarce reaching farther than Arabia Petraea, or the very skirts of the country. And we are told by one author,² that this prince marching against the Agarens, who had revolted, met with such a reception that he was obliged to return without doing any thing.

The religion of the Arabs before Mohammed which they call the state of ignorance, in opposition to the knowledge of God's true worship revealed to them by their prophet was chiefly gross idolatry, the Sabian religion having almost overrun the whole nation, though there were also great numbers of Christians, Jews, and Magians, among them.

I shall not here transcribe what Dr Prideaux³ has written of the original of the Sabian religion, but instead thereof insert a brief account of the tenets and worship of that sect. They do not only believe one God, but produce many strong arguments for his unity, though they also pay an adoration to the stars, or the angels and intelligences which they suppose resides in them, and govern the world under the supreme Deity. They endeavour to perfect themselves in the four intellectual virtues, and believe

¹⁰ Voy de l'Arab. heur p 148. ¹ Diodor Sic. lib 2 p 131. ² Herodot. lib 3 c 97. ³ Idem lib c. 91. Diodor ubi sup. ⁴ Herodot. lib 3 c. 8 and 98. ⁵ Strabo, lib 16. p. 1276. 1132. ⁶ Vide Diodor Sic ubi supra. ⁷ Strabo lib 16, p 1072. ⁸ Dion Cassius, lib 53 p m 510. ⁹ Huet, Hist. du commerce et de la navigation des anciens, c. 50. ¹ See the whole expedition described at large by Strabo lib 16, p. 1126, &c. ² Xiphilius cpi. ³ Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New Test. p 1. b. iii.

the souls of wicked men will be punished for 9000 ages, but will afterwards be received to mercy. They are obliged to pray three times⁴ a day, the first, half an hour or less before sunrise, ordering it so that they may, just as the sun rises, finish eight adorations, each containing three prostrations,⁵ the second prayer they end at noon, when the sun begins to decline, in saying which they perform five such adorations as the former, and the same they do the third time, ending just as the sun sets. They fast three times a year, the first time thirty days, the next nine days, and the last seven. They offer many sacrifices, but eat no part of them, burning them all. They abstain from beans, garlick, and some other pulse and vegetables.⁶ As to the Sabian Kebla, or part to which they turn their faces in praying, authors greatly differ, one will have it to be the north,⁷ another the south, a third Mecca, and a fourth the star to which they pay their devotions,⁸ and perhaps there may be some variety in their practice in this respect. They go on Pilgrimage to a place near the city of Harran in Mesopotamia, where great numbers of them dwell, and they also have a great respect for the temple at Mecca, and the pyramids of Egypt,⁹ fancying these last to be the sepulchres of Seth, and of Enoch and Sabi his two sons, whom they look on as the first propagators of their religion, at these structures they sacrifice a cock and a black calf, and offer up incense.¹ Besides the book of Psalms, the only true scripture they read, they have other books which they esteem equally sacred, particularly one in the Chaldee tongue which they call the book of Seth, and is full of moral discourses. This sect say they took the name of Sabians from the above-mentioned Sabi, though it seems rather to be derived from שָׁבָא Saba² or the host of heaven, which they worship.³ Travellers commonly call them Christians of St John the Baptist, whose disciples also they pretend to be, using a kind of baptism, which is the greatest mark they bear of Christianity. This is one of the religions the practice of which Mohammed tolerated (on paying tribute), and the professors of it are often included in that expression of the Koran, those to whom the scriptures have been given, or literally, the people of the book.

The idolatry of the Arabs then as Sabians, chiefly consisted in worshipping the fixed stars and planets and the angels and their images, which they honoured as inferior deities, and whose intercession they begged, as their mediators with God. For the Arabs acknowledged one supreme God, the Creator and Lord of the universe, whom they call Allah Taala, the most high God, and then other deities, who were subordinate to him, they called simply al Ilahat, i. e. the goddesses, which words the Grecians not understanding, and it being their constant custom to resolve the religion of every other nation into their own, and find out gods of theirs to match the others, they pretend that the Arabs worshipped only two deities, Orontat and Alilat, as those names are corruptly written, whom they will have to be the same with Bacchus and Urania, pitching on the former as one of the greatest of their own gods, and educated in Arabia, and on the other, because of the veneration shown by the Arabs to the stars.⁴

⁴ Some say seven. See D'Herbelot, p. 726 and Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p. 128.

⁵ Others say they use no incurvations or prostrations at all. Vide Hyde ib.
⁶ Abulfarag Hist. Dynast. p. 281, &c. ⁷ Idem ib. ⁸ Hyde, ubi sup. p. 124, &c.
⁹ D'Herbel. ubi sup. ¹ See Greaves Pyramidogr. p. 67. ² Vide Poc. Spec. p. 138. ³ Thabet Ebn Korrah a famous astronomer, and himself a Sabian, wrote a treatise in Syriac, concerning the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of this sect from which if it could be recovered, we might expect much better information than any taken from the Arabian writers. Vide Abulfarag, ubi sup. ⁴ Vide Herodot. lib. 3. c. 8. Arrian p. 16. 132. and Strab. lib. 15.

That they acknowledged one supreme God appears, to omit other proof, from their usual form of addressing themselves to him, which was this, "I dedicate myself to thy service, O God! I dedicate myself to thy service, O God! Thou hast no companion, except thy companion of whom, thou art absolute master, and of whatever is his"⁵. So that they suppose the idols not to be *sui juris*, though they offered sacrifices and other offerings to them, as well as to God, who was also often put off with the least portion, as Mohammed upbraids them. Thus when they planted fruit trees, or sowed a field, they divided it by a line into two parts, setting one apart for their idols, and the other for God, if any of the fruits happened to fall from the idols part into God's they made restitution, but if from God's part into the idols, they made no restitution. So when they watered the idols grounds, if the water broke over the channels made for that purpose, and ran on God's part, they dammed it up again, but if the contrary, they let it run on, saying they wanted what was God's, but he wanted nothing⁶. In the same manner, if the offering designed for God happened to be better than that designed for the idol, they made an exchange, but not otherwise⁷.

It was from this gross idolatry, or the worship of inferior deities, or companions of God, as the Arabs continue to call them, that Mohammed reclaimed his countrymen, establishing the sole worship of the true God among them, so that how much soever the Mohammedans are to blame in other points, they are far from being idolaters, as some ignorant writers have pretended.

The worship of the stars the Arabs might easily be led into, from their observing the changes of weather to happen at the rising or setting of certain of them,⁸ which, after a long course of experience, induced them to ascribe a divine power to those stars, and to think themselves indebted to them for their rains, a very great benefit and refreshment to their parched country. This superstition the Koran particularly takes notice of⁹.

The ancient Arabians and Indians, between which two nations was a great conformity of religious, had seven celebrated temples, dedicated to the seven planets, one of which in particular, called Bert Ghomdan was built in Sanaa the metropolis of Yaman, by Dahac, to the honour of al Zoharah or the planet Venus, and was demolished by the Khalif Othman,¹ by whose murder was fulfilled the prophetic inscription set, as is reported, over this temple, viz Ghomdan, he who destroyeth thee shall be slain². The temple of Mecca is also said to have been consecrated to Zohal or Saturn³.

Though these deities were generally revered by the whole nation, yet each tribe chose some one as the more peculiar object of their worship.

Thus, as to the stars and planets, the tribe of Hamyar chiefly worshipped the sun, Misam,⁴ al Dabaran or the bull's eye, Lakhm and Jodam, al Moshtari or Jupiter, Tay Sohal or Canopus, Kais, Sirius or the dog-star, and Asad, Otâred or Mercury⁵. Among the worshippers of Sirius, one Abu Cabsha was very famous, some will have him to be the same with Waheb, Mohammed's grandfather by the mother, but others say he was of the tribe of Khozaah. This man used his utmost endeavours to persuade the Koreish to leave their images and worship this star, for which reason Mohammed, who endeavoured also to make them leave the images, was

⁵ Al Shahrestani. ⁶ Nodhm al dor. ⁷ Al Beidawi. ⁸ Vide Post. ⁹ Vide loc. Spec. p. 163. ¹ Shahrestani. ² Al Jannâbi. ³ Shahrestani. ⁴ This name seems to be corrupted, there being no such among the Arab tribes. Poc. Sou. p. 120. ⁵ Abulfarag, p. 160.

by them nicknamed the son of Abu Cabsha.⁶ The worship of this star is particularly hinted at in the Korân.⁷

Of the angels or intelligences which they worshipped, the Korân⁸ makes mention only of three, which were worshipped under female names⁹ Allat, al Uzza, and Manah. These were by them called goddesses, and the daughters of God, an appellation they gave not only to the angels, but also to their images, which they either believed to be inspired with life by God, or else to become the tabernacles of the angels, and to be animated by them, and they gave them divine worship, because they imagined they interceded for them with God.

Allât was the idol of the tribe of Thakîf who dwelt at Tayef, and had a temple consecrated to her in a place called Nakhlah. This idol al Mogheirah destroyed by Mohammed's order, who sent him and Abu Sofian on that commission in the ninth year of Hejra.¹ The inhabitants of Tayef, especially the women, bitterly lamented the loss of this their deity, which they were so fond of, that they begged Mohammed, as a condition of peace, that it might not be destroyed for three years, and not obtaining that, asked only a month's respite, but he absolutely denied it.² There are several derivations of this word, which the curious may learn from Dr Pocock.³ It seems most probably to be derived from the same root with Allah, to which it may be a feminine, and will then signify the goddess.

Al Uzza, as some affirm, was the idol of the tribes of Koraish and Kenanah,⁴ and part of the tribe of Salim.⁵ others⁶ tell us it was a tree called the Egyptian thorn, or Acacia, worshipped by the tribe of Ghatîm, first consecrated by one Dhalem, who built a chapel over it, called Boss, so contrived as to give a sound when any person entered. Khaled Ibn Walid being sent by Mohammed in the eighth year of the Hejra, to destroy this idol, demolished the chapel, and cutting down this tree or image, burnt it. he also slew the priestess, who ran out with her hair dishevelled, and her hands on her head as a suppliant. Yet the author who relates this, in another place says, the chapel was pulled down, and Dhalem himself killed by one Zohair, because he consecrated this chapel with design to draw the pilgrims thither from Mecca, and lessen the reputation of the Caaba. The name of this deity is derived from the root azza, and signifies the most mighty.

Manah was the object of worship of the tribes of Hodhal and Khozâah, who dwelt between Mecca and Medina, and, as some say,⁷ of the tribes of Aws, Khazraj, and Thakîf also. This idol was a large stone,⁸ demolished by one Saad in the eighth year of the Hejra, a year so fatal to the idols of Arabia. The name seems to be derived from mana, to flow, from the flowing of the blood of the victims sacrificed to the deity, whence the valley of Mina,¹ near Mecca, had also its name, where the pilgrims at this day slay their sacrifices.²

Before we proceed to the other idols, let us take notice of five more, which, with the former three, are all that the Koran mentions by name, and they are Wadd, Sawa, Yaghuth, Yaûk, and Nasr. These are said to have been antediluvian idols, which Noah preached against, and were afterwards

⁶ Poc. Spec. p. 132. ⁷ Cap. 53. ⁸ Ibid. ⁹ Ibid. ¹ Dr Prideaux mentions this expedition, but names only Abu Sofian, and mistaking the name of the idol for an appellative, supposes he went only to disarm the Tayefiens of the weapons and instruments of war. See his Life of Moham p. 98. ² Abulfeda, Vit. Moham p. 127. ³ Spec. p. 90. ⁴ Al Jauhari apud eund. p. 91. ⁵ Al Shahrestani. ib. ⁶ Al Firauzabadi. ib. ⁷ Al Jauhari. ⁸ Al Shahrestani, Abulfeda, &c. ⁹ Al Beidawî, al Zamakhshari. ¹ Poc. Spec. 91 &c. ² Ibid.

taken by the Arabs for gods, having been men of great merit and piety in their time, whose statutes they revered at first with a civil honour only, which, in process of time, became heightened to a divine worship.²

Wadd was supposed to be the heaven, and was worshipped under the form of a man by the tribe of Calb in Daumat al Jandal.³

Sawâ was adored under the shape of a woman, by the tribe of Hamadan,⁴ or, as others⁵ write, of Hodhail in Rohat. This idol, lying under water for some time after the deluge, was at length, it is said, discovered by the devil, and was worshipped by those of Hodhail, who instituted pil grimages to it.⁶

Yaghûth was an idol in the shape of a lion, and was the deity of the tribe of Madhaj and others who dwelt in Yaman. Its name seems to be derived from ghatha, which signifies to help

Yaûk was worshipped by the tribe of Morâd, or according to others, by that of Hamadan,⁸ under the figure of a horse. It is said he was a man of great piety, and his death much regretted, whereupon the devil appeared to his friends in a human form, and undertaking to represent him to the life, persuaded them, by way of comfort, to place his effigies in their temples, that they might have it in view when at their devotions. This was done, and seven others of extraordinary merit had the same honours shown them, till at length their posterity made idols of them in earnest. The name Yauk probably comes from the verb aka, to prevent or avert.¹

Nasr was a deity adored by the tribe of Hamyar, or at Dnu l Khalâl, in their territories, under the image of an eagle, which the name signifies.

There are, or were, two statues at Bamiyan, a city of Cabul in the Indies, fifty cubits high, which some writers suppose to be the same with Yaghûth and Yaûk, or else with Manah and Allat, and they also speak of a third standing near the others, but something less, in the shape of an old woman, called Nesrem or Nesr. These statues were hollow within, for the secret giving of oracles,² but they seem to have been different from the Arabian idols. There was also an idol at Sumenat in the Indies, called Lat or al Lat, whose statue was fifty fathoms high, of a single stone, and placed in the midst of a temple supported by fifty six pillars of massy gold, this idol Mahmûd Ebn Sebecteghin, who conquered that part of India, broke to pieces with his own hands.³

Besides the idols we have mentioned, the Arabs worshipped also great numbers of others, which would take up too much time to have distinct accounts given of them, and not being named in the Koran, are not so much to our present purpose, for besides that every housekeeper had his household god, or gods, which he last took leave of, and first saluted at his going abroad and returning home,⁴ there were no less than 360 idols,⁵ equalling in number the days of their year, in and about the Caaba of Mecca, the chief of whom was Hobal,⁶ brought from Belka in Syria, into Arabia, by Amru Ebn Lohai, pretending it would procure them rain when they wanted it.⁷ It was the statue of a man made of red agate, which having by some accident lost a hand, the Koreish repaired it with one of gold. he held in his hand seven arrows without heads or feathers, such as the Arabs used in divination.⁸ This idol is supposed to have been

² Korân, c 71 Comment Persic Vide Hyde de rel vet Pers. p 133. ⁴ Al Jauhari, al Shahrestani ⁵ Idem al Firauzabadi, and Safio ddin ⁶ Al Firauzab.

Shahrestani ⁷ Al Jauhari ⁸ Al Firauzabadi ¹ Poc Spec 94

² See Hyde de rel. vet. Pers p 132. ³ D Herbelot, Bibl Orient p 512. ⁴ Al Mostatraf.

⁵ Al Jannab. ⁶ Abulfed Shahrest &c. ⁷ Poc. Spec. 26.

⁸ Safio'ddin.

the same with the image of Abraham,² found and destroyed by Mohammed in the Caaba, on his entering it, in the eighth year of the Hejra, when he took Mecca,¹ and surrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferior deities, among whom, as some say, was Ismael with divining arrows in his hand also.³

Asâf and Nayelah, the former the image of a man, the latter of a woman, were also two idols brought with Hobal from Syria, and placed the one on mount Safâ, and the other on mount Merwa. They tell us Asâf was the son of Amru, and Nayelah the daughter of Sahâl, both of the tribe of Jorham, who committing whoredom together in the Caaba, were by God converted into stone,⁴ and afterwards worshipped by the Koreish, and so much revered by them, that though this superstition was condemned by Mohammed, yet he was forced to allow them to visit those mountains as monuments of divine justice.⁵

I shall mention but one idol more of this nation, and that was a lump of dough worshipped by the tribe of Hanîfa, who used it with more respect than the papists do theirs, presuming not to eat it till they were compelled to it by famine.⁶

Several of their idols, as Manah in particular, were no more than large rude stones, the worship of which the posterity of Ismael first introduced, for as they multiplied, and the territory of Mecca grew too strait for them, great numbers were obliged to seek new abodes, and on such migrations it was usual for them to take with them some of the stones of that reputed holy land, and set them up in the places where they fixed, and these stones they at first only compassed out of devotion, as they had accustomed to do the Caaba. But this at last ended in rank idolatry, the Ismaelites forgetting the religion left them by their fathers so far as to pay divine worship to any fine stone they met with.⁷

Some of the pagan Arabs believed neither a creation past, nor a resurrection to come, attributing the origin of things to nature, and then dissolution to age. Others believed both, among whom were those, who when they died had their camel tied by their sepulchre, and so left without meat or drink to perish, and accompany them to the other world, lest they should be obliged, at the resurrection, to go on foot, which was reckoned very scandalous.⁸ Some believed a metempsychosis, and that of the blood near the dead person's brain, was formed a bird named Hamah, which once in a hundred years visited the sepulchre, though others say, this bird is animated by the soul of him that is unjustly slain, and continually cries, "Oscûni, Oscûni," that is, "Give me to drink," meaning of the murderer's blood, till his death be revenged, and then it flies away. This was forbidden by Mohammed to be believed.⁹

I might here mention several superstitious rites and customs of the ancient Arabs, some of which were abolished, and others retained by Mohammed, but I apprehend it will be more convenient to take notice of them hereafter occasionally, as the negative or positive precepts of the Korân, forbidding or allowing such practices, shall be considered.

Let us now turn our view from the idolatrous Arabs, to those among them, who had embraced more rational religions.

The Persians had, by their vicinity and frequent intercourse with the Arabians, introduced the Magian religion among some of their tribes, par-

¹ Poc. Spec. 97 ² Abulfeda. ³ Ebn al Athir al Jannab &c. ⁴ Poc. Spec. 98.

⁵ Korân, cap. 2.

⁶ Al Mostatraf, al Jachhar.

⁷ Al Mostatraf al Jannabi.

⁸ Abulfarag p. 160 ⁹ Vid. Poc. Spec. p. 135.

ticularly that of Tamin,^o a long time before Mohammed, who was so far from being unacquainted with that religion, that he borrowed many of his own institutions from it, as will be observed in the progress of this work. I refer those who are desirous to have some notion of Magism to Dr Hydes curious account of it,¹ a succinct abridgment of which may be read with much pleasure, in another learned performance²

The Jews, who fled in great numbers into Arabia, from the fearful destruction of their country by the Romans, made proselytes of several tribes those of Kenanah, al Hareth Ebn Caaba, and Kendah³ in particular, and in time became very powerful, and possessed of several towns and fortresses there But the Jewish religion was not unknown to the Arabs, at least above a century before, Abu Carb Asad, taken notice of in the Koran,⁴ who was king of Yaman, about 700 years before Mohammed is said to have introduced Judaism among the idolatrous Hamyarites. Some of his successors also embraced the same religion, one of whom Yusef, surnamed Dhu Nowas,⁵ was remarkable for his zeal, and terrible persecution of all who would not turn Jews, putting them to death by various tortures, the most common of which was throwing them into a glowing pit of fire, whence he had the opprobrious appellation of the 'Lord of the pit' This persecution is also mentioned in the Koran⁶

Christianity had likewise made a very great progress among this nation, before Mohammed Whether St Paul preached in any part of Arabia, properly so called,⁷ is uncertain, but the persecutions and disorders which happened in the eastern church, soon after the beginning of the third century, obliged great numbers of Christians to seek for shelter in that country or liberty, who being for the most part of the Jacobite communion, that sect generally prevailed among the Arabs⁸ The principal tribes that embraced Christianity, were Hamyar, Ghassan, Rabia, Taghlab, Bahr, Ionuch,⁹ part of the tribes of Tay and Kodaa, the inhabitants of Najran, and the Arabs of Hira.¹ As to the two last it may be observed, that those of Najran became Christians in the time of Dhu Nowas,² and very probably, if the story be true, were some of those who were converted on the following occasion, which happened about that time, or not long before. The Jews of Hamyar challenged some neighbouring Christians to a public disputation, which was held *sub dio* for three days, before the king and his nobility, and all the people the disputants being Giegentius, bishop of Tephis (which I take to be Dhafai) for the Christians, and Herbanus for the Jews On the third day, Herbanus, to end the dispute, demanded that Jesus of Nazareth, if he were really living, and in heaven, and could hear the prayers of his worshippers, should appear from heaven in their sight, and they would then believe in him, the Jews crying out with one voice, "Shew us your Christ, alas, and we will become Christians" Whereupon, after a terrible storm of thunder and lightning, Jesus Christ appeared in the air, surrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, having a sword in his hand, and an inestimable diadem on his head, and spake these words over the heads of the assembly—"Behold I appear to you in your sight, I, who was crucified by your fathers" After which the clouds received him from their sight The Christians cried out, "Kyrie eleeson,

^o Al Mostatraf ¹ In his Hist. relig. vet. Persar ² Dr Prideaux's Connect of the Old and New Test. Part I Book 4. ³ Al Mostatraf. ⁴ Chap. 50 ⁵ See before p. 8 and Baronii annal ad sect 6 ⁶ Chap. 9. ⁷ See Gal. 1. 17 ⁸ Abil-Farag p. 149 ⁹ Al Mostatraf ¹ Vide loc. Spec. p. 137 ² Al Jannab apud Pec. Spec. p. 63.

that is, "Lord, have mercy upon us!" but the Jews were stricken blind, and recovered not, till they were all baptized.*

The Christians at Hira received a great accession by several tribes, who fled thither for refuge from the persecution of Dhu Nowās. Al Nooman surnamed Abu Kabūs, king of Hira, who was slain a few months before Mohammed's birth, professed himself a Christian on the following occasion. This prince, in a drunken fit, ordered two of his intimate companions, who, overcome with liquor, had fallen asleep, to be buried alive. When he came to himself, he was extremely concerned at what he had done, and to expiate his crime, not only raised a monument to the memory of his friends, but set apart two days, one of which he called the *unfortunate*, and the other the *fortunate* day, making it a perpetual rule to himself, that whoever met him on the former day should be slain, and his blood sprinkled on the monument, but he that met him on the other day should be dismissed in safety with magnificent gifts. On one of those unfortunate days, there came before him accidentally an Arab, of the tribe of Tay, who had once entertained this king, when fatigued with hunting, and separated from his attendants. The king, who could neither discharge him, contrary to the order of the day, nor put him to death, against the laws of hospitality, which the Arabians religiously observe, proposed, as an expedient, to give the unhappy man a year's respite, and to send him home with rich gifts, for the support of his family, on condition that he found a surety for his returning at the year's end, to suffer death. One of the prince's court, out of compassion, offered himself as his surety, and the Arab was discharged. When the last day of the term came, and no news of the Arab, the king, not at all displeased to save his host's life, ordered the surety to prepare himself to die. Those who were by represented to the king that the day was not yet expired, and therefore he ought to have patience till the evening, but in the middle of their discourse, the Arab appeared. The king, admiring the man's generosity, in offering himself to certain death, which he might have avoided by letting his surety suffer, asked him, what was his motive for so doing? to which he answered, that he had been taught to act in that manner, by the religion he professed and al Nooman demanding what religion that was, he replied—the Christian. Whereupon the king, desiring to have the doctrines of Christianity explained to him, was baptized, he and his subjects, and not only pardoned the man and his surety, but abolished his barbarous custom.† This prince, however, was not the first king of Hira who embraced Christianity, al Mondar, his grandfather, having also professed the same faith, and built large churches in his capital.‡

Since Christianity had made so great a progress in Arabia, we may consequently suppose they had bishops in several parts, for the more orderly governing of the churches. A bishop of Dhafār has been already named, and we are told that Najrān was also a bishop's see.§ The Jacobites (of which sect we have observed the Arabs generally were) had two bishops of the Arabs subject to their Mafriān, or metropolitan of the east, one was called the bishop of the Arabs absolutely, whose seat was for the most part at Akula, which some authors make the same with Cûfa,|| others a different town near Baghdād.¶ The other had the title of Bishop of the Scenite Arabs, of the tribe of Thaalab in Hira, or Hirta, as the Syrians call it, whose seat was in that city. The Nestorians had but one bishop, who presided

* Vide Gregentii disput. cum Herbaso Judæo. † Al Meidanî and Ahmed Ebn Yusuf, apud Poc. Spec. p. 72. ‡ Abulfeda ap. eund. p. 74. § Saïf'eddin apud Poc. Spec. p. 137. || Abulfarag in Chron. Syriac. MS. ¶ Abulfeda in descr. Iracæ.

over both these dioceses, of Hira and Akula, and was immediately subject to their patriarch.²

These were the principal religions which obtained among the ancient Arabs, but as freedom of thought was the natural consequence of their political liberty and independence, some of them fell into other different opinions. The Koreish, in particular, were infected with Zendicism,¹ an error supposed to have very near affinity with that of the Sadducees among the Jews, and, perhaps, not greatly different from deism, for there were several of that tribe, even before the time of Mohammed, who worshipped one God, and were free from idolatry,³ and yet embraced none of the other religions of the country.

The Arabians before Mohammed were, as they yet are, divided into two sorts, those who dwell in cities and towns, and those who dwell in tents. The former lived by tillage, the cultivation of palm trees, breeding and feeding of cattle, and the exercise of all sorts of trades,⁴ particularly merchandizing,⁵ wherein they were very eminent, even in the time of Jacob. The tribe of Koreish were much addicted to commerce, and Mohammed, in his younger years, was brought up to the same business, it being customary for the Arabians to exercise the same trade that their parents did.⁶ The Arabs who dwelt in tents employed themselves in pasturage, and sometimes in pillaging of passengers, they lived chiefly on the milk and flesh of camels, they often changed habitations, as the convenience of water and of pasture for their cattle invited them, staying in a place no longer than that lasted, and then removing in search of other.⁷ They generally wintered in Irak, and the confines of Syria. This way of life is what the greater part of Ismael's posterity have used, as more agreeable to the temper and way of life of their father, and is so well described by a late author,⁸ that I cannot do better than refer the reader to his account of them.

The Arabic language is undoubtedly one of the most ancient in the world, and arose soon after, if not at, the confusion of Babel. There were several dialects of it, very different from each other, the most remarkable were that spoken by the tribes of Hamyar and the other genuine Arabs, and that of the Koreish. The Hamyaritic seems to have approached nearer to the purity of the Syriac than the dialect of any other tribe, for the Arabs acknowledge their father Yarab to have been the first whose tongue deviated from the Syriac (which was his mother tongue, and is almost generally acknowledged by the Asiatics to be the most ancient) to the Arabic. The dialect of the Koreish is usually termed the pure Arabic, or, as the Korân, which is written in this dialect, calls it, the perspicuous and clear Arabic, perhaps, says Dr Pocock, because Ismael, their father, brought the Arabic he had learned of the Jorhamites nearer to the original Hebrew. But the politeness and elegance of the dialect of the Koreish is rather to be attributed to their having the custody of the Caaba, and dwelling in Mecca, the centre of Arabia, as well more remote from intercourse with foreigners who might corrupt their language, as frequented by the Arabs from the country all around, not only on a religious account, but also for the composing of their differences, from whose discourse and verses

² Vide Assemani Bibl. Orient. T. 2. in Dissert. de Monophysitis, and p. 459.

¹ Al Mostatraf, apud Poc. Spec. p. 136. ² Vide Reland de Relig. Moham. p. 270, and Millium de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 311. ³ These seem to be the same. La Roque calls Moors. Voy. dans la Palestine, p. 110. ⁴ See Prideaux's Life of Moham. p. 6. ⁵ Strabo, lib. 16, p. 1129. ⁶ Ib. lib. 16, p. 1084. ⁷ La Roque, Voyage dans la Palestine, p. 109, &c.

they took whatever words or phrases they judged more pure and elegant, by which means the beauties of the whole tongue became transfused into this dialect. The Arabians are full of the commendations of their language, and not altogether without reason, for it claims the preference of most others in many respects, as being very harmonious and expressive, and withal so copious, that they say no man, without inspiration, can be perfect master of it in its utmost extent, and yet they tell us, at the same time, that the greatest part of it has been lost, which will not be thought strange if we consider how 'ate the art of writing was practised among them. For though it was known to Job,⁸ their countryman, and also to the Hamyarites (who used a perplexed character called al Mosnad, wherein the letters were not distinctly separate, and which was neither publicly taught, nor suffered to be used without permission first obtained) many centuries before Mohammed, as appears from some ancient monuments said to be remaining in their character, yet the other Arabs, and those of Mecca in particular, were, for many ages, perfectly ignorant of it, unless such of them as were Jews or Christians.⁹ Morâmer Ebn Morra of Anbar, a city of Irâk, who lived not many years before Mohammed, was the inventor of the Arabic character, which Bashar the Kendian is said to have learned from those of Anbar, and to have introduced at Mecca but a little while before the institution of Mohammedism. These letters of Morâmer were different from the Hamyaritic, and though they were very rude, being either the same with or very much like the Cufic,¹ which character is still found in inscriptions, and some ancient books, yet they were those which the Arabs used for many years, the Korân itself being at first written therein, for the beautiful character they now use was first formed from the Cufic by Ebn Moklah, Wazîr (or Visîr) to the Khalîfs al Moktader, al Kâher, and al Radi, who lived about 300 years after Mohammed, and was brought to great perfection by Ali Ebn Bowâb,² who flourished in the following century, and whose name is yet famous among them on that account, yet it is said, the person who completed it, and reduced it to its present form, was Yakut al Mostasemî, secretary to al Mostâsem, the last of the Khalîfs of the family of Abbâs, for which reason he was surnamed al Khattât, or the scribe.

The accomplishments the Arabs valued themselves chiefly on were, 1 Eloquence, and a perfect skill in their own tongue, 2 Expertness in the use of arms and horsemanship, and, 3 Hospitality.³ The first they exercised themselves in by composing of orations and poems. Their orations were of two sorts, metrical, or prosaic, the one being compared to pearls strung, and the other to loose ones. They endeavoured to excel in both, and whoever was able, in an assembly, to persuade the people to a great enterprise, or dissuade them from a dangerous one, or gave them other wholesome advice, was honoured with the title of Khâteb, or orator, which is now given to the Mohammedan preachers. They pursued a method very different from that of the Greek and Roman orators, their sentences being like loose gems, without connexion, so that this sort of composition struck the audience chiefly by the fulness of the periods, the elegance of the expression, and the acuteness of the proverbial sayings, and so persuaded were they of their excelling in this way, that they would not allow any nation to understand the art of speaking in public except themselves and

⁸ Job xix. 23 24. ⁹ See Prideaux's Life of Moham p 29, 30. ¹ A specimen of the Cufic character may be seen in Sir J Chardin's Travels, vol. iii p 119. ² Ebn Khalican. Yet others attribute the honour of the invention of this character to Ebn Moklah's brother, Abdallah al Hasan, and the perfecting of it to Ebn Amîd al Kâteb after it had been reduced to near the present form by Abd alhamid. Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p 590, 108, and 194. ³ Poc. Orat. ante Carmen Tograz, p 10.

the *Permans*, which last were reckoned much inferior in that respect to the *Arabians*.⁴ Poetry was in so great esteem among them, that it was a great accomplishment, and a proof of ingenuous extraction to be able to express one's self in verse with ease and elegance on any extraordinary occurrence, and even in their common discourse they made frequent applications of celebrated passages of their famous poets. In their poems were preserved the distinction of descents, the rights of tribes, the memory of great actions, and the propriety of their language, for which reasons an excellent poet reflected an honour on his tribe, so that as soon as any one began to be admired for his performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribes sent publicly to congratulate them on the occasion, and themselves made entertainments, at which the women assisted, dressed in their nuptial ornaments, singing to the sound of timbrels the happiness of their tribe, who had now one to protect their honour, to preserve their genealogies and the purity of their language, and to transmit their actions to posterity,⁵ for this was all performed by their poems, to which they were solely obliged for their knowledge and instructions, moral and economical, and to which they had recourse, as to an oracle, in all doubts and differences.⁶ No wonder then that a public congratulation was made on this account, which honour they yet were so far from making cheap, that they never did it but on one of these three occasions, which were reckoned great points of felicity, viz on the birth of a boy, the rise of a poet, and the fall of a foal of generous breed. To keep up an emulation among their poets, the tribes had once a year, a general assembly at *Ocadh*,⁷ a place famous on this account, and where they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held on our Sunday.⁸ This annual meeting lasted a whole month, during which time they employed themselves, not only in trading, but repeating their poetical compositions, contending and vying with each other for the prize, whence the place, it is said, took its name.⁹ The poems that were judged to excel were laid up in the king's treasures, as were the seven celebrated poems, thence called *al Moallakât*, rather than from their being hung up on the *Caaba*, which honour they also had by public order, being written on Egyptian silk, and in letters of gold, for which reason they had also the name of *al Modhababat*, or the golden verses.¹

The fair and assembly at *Ocadh* were suppressed by Mohammed, in whose time, and for some years after, poetry seems to have been in some degree neglected by the *Arabs*, who were then employed in their conquests, which being completed and themselves at peace, not only this study was revived,² but almost all sorts of learning were encouraged and greatly improved by them. This interruption, however, occasioned the loss of most of their ancient pieces of poetry, which were then chiefly preserved by memory, the use of writing being rare among them in their time of ignorance.³ Though the *Arabs* were so early acquainted with poetry, they did not at first use to write poems of a just length, but only expressed themselves in verse occasionally, nor was their prosody digested into rules till some time after Mohammed,⁴ for this was done, as it is said, by *al Khalil Ahmed al Farahîdî*, who lived in the reign of the *Khalîf Harûn al Rashîd*.⁵

¹ Poc Spec 161 ² Ebn Rashîk, apud Poc Spec. 160 ³ Poc. Orat. præfix. Carm. Tograi, ubi supra. ⁴ Idem Spec p 159 ⁵ Geogr. Nub p 51 ⁶ Poc. Spec. 159 ⁷ Ibid and p 381 ⁸ Et in calce Notar in Carmen Tograi p 233. ⁹ Jallâloddîn al Soyutî apud Poc Spec. p 159, &c. ¹ Ib 160 ² Ib 161 ³ *Al Safadî* confirms this by a story of a grammarian, named *Abu Jaafar*, who sitting by the *Mikyas* or *Nilometer* in Egypt, in a year when the Nile did not rise to its usual height, so that a famine was apprehended, and dividing a piece of poetry into its parts or feet, to examine them by the rules of art, some who passed by, not understanding him, imagined he was uttering a charm to hinder the rise of the river, and pushed him into the water, where he lost his life. ⁴ Vide *Cloncum de Prosod. Arab.* p. 2.

The exercise of arms and horsemanship they were in a manner obliged to practise and encourage, by reason of the independence of their tribes, whose frequent jarings made wars almost continual, and they chiefly ended their disputes in field battles, it being an usual saying among them, that God had bestowed four peculiar things on the Arabs, that their turbans should be to them instead of diadems, their tents instead of walls and houses, their swords instead of intrenchments, and their poems instead of written laws.⁶

Hospitality was so habitual to them, and so much esteemed that the examples of this kind among them exceed whatever can be produced from other nations. Hatem of the tribe of 'Iay,⁷ and Hasn of that of Fezârah,⁸ were particularly famous on this account, and the contrary vice was so much in contempt, that a certain poet upbraids the inhabitants of Waset, as with the greatest reproach, that none of their men had the heart to give, or their women to deny.⁹

Nor were the Arabs less propense to liberality after the coming of Mohammed than their ancestors had been. I could produce many remarkable instances of this commendable quality among them,¹ but shall content myself with the following. Three men were disputing in the court of the Caaba which was the most liberal person among the Arabs. One gave the preference to Abdallah, the son of Jaafar, the uncle of Mohammed, another to Kais Ebn Saad Ebn Obâdah, and the third gave it to Arabah of the tribe of Aws. After much debate, one that was present, to end the dispute, proposed that each of them should go to his friend and ask his assistance, that they might see what every one gave, and form a judgment accordingly. This was agreed to, and Abdallah's friend going to him, found him with his foot in the stirrup, just mounting his camel for a journey, and thus accosted him. 'So I of the uncle of the apostle of God, I am travelling and in necessity. Upon which Abdallah alighted, and bid him take the camel with all that was upon her, but desired him not to part with a sword that happened to be fixed to the saddle, because it had belonged to Ali the son of Abutaleb. So he took the camel, and found on her some vests of silk, and four thousand pieces of gold, but the thing of greatest value was the sword. The second went to Kais Ebn Saad, whose servant told him that his master was asleep, and desired to know his business. The friend answered that he came to ask Kais' assistance, being in want on the road. Whereupon the servant said, that he had rather supply his necessity than wake his master, and gave him a purse of seven thousand pieces of gold, assuring him that it was all the money then in the house. He also directed him to go to those who had the charge of the camels, with a certain token, and take a camel, and a slave, and return home with them. When Kais awoke, and his servant informed him of what he had done, he gave him his freedom, and asked him why he did not call him, for, says he, I would have given him more. The third man went to Arabah, and met him coming out of his house, in order to go to prayers, and leaning on two slaves, because his eye-sight failed him. The friend no sooner made known his case, but Arabah let go the slaves, and, clapping his hands together, loudly lamented his misfortune in having no money, but desired him to take the two slaves, which the man refused to do, till Arabah protested that if he would not accept of them, he gave

⁶ Pocock, in calce Notar ad Carmen Tograi. ⁷ Vide Gentii Notas in Gulistan Sheikh Sadi, p. 486, &c. ⁸ Poc. Spec. p. 48. ⁹ Ebn al Hobeirah, apud Poc. in Not. ad Carmen Tograi p. 107. ¹ Several may be found in D'Herbelot's Bibl. Orient. particularly in the articles of Hasan the son of Ali, Maan, Fadhel and Ebn Yahya.

them their liberty, and, leaving the slaves, groped his way along by the wall. On the return of the adventurers, judgment was unanimously, and with great justice, given by all who were present, that Arâbah was the most generous of the three.

Nor were these the only good qualities of the Arabs, they are commended by the ancients for being most exact to their words,² and respectful to their kindred³ And they have always been celebrated for their quickness of apprehension and penetration, and the vivacity of their wit, especially those of the desert⁴

As the Arabs had then excellencies, so have they, like other nations, their defects and vices Their own writers acknowledge that they have a natural disposition to war, bloodshed, cruelty and rapine, being so much addicted to bear malice, that they scarce ever forget an old grudge, which vindictive temper some physicians say is occasioned by their frequent feeding on camels' flesh (the ordinary diet of the Arabs of the desert, who are therefore observed to be most inclined to these vices), that creature being most malicious and tenacious of anger,⁵ which account suggests a good reason for a distinction of meats

The frequent robberies committed by these people on merchants and travellers have rendered the name of an Arab almost infamous in Europe, thus they are sensible of, and endeavour to excuse themselves by alleging the hard usage of their father Ismael, who, being turned out of doors by Abraham, had the open plains and deserts given him by God for his patrimony, with permission to take whatever he could find there And on this account they think they may, with a safe conscience, indemnify themselves, as well as they can, not only on the posterity of Isaac, but also on every body else, always supposing a sort of kindred between themselves and those they plunder And in relating their adventures of this kind, they think it sufficient to change the expression, and instead of, I robbed a man of such or such a thing, to say, I gained it⁶ We must not, however, imagine that they are the less honest for this among themselves, or towards those whom they receive as friends, on the contrary, the strictest probity is observed in their camp, where every thing is open, and nothing ever known to be stolen⁷

The sciences the Arabians chiefly cultivated before Mohammedism were three, that of their genealogies and history, such a knowledge of the stars as to foretell the changes of weather, and the interpretation of dreams⁸ They used to value themselves excessively on account of the nobility of their families, and so many disputes happened on that occasion, that it is no wonder if they took great pains in settling their descents What knowledge they had of the stars was gathered from long experience, and not from any regular study, or astronomical rules⁹ The Arabians, as the Indians also did, chiefly applied themselves to observe the fixed stars, contrary to other nations, whose observations were almost confined to the planets, and they foretold their effects from their influences, not their nature, and hence, as has been said, arose the difference of the idolatry of the Greeks and Chaldeans, who chiefly worshipped the planets, and that of the Indians, who worshipped the fixed stars The stars or asterisms they most usually foretold the weather by were those they call Anwâ, or the houses of the moon These are twenty-eight in number, and divide

² Herodot lib iii c 8 ³ Strabo, lib. xvi. p 1129 ⁴ Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 121 ⁵ Vide Poc. Spec. p 87 Bochart, Hierozoic lib. ii. c. 1

⁶ Voyage dans la Palest. p 220 &c. ⁷ Ibid. p 213 &c ⁸ Al Shahrestani, apud Patecock Orat. ubi sup p 9 and Spec 164. ⁹ Abulfarag, p 161

the zodiac into as many parts, through one of which the moon passes every night,¹ as some of them set in the morning, others rise opposite to them, which happens every thirteenth night, and from their rising and setting the Arabs, by long experience, observed what changes happened in the air, and at length, as has been said, came to ascribe divine power to them, saying, that then rain was from such or such a star, which expression Mohammed condemned and absolutely forbade them to use it in the old sense, unless they meant no more by it than that God had so ordered the seasons, that when the moon was in such or such a mansion or house, or at the rising or setting of such and such a star, it should rain or be windy, hot or cold.²

The old Arabians, therefore, seem to have made no further progress in astronomy, which science they afterwards cultivated with so much success and applause, than to observe the influence of the stars on the weather, and to give them names, and thus it was obvious for them to do by reason of their pastoral way of life, lying night and day in the open plains. The names they imposed on the stars generally alluded to cattle and flocks, and they were so nice in distinguishing them, that no language has so many names of stars and asterisms as the Arabic, for though they have since borrowed the names of several constellations from the Greeks, yet the far greater part are of their own growth, and much more ancient, particularly those of the more conspicuous stars, dispersed in several constellations, and those of the lesser constellations which are contained within the greater, and were not observed or named by the Greeks.³

Thus have I given the most succinct account I have been able, of the state of the ancient Arabians before Mohammed, or, to use their expression, in the time of ignorance. I shall now proceed briefly to consider the state of religion in the east, and of the two great empires which divided that part of the world between them, at the time of Mohammed's setting up for a prophet, and what were the conducive circumstances and accidents that favoured his success.

SECTION II.

OF THE STATE OF CHRISTIANITY, PARTICULARLY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES, AND OF JUDAISM, AT THE TIME OF MOHAMMED'S APPEARANCE, AND OF THE METHODS TAKEN BY HIM FOR THE ESTABLISHING OF HIS RELIGION, AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH CONCURRED THERETO

If we look into the ecclesiastical historians even from the third century we shall find the Christian world to have then had a very different aspect from what some authors have represented, and so far from being endued with active grace, zeal, and devotion, and established within itself with purity of doctrine, union, and firm profession of the faith,⁴ that, on the contrary, what by the ambition of the clergy, and what by drawing the abstrusest niceties into controversy, and dividing and subdividing about them into endless schisms and contentions, they had so destroyed that peace, love, and charity from among them, which the gospel was given to promote, and instead thereof continually provoked each other to that

¹ Vide Hyde, in not, ad Tabulas stellar fixar Ulugh Beigh, p 5 ² Vide Poc. Spec p 163 &c. ³ Vide Hyde ubi sup p 4. ⁴ Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, p 187

malice, rancour and every evil work, that they had lost the whole substance of their religion, while they thus eagerly contended for their own imaginations concerning it, and in a manner quite drove Christianity out of the world by those very controversies in which they disputed with each other about it⁵. In these dark ages it was that most of those superstitious and corruptions we now justly abhor in the church of Rome were not only broached but established, which gave great advantages to the propagation of Mohammedism. The worship of saints and images, in particular, was then arrived of such a scandalous pitch that it even surpassed what is now practised among the Romanists.

After the Nicene council, the eastern church was engaged in perpetual controversies, and torn to pieces by the disputes of the Arians, Sabellians, Nestorians, and Eutychians, the heresies of the two last of which have been shown to have consisted more in the words and form of expression than in the doctrines themselves⁷ and were rather the pretences than real motives of those frequent councils, to and from which the contentious prelates were continually riding post, that they might bring every thing to their own will and pleasure⁸. And to support themselves by dependants and bribery, the clergy in any credit at court undertook the protection of some officer in the army, under the colour of which justice was publicly sold, and all corruption encouraged.

In the western church, Damasus and Ursicinus carried their contests at Rome for the episcopal seat so high that they came to open violence and murder, which Viventius, the governor, not being able to suppress, he retired into the country, and left them to themselves, till Damasus prevailed. It is said that on this occasion, in the church of Ursicinus, there were no less than 137 found killed in one day. And no wonder they were so fond of these seats, when they became by that means enriched by the presents of matrons, and went abroad in their chariots and sedans in great state, feasting sumptuously even beyond the luxury of princes, quite contrary to the way of the living of the country prelates who alone seemed to have some temperance and modesty left⁹.

These dissensions were greatly owing to the emperors, and particularly to Constantius, who, confounding the pure and simple Christian religion with amule superstitious, and perplexing it with intricate questions, instead of reconciling different opinions, excited many disputes, which he fomented as they proceeded with infinite altercations¹. This grew worse in the time of Justinian, who not to be behind the bishops of the fifth and sixth centuries in zeal, thought it no crime to condemn to death a man of a different persuasion from his own².

This corruption of doctrine and morals in the princes and clergy was necessarily followed by a general depravity of the people,³ those of all conditions making it their sole business to get money by any means, and then to squander it away, when they had got it, in luxury and debauchery⁴.

But, to be more particular as to the nation we are now writing of, Arabia was of old famous for heresies,⁵ which might be in some measure

⁵ Prideaux's Pref to his Life of Mohammed. ⁶ Vide La vie de Mohammed, par Boulainvilliers, p 219, &c. ⁷ Vide Simon, Hist Crit de la creance, &c. des nations du Levant. ⁸ Ammian Marcellin lib 21. Vide etiam Euseb. Hist Eccles lib 8. c 1. ⁹ Sozom lib 1 c. 14 &c. Hilar and Sulpic. Sever in Hist. Sacr. p. 112, &c. ¹ Ammian Marcellin lib 27. ² Idem lib 21. ³ Procop in Anecd p 60. ⁴ See an instance of the wickedness of the Christian army even when they were under the terror of the Saracens in Ockley's Hist or the Sarac vol. I, p 239. ⁵ Vide Boulainvill Vie de Moh ubi sup. ⁶ Vide Sozomen, Hist. Eccles. lib. 1 c. 16, 17. Sulpic Sever ubi supra.

attributed to the liberty and independency of the tribes. Some of the Christians of that nation believed the soul died with the body, and was to be raised again with it at the last day.⁶ these Origen is said to have convinced.⁷ Among the Arabs it was that the heresies of Ebion, Beryllus, and the Nazareans,⁸ and also that of the Collyridians, were broached, or at least propagated, the latter introduced the Virgin Mary for God, or worshipped her as such, offering her a sort of twisted cake called *collyris*, whence the sect had its name.⁹

This notion of the divinity of the virgin Mary was also believed by some at the council of Nice, who said there were two gods besides the Father, viz. Christ and the virgin Mary, and were thence named *Mariamites*.¹ Others imagined her to be exempt from humanity, and deified, which goes but little beyond the popish superstition in calling her the complement of the Trinity, as if it were imperfect without her. This foolish imagination is justly condemned in the Korân² as idolatrous, and gave a handle to Mohammed to attack the Trinity itself.

Other sects there were of many denominations within the borders of Arabia, which took refuge there from the proscriptions of the imperial edicts, several of whose notions Mohammed incorporated with his religion, as may be observed hereafter.

Though the Jews were an inconsiderable and despised people in other parts of the world, yet in Arabia, whither many of them fled from the destruction of Jerusalem, they grew very powerful, several tribes and princes embracing their religion, which made Mohammed at first show great regard to them, adopting many of their opinions, doctrines, and customs, thereby to draw them, if possible, into his interest. But that people, agreeably to their wonted obstinacy, were so far from being his proselytes, that they were some of the bitterest enemies he had, waging continual war with him, so that their reduction cost him infinite trouble and danger, and at last his life. This aversion of them created at length as great a one in him to them, so that he used them, for the latter part of his life, much worse than he did the Christians, and frequently exclaims against them in his Korân, his followers to this day observe the same difference between them and the Christians, treating the former as the most abject and contemptible people on earth.

It has been observed by a great politician,³ that it is impossible a person should make himself a prince and found a state without opportunities. If the distracted state of religion favoured the designs of Mohammed on that side, the weakness of the Roman and Persian monarchies might flatter him with no less hopes in any attempt on those once formidable empires, either of which, had they been in their full vigour, must have crushed Mohammedism in its birth, whereas nothing nourished it more than the success the Arabians met with in their enterprises against those powers, which success they failed not to attribute to their new religion and the divine assistance thereof.

The Roman empire declined apace after Constantine, whose successors were for the geneality remarkable for their ill qualities, especially cowardice and cruelty. In Mohammed's time the western half of the empire was overrun by the Goths and the eastern so reduced by the Huns on the one side, and the Persians on the other, that it was not in a capacity of stemming the violence of a powerful invasion. The emperor Maurice paid tribute to the Khagan or king of the Huns, and after Phocas

⁶ Euseb Hist. Eccles lib 6 c 33. ⁷ Idem, ibid c 37. ⁸ Epiphan de Hæres lib 1 Hæc 40. ⁹ Idem, ibid lib 3 Hæc 75, 79. ¹ Elmacin Lutyeh. ² Cap 5.

³ Machiavelli Princ. c 6 p 19

had murdered his master, such lamentable havoc there was among the soldiers, that when Heraclius came, not above seven years after, to muster the army, there were only two soldiers left alive, of all those who had borne arms when Phocas first usurped the empire. And though Heraclius was a prince of admirable courage and conduct, and had done what possibly could be done to restore the discipline of the army, and had had great success against the Persians, so as to drive them not only out of his own dominions, but even out of part of their own, yet still the very vitals of the empire seemed to be mortally wounded, that there could no time have happened more fatal to the empire, or more favourable to the enterprises of the Arabs, who seem to have been raised up on purpose by God, to be a scourge to the Christian church, for not living answerably to that most holy religion which they had received ⁴

The general luxury and degeneracy of manners, into which the Grecians were sunk, also contributed not a little to the enervating their forces, which were still further drained by those two great destroyers, monachism and persecution.

The Persians had also been in a declining condition for some time before Mohammed, occasioned chiefly by their intestine broils and dissensions, great part of which arose from the devilish doctrines of Manes and Mazdak. The opinions of the former are tolerably well known the latter lived in the reign of Khosru Kobad, and pretended himself a prophet sent from God to preach a community of women and possessions, since all men were brothers and descended from the same common parents. This he imagined would put an end to all feuds and quarrels among men, which generally arose on account of one of the two. Kobad himself embraced the opinions of this impostor, to whom he gave leave, according to his new doctrine, to lie with the queen his wife, which permission Anushirwân, his son, with much difficulty prevailed on Mazdak not to make use of. These sects had certainly been the immediate ruin of the Persian empire, had not Anushirwân, as soon as he succeeded his father, put Mazdak to death with all his followers, and the Manicheans also, restoring the ancient Magian religion ⁵

In the reign of this prince, deservedly surnamed the just, Mohammed was born. He was the last king of Persia who deserved the throne, which after him was almost perpetually contended for, till subverted by the Arabs. His son Hormûz lost the love of his subjects by his excessive cruelty. Having had his eyes put out by his wife's brothers, he was obliged to resign the crown to his son Khosru Parviz, who, at the instigation of Bahram Chubin, had rebelled against him, and was afterwards strangled. Parviz was soon obliged to quit the throne to Bahram, but obtaining succours of the Greek emperor Maurice, he recovered the crown. yet towards the latter end of a long reign he grew so tyrannical and hateful to his subjects, that they held a private correspondence with the Arabs, and he was at length deposed, imprisoned, and slain by his son Shirâzîyeh ⁶. After Parviz no less than six princes possessed the throne in less than six years. These domestic broils effectually brought ruin upon the Persians, for though they did, rather by the weakness of the Greeks than their own force, ravage Syria and sack Jerusalem and Damascus under Khosrû Parviz, and, while the Arabs were divided and independent, had some power in the province of Yaman, where they set up the four last kings before

⁴ Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 19, &c.

⁵ Vide Poc. Spec. p. 70.

⁶ Vide leircira, Relaciones de los Reyes de Persia, p. 195, &c.

Mohammed, yet when attacked by the Greeks under Heraclius, they not only lost their new conquests, but part of their own dominions, and no sooner were the Arabs united by Mohammedism, than they beat them in every battle, and in a few years totally subdued them

As these empires were weak and declining, so Arabia, at Mohammed's setting up, was strong and flourishing, having been peopled at the expense of the Grecian empire, whence the violent proceedings of the domineering sects forced many to seek refuge in a free country, as Arabia then was, where they who could not enjoy tranquillity and their conscience at home, found a secure retreat. The Arabians were not only a populous nation, but unacquainted with the luxury and delicacies of the Greeks and Persians, and inured to hardships of all sorts, living in a most parsimonious manner, seldom eating any flesh, drinking no wine, and sitting on the ground. Their political government was also such as favoured the designs of Mohammed, for the division and independency of their tribes were so necessary to the first propagation of his religion, and the foundation of his power, that it would have been scarce possible for him to have effected either, had the Arabs been united in one society. But when they had embraced his religion, the consequent union of their tribes was no less necessary and conducive to their future conquests and grandeur.

This posture of public affairs in the eastern world, both as to its religious and political state, it is more than probable Mohammed was well acquainted with, he having had sufficient opportunities of informing himself in those particulars, in his travels as a merchant in his younger years, and though it is not to be supposed his views at first were so extensive as afterwards, when they were enlarged by his good fortune, yet he might reasonably promise himself success in his first attempts from thence. As he was a man of extraordinary parts and address, he knew how to make the best of every incident, and turn what might seem dangerous to another to his own advantage.

Mohammed came into the world under some disadvantages, which he soon surmounted. His father Abd'allah was a younger son⁷ of Abd'almotaleb, and dying very young and in his father's lifetime, left his widow and infant son in very mean circumstances, his whole substance consisting but of five camels and one Ethiopian she-slave⁸. Abd'almotaleb was therefore obliged to take care of his grand child Mohammed, which he not only did during his life, but at his death enjoined his eldest son Abu Taleb, who was brother to Abd'allah by the same mother, to provide for him for the future, which he very affectionately did, and instructed him in the business of a merchant, which he followed, and to that end he took him with him into Syria when he was but thirteen, and afterward recommended him to Khadijah, a noble and rich widow, for her factor, in whose service he behaved himself so well, that by making him her husband she soon raised him to an equality with the richest in Mecca.

After he began by this advantageous match to live at his ease it was that he formed the scheme of establishing a new religion, or, as he expressed it, of replanting the only true and ancient one, professed by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and all the prophets,⁹ by destroying the gross idolatry into which the generality of his countrymen had fallen, and

⁷ He was not his eldest son as Dr Prideaux tells us, whose reflections built on that foundation must necessarily fail (see his *Life of Mohammed*, p. 9.) nor yet his youngest son, as M. de Boulainvilliers (*Vie de Mohammed*, p. 182, &c.) supposes, for Hamza and al Abbâs were both younger than Abd'allah.

⁸ Abulfeda, *Vit. Moham.* p. 2. ⁹ See Korân, c. 2.

weeding out the corruptions and superstitions which the latter Jews and Christians had, as he thought, introduced into their religion, and reducing it to its original purity, which consisted chiefly in the worship of one only God

Whether this was the effect of enthusiasm, or only a design to raise himself to the supreme government of his country, I will not pretend to determine. The latter is the general opinion of Christian writers, who agree that ambition and the desire of satisfying his sensuality were the motives of his undertaking. It may be so, yet his first views perhaps were not so interested. His original design of bringing the pagan Arabs to the knowledge of the true God was certainly noble, and highly to be commended, for I cannot possibly subscribe to the assertion of a late learned writer,¹ that he made that nation exchange their idolatry for another religion altogether as bad. Mohammed was no doubt fully satisfied in his conscience of the truth of his grand point, the unity of God, which was what he chiefly attended to, all his other doctrines and institutions being rather accidental and unavoidable, than premeditated and designed.

Since then Mohammed was certainly himself persuaded of his grand article of faith, which, in his opinion, was violated by all the rest of the world, not only by the idolaters, but by the Christians, as well those who rightly worshipped Jesus as God, as those who superstitiously adored the Virgin Mary, saints, and images, and also by the Jews, who are accused in the Korân of taking Ezra for the Son of God,² it is easy to conceive that he might think it a meritorious work to rescue the world from such ignorance and superstition, and by degrees, with the help of a warm imagination, which an Arab seldom wants,³ to suppose himself destined by Providence for the effecting that great reformation. And this fancy of his might take still deeper root in his mind during the solitude he there-upon affected, usually retiring for a month in the year to a cave in Mount Hara near Mecca. One thing which may be probably urged against the enthusiasm of this prophet of the Arabs, is the wise conduct and great prudence he all along showed in pursuing his design, which seem inconsistent with the wild notions of a hot-brained religionist. But, though all enthusiasts or madmen do not behave with the same gravity and circumspection that he did, yet he will not be the first instance, by several, of a person who has been out of the way only *quoad hoc*, and in all other respects acted with the greatest decency and precaution.

The terrible destruction of the eastern churches, once so glorious and flourishing, by the sudden spreading of Mohammedism, and the great successes of its professors against the Christians, necessarily inspire a horror of that religion in those to whom it has been so fatal, and no wonder if they endeavour to set the character of its founder, and its doctrines, in the most infamous light. But the damage done by Mohammed to Christianity seems to have been rather owing to his ignorance than malice, for his great misfortune was, his not having a competent knowledge of the real and pure doctrines of the Christian religion, which was in his time so abominably corrupted that it is not surprising if he went too far, and resolved to abolish what he might think incapable of reformation.

It is scarce to be doubted but that Mohammed had a violent desire of being reckoned an extraordinary person, which he could attain to by no means more effectually than by pretending to be a messenger sent from God, to inform mankind of his will. This might be at first his utmost

¹ Prideaux's Life of Moham. p. 76. ² Koran, c. 9 ³ See Causaub. of Enthusiasm, p. 148.

ambition, and had his fellow citizens treated him less injuriously, and not obliged him by their persecutions to seek refuge elsewhere, and to take up arms against them in his own defence, he had perhaps continued a private person, and contented himself with the veneration and respect due to his prophetic office, but being once got at the head of a little army, and encouraged by success, it is no wonder if he raised his thoughts to attempt what had never before entered into his imagination.

That Mohammed was, as the Arabs are by complexion ⁴ a great lover of women, we are assured by his own confessions, and he is constantly upbraided with it by the controversial writers, who fail not to urge the number of women with whom he had to do as a demonstrative argument of his sensuality, which they think sufficiently proves him to have been a wicked man, and consequently an impostor. But, it must be considered that polygamy, though it be forbidden by the Christian religion, was, in Mohammed's time, frequently practised in Arabia and other parts of the east, and was not counted an immorality, nor was a man the worse esteemed on that account, for which reason Mohammed permitted the plurality of wives, with certain limitations, among his own followers, who argue for the lawfulness of it from several reasons, and particularly from the examples of persons allowed on all hands to have been good men, some of whom have been honoured with the divine correspondence. The several laws relating to marriages and divorces, and the peculiar privileges granted to Mohammed in his Korân, were almost all taken by him from the Jewish decisions, as will appear hereafter, and therefore he might think those institutions the more just and reasonable, as he found them practised or approved by the professors of a religion which was confessedly of divine original.

But whatever were his motives, Mohammed had certainly the personal qualifications which were necessary to accomplish his undertaking. The Mohammedan authors are excessive in their commendations of him, and speak much of his religious and moral virtues, as his piety, veracity, justice, liberality, clemency, humility, and abstinence. His charity in particular, they say, was so conspicuous, that he had seldom any money in his house, keeping no more for his own use than was just sufficient to maintain his family, and he frequently spared even some part of his own provisions to supply the necessities of the poor, so that before the year's end he had generally little or nothing left ⁵. "God," says al Bokhârî, "offered him the keys of the treasures of the earth, but he would not accept them." Though the eulogies of these writers are justly to be suspected of partiality, yet thus much, I think, may be inferred from thence, that for an Arab who had been educated in paganism, and had but a very imperfect knowledge of his duty, he was a man of at least tolerable morals, and not such a monster of wickedness as he is usually represented. And indeed it is scarce possible to conceive that a wretch of so profligate a character should ever have succeeded in an enterprise of this nature, a little hypocrisy and saving of appearances, at least, must have been absolutely necessary, and the sincerity of his intentions is what I pretend not to inquire into.

He had indisputably a very piercing and sagacious wit, and was thoroughly versed in all the arts of insinuation. ⁶ The eastern historians describe him to have been a man of an excellent judgment, and a happy memory, and these natural parts were improved by a great experience and knowledge of men, and the observations he had made in his travels. They say he was a

⁴ Ammian Marcell. lib 14 c 4

⁵ Vide Abulfeda, Vit Moham p 144, &c

⁶ Vide Frid Life of Mohammed, p 105

person of few words, of an equal, cheerful temper, pleasant and familiar in conversation, of inoffensive behaviour towards his friends, and of great condescension towards his inferiors⁷ To all which were joined a comely, agreeable person, and a polite address, accomplishments of no small service in preventing those in his favour whom he attempted to persuade

As to acquired learning, it is confessed he had none at all, having had no other education than what was customary in his tribe, who neglected, and perhaps despised, what we call literature, esteeming no language in comparison with their own, their skill in which they gained by use and not by books, and contenting themselves with improving their private experience, by committing to memory such passages of their poets as they judged might be of use to them in life This defect was so far from being prejudicial or putting a stop to his design, that he made the greatest use of it, insisting that the writings which he produced as revelations from God, could not possibly be a forgery of his own, because it was not conceivable that a person who could neither write nor read should be able to compose a book of such excellent doctrine, and in so elegant a style, and thereby obviating an objection that might have carried a great deal of weight⁸ And for this reason his followers, instead of being ashamed of their master's ignorance, glory in it as an evident proof of his divine mission, and scruple not to call him (as he is indeed called in the Korân itself)⁹ the illiterate prophet

The scheme of religion which Mohammed framed, and the design and artful contrivance of those written revelations (as he pretended them to be) which compose his Korân, shall be the subject of the following sections I shall, therefore, in the remainder of this relate, as briefly as possible, the steps he took towards the effecting of his enterprise, and the accidents which concurred to his success therein

Before he made any attempt abroad, he rightly judged that it was necessary for him to begin by the conversion of his own household Having therefore retired with his family, as he had done several times before to the above-mentioned cave in Mount Hara, he there opened the secret of his mission to his wife Khadyjah and acquainted her that the angel Gabriel had just before appeared to him, and told him that he was appointed the apostle of God he also repeated to her a passage¹ which he pretended had been revealed to him by the ministry of the angel, with those other circumstances of his first appearance which are related by the Mohammedan writers Khadyjah received the news with great joy,² swearing by him in whose hands her soul was, that she trusted he would be the prophet of his nation and immediately communicated what she had heard to her cousin Warakah Ebn Nowfal, who, being a Christian, could write in the Hebrew character, and was tolerably well versed in the Scriptures,³ and he as readily came into her opinion, assuring her that the same angel who had formerly appeared unto Moses was now sent to Mohammed⁴ This first overture the prophet made in the month of Ramadan, in the fortieth year of his age, which is therefore usually called the year of his mission

⁷ Vide Abulfed ubi sup. ⁸ See Koran, chap xxix *Prin. Life of Moham* p 28, &c. ⁹ Chap vii. ¹ This passage is generally agreed to be the first five verses of the 96th chapter ² I do not remember to have read in any eastern author, that Khadyjah ever rejected her husband's pretences as delusions, or suspected him of any imposture Yet see Prideaux's *Life of Mohammed* p 11, &c. ³ Vide *Poc. Spec.* p. 157 ⁴ Vide Abulfed *Vit. Moham.* p. 16, where the learned translator has mistaken the meaning of this passage.

Encouraged by so good a beginning, he resolved to proceed, and try for some time what he could do by private persuasion, not daring to hazard the whole affair by exposing it too suddenly to the public. He soon made proselytes of those under his own roof, viz. his wife Khadijah, his servant Zeid Ebn Hâretha (to whom he gave his freedom ⁵ on that occasion, which afterwards became a rule to his followers), and his cousin and pupil Ali, the son of Abu Taleb, though then very young but this last, making no account of the other two, used to style himself the first of believers. The next person Mohammed applied to was Abdallah Ebn Abi Kohâfa, surnamed Abu Becri, a man of great authority among the Koreish, and one whose interest he well knew would be of great service to him, as it soon appeared, for Abu Becri being gained over, prevailed also on Othmân Ebn Affân, Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf, Saad Ebn Abi Wakkas, al Zobeir Ebn al Awâm, and Telha Ebn Obeid'allah, all principal men in Mecca, to follow his example. These men were the six chief companions, who, with a few more, were converted in the space of three years, at the end of which Mohammed having, as he hoped, a sufficient interest to support him, made his mission no longer a secret, but gave out that God had commanded him to admonish his near relations, ⁶ and in order to do it with more convenience and prospect of success, he directed Ali to prepare an entertainment, and invite the sons and descendants of Abd'almotalleb, intending then to open his mind to them, this was done, and about forty of them came, but Abu Laheb, one of his uncles, making the company break up before Mohammed had an opportunity of speaking, obliged him to give them a second invitation the next day, and when they were come, he made them the following speech "I know no man in all Arabia who can offer his kindred a more excellent thing than I now do you, I offer you happiness both in this life, and in that which is to come. God Almighty hath commanded me to call you unto him, who, therefore, among you will be assisting to me herein, and become my brother, and my vicegerent?" All of them hesitating, and declining the matter, Ali at length rose up, and declared that he would be his assistant, and vehemently threatened those who should oppose him. Mohammed upon this embraced Ali with great demonstrations of affection, and desired all who were present to hearken to and obey him as his deputy, at which the company broke out into great laughter, telling Abu Taleb that he must now pay obedience to his son.

This repulse, however, was so far from discouraging Mohammed, that he began to preach in public to the people, who heard him with some patience, till he came to upbraid them with the idolatry, obstinacy, and perverseness of themselves and their fathers, which so highly provoked them, that they declared themselves his enemies, and would soon have procured his ruin, had he not been protected by Abu Taleb. The chief of the Koreish warmly solicited this person to desert his nephew, making frequent remonstrances against the innovations he was attempting, which proving ineffectual, they at length threatened him with an open rupture if he did not prevail on Mohammed to desist. At this Abu Taleb was so far moved that he earnestly dissuaded his nephew from pursuing the affair any further, representing the great danger he and his friends must otherwise run. But Mohammed was not to be intimidated, telling his uncle plainly, that if they set the sun against him on his right hand, and the moon on his left, he would not leave his enterprise and Abu Taleb, seeing him so firmly

⁵ For he was his purchased slave, as Abulfeda expressly tells us and not his counsellor, as M. de Boulaingvilliers asserts (Vie de Moham. p. 278). ⁶ Koran, c. 74. See the notes thereon.

resolved to proceed, used no further arguments, but promised to stand by him against all his enemies.⁷

The Koreish, finding they could prevail neither by fair words nor menaces, tried what they could do by force and u¹ treatment, using Mohammed's followers so very injuriously that it was not safe for them to continue at Mecca any longer, whereupon Mohammed gave leave to such of them as had no friends to protect them to seek for refuge elsewhere. And accordingly in the fifth year of the prophet's mission, sixteen of them, four of whom were women, fled into Ethiopia and among them Othmân Ebn Affan and his wife Rakiyah, Mohammed's daughter. This was the first flight, but afterwards several others followed them, retiring one after another, to the number of eighty three men and eighteen women, besides children.⁸ These refugees were kindly received by the Najashî,⁹ or king of Ethiopia, who refused to deliver them up to those whom the Koreish sent to demand them, and as the Arab writers unanimously attest, even professed the Mohammedan religion.

In the sixth year of his mission¹ Mohammed had the pleasure of seeing his party strengthened by the conversion of his uncle Hamza, a man of great valour and merit, and of Omar Ebn al Khattab, a person highly esteemed, and once a violent opposer of the prophet. As persecution generally advances rather than obstructs the spreading of a religion, Islamism made so great a progress among the Arab tribes, that the Koreish, to suppress it effectually, if possible, in the seventh year of Mohammed's mission,² made a solemn league or covenant against the Hashemites and the family of Al Motalleb, engaging themselves to contract no marriages with any of them, and to have no communication with them, and, to give it the greater sanction, reduced it into writing, and laid it up in the Caaba. Upon this the tribe became divided into two factions, and the family of Hashem all repaired to Abu Tâleb, as their head, except only Abd'al Uzza, surnamed Abu Laheb, who, out of his inveterate hatred to his nephew and his doctrine, went over to the opposite party, whose chief was Abu Sofîân Ebn Harb, of the family of Ommeva.

The families continued thus at variance for three years, but in the tenth year of his mission, Mohammed told his uncle Abu Tâleb, that God had manifestly showed his disapprobation of the league which the Koreish had made against them, by sending a worm to eat out every word of the instrument except the name of God. Of this accident Mohammed had probably some private notice, for Abu Taleb went immediately to the Koreish and acquainted them with it, offering, if it proved false, to deliver his nephew up to them, but in case it were true, he insisted that they ought to lay aside their animosity, and annul the league they had made against the Hashemites. To this they acquiesced, and, going to inspect the writing, to their great astonishment found it to be as Abu Tâleb had said, and the league was thereupon declared void.

In the same year Abu Taleb died, at the age of above fourscore, and it is the general opinion that he died an infidel, though others say, that when he was at the point of death he embraced Mohammedism, and produced some passages out of his poetical compositions to confirm their assertion. About a month, or, as some write, three days after the death of this great benefactor and patron, Mohammed had the additional mortification to lose

⁷ Abulfeda ubi supra. ⁸ Idem, Ebn Shohnah. ⁹ Dr Prideaux seems to take this word for a proper name, but it is only the title the Arabs give to every king of this country. See his Life of Mohammed, p. 55. ¹ Ebn Shohnah. ² Al Jannâb.

his wife Khadijah, who had so generously made his fortune For which reason this year is called the year of mourning^a

On the death of these two persons, the Koreish began to be more troublesome than ever to their prophet, and especially some who had formerly been his intimate friends, insomuch that he found himself obliged to seek for shelter elsewhere, and first pitched upon Tâyef, about sixty miles east from Mecca, for the place of his retreat. Thither therefore he went, accompanied by his servant Zeid, and applied himself to two of the chief of the tribe of Thakif, who were the inhabitants of that place, but they received him very coldly However, he stayed there a month, and some of the more considerate and better sort of men treated him with a little respect but the slaves and inferior people at length rose against him, and bringing him to the wall of the city, obliged him to depart, and return to Mecca, where he put himself under the protection of al Mutaam Lbn Adi^d

This repulse greatly discouraged his followers however, Mohammed was not wanting to himself, but boldly continued to preach to the public assemblies at the pilgrimage, and gained several proselytes, and among them six of the inhabitants of Yathreb of the Jewish tribe of Khazraj, who, on their return home, failed not to speak much in commendation of their new religion, and exhorted their fellow citizens to embrace the same

In the twelfth year of his mission it was that Mohammed gave out that he had made his night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, and thence to heaven,^e so much spoken of by all that write of him Dr Prideaux^g thinks he intended it either to answer the expectations of those who demanded some miracle as a proof of his mission, or else, by pretending to have conversed with God, to establish the authority of whatever he should think fit to leave behind by way of oral tradition, and make his sayings to serve the same purpose as the oral law of the Jews But I do not find that Mohammed himself ever expected so great a regard should be paid to his sayings as his followers have since done and seeing he all along disclaimed any power of performing miracles, it seems rather to have been a fetch of policy to raise his reputation, by pretending to have actually conversed with God in heaven, as Moses had heretofore done on the mount, and to have received several institutions immediately from him, whereas before he contented himself with persuading them that he had all by the ministry of Gabriel

However, this story seemed so absurd and incredible that several of his followers left him upon it, and it had probably ruined his whole design, had not Abu Becr vouched for its veracity, and declared that if Mohammed affirmed it to be true, he verily believed the whole Which happy incident not only retrieved the prophet's credit, but increased it to such a degree, that he was secure of being able to make his disciples swallow whatever he pleased to impose on them for the future And I am apt to think this fiction, notwithstanding its extravagance, was one of the most artful contrivances Mohammed ever put in practice, and what chiefly contributed to the raising of his reputation to that great height to which it afterwards arrived

In this year, called by Mohammedans the accepted year, twelve men of Yathreb or Medina, of whom ten were of the tribe of Khazraj, and the other two of that of Aws, came to Mecca, and took an oath of fidelity to

^a Abulfed p 28 Ebn Shohnah ^d Ebn Shohnah. ^e See the notes on the 17th chap of the Koran ^f Life of Moham p 41, 51, &c.

Mohammed at al Akaba, a hill on the north of that city This oath was called the woman's oath, not that any women were present at this time, but because a man was not thereby obliged to take up arms in defence of Mohammed or his religion, it being the same oath that was afterwards exacted of the women, the form of which we have in the Korân,⁷ and is to this effect, viz—"That they should renounce all idolatry, that they should not steal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children (as the pagan Arabs used to do when they apprehended they should not be able to maintain them⁸), nor forge calumnies, and that they should obey the prophet in all things that were reasonable" When they had solemnly engaged to do all this, Mohammed sent one of his disciples, named Masâb Ebn Omair, home with them, to instruct them more fully in the grounds and ceremonies of his new religion

Masâb, being arrived at Medina, by the assistance of those who had been formerly converted, gained several proselytes, particularly Osaid Ebn Hodeira, a chief man of the city, and Saad Ebn Moadh, prince of the tribe of Aws, Mohammedism spreading so fast that there was scarce a house wherein there were not some who had embraced it

The next year, being the thirteenth of Mohammed's mission, Masab returned to Mecca, accompanied by seventy-three men and two women of Medina who had professed Islamism, besides some others who were as yet unbelievers On their arrival they immediately sent to Mohammed, and offered him their assistance, of which he was now in great need, for his adversaries were by this time grown so powerful in Mecca, that he could not stay there much longer without imminent danger Wherefore he accepted their proposal, and met them one night, by appointment, at al Akaba above mentioned, attended by his uncle al Abbas, who, though he was not then a believer, wished his nephew well, and made a speech to those of Medina, wherein he told them, that, as Mohammed was obliged to quit his native city and seek an asylum elsewhere, and they had offered him their protection, they would do well not to deceive him, and that, if they were not firmly resolved to defend and not betray him, they had better declare their minds, and let him provide for his safety in some other manner Upon their protesting their sincerity, Mohammed swore to be faithful to them, on condition that they should protect him against all insults, as heartily as they would their own wives and families They then asked him what recompense they were to expect if they should happen to be killed in his quarrel, he answered paradise Whereupon they pledged their faith to him, and so returned home,⁹ after Mohammed had chosen twelve out of their number, who were to have the same authority among them as the twelve apostles of Christ had among his disciples¹

Hitherto Mohammed had propagated his religion by fair means, so that the whole success of his enterprise before his flight to Medina must be attributed to persuasion only, and not to compulsion For before this second oath of fealty or inauguration at al Akaba, he had no permission to use any force at all, and in several places of the Korân, which he pretended were revealed during his stay at Mecca, he declares his business was only to preach and admonish, that he had no authority to compel any person to embrace his religion, and that whether people believed, or not, was none of his concern, but belonged solely unto God And he was so far from allowing his followers to use force, that he exhorted them to bear patiently those

⁷ Cap 60
⁸ Ebn Ishak.

⁸ Vide Koran, chap 6

⁹ Abulfeda, Vit. Moham p. 40, &c

injuries which were offered them on account of their faith, and when persecuted himself, chose rather to quit the place of his birth and retire to Medina, than to make any resistance. But this great passiveness and moderation seems entirely owing to his want of power, and the great superiority of his opposers for the first twelve years of his mission, for no sooner was he enabled, by the assistance of those of Medina, to make head against his enemies, than he gave out that God had allowed him and his followers to defend themselves against the infidels, and at length, as his forces increased, he pretended to have the divine leave even to attack them and to destroy idolatry, and set up the true faith by the sword, finding, by experience, that his designs would otherwise proceed very slowly, if they were not utterly overthrown, and knowing on the other hand that innovators, when they depend solely on their own strength, and can compel, seldom run any risk, from whence the politician observes, it follows, that all the armed prophets have succeeded, and the unarmed ones have failed. Moses, Cyrus, Theseus, and Romulus would not have been able to establish the observance of their institutions for any length of time, had they not been armed.² The first passage of the Korân which gave Mohammed the permission of defending himself by arms is said to have been that in the twenty second chapter, after which a great number to the same purpose were revealed.

That Mohammed had a right to take up arms for his own defence against his unjust persecutors, may perhaps be allowed, but whether he ought afterwards to have made use of that means for the establishing of his religion is a question I will not here determine. How far the secular power may or ought to interpose in affairs of this nature mankind are not agreed. The method of converting by the sword gives no very favourable idea of the faith which is so propagated, and is disallowed by every body in those of another religion, though the same persons are willing to admit of it for the advancement of their own, supposing that though a false religion ought not to be established by authority, yet a true one may, and accordingly force is almost as constantly employed in these cases by those who have the power in their hands, as it is constantly complained of by those who suffer the violence. It is certainly one of the most convincing proofs that Mohammedism was no other than a human invention, that it owed its progress and establishment almost entirely to the sword, and it is one of the strongest demonstrations of the divine original of Christianity, that it prevailed against all the force and powers of the world by the mere dint of its own truth, after having stood the assaults of all manner of persecutions, as well as other oppositions, for three hundred years together, and at length made the Roman emperors themselves submit thereto,³ after which time indeed this proof seems to fail, Christianity being then established and paganism abolished by public authority, which has had great influence in the propagation of the one and destruction of the other ever since.⁴ But to return.

Mohammed having provided for the security of his companions as well as his own, by the league offensive and defensive which he had now concluded with those of Medina, directed them to repair thither, which they accordingly did, but himself with Abu Becr and Ali staid behind, having not yet received the divine permission, as he pretended, to leave Mecca. The Koreish, fearing the consequence of this new alliance, began to think it absolutely necessary to prevent Mohammed's escape to Medina, and having held a council thereon, after several milder expedients had been rejected,

² Machiavelli Princ. c. vi. ³ See Prideaux's Letter to the Deists, p. 220 &c.

⁴ See Bayle's Dict. Hist. Art. Moham. Rem. Q.

they came to a resolution that he should be killed, and agreed that a man should be chosen out of every tribe for the execution of this design, and that each man should have a blow at him with his sword, that the guilt of his blood might fall equally on all the tribes, to whose united power the Hashemites were much inferior, and therefore durst not attempt to revenge their kinsman's death.

This conspiracy was scarce formed when by some means or other it came to Mohammed's knowledge, and he gave out that it was revealed to him by the angel Gabriel, who had now ordered him to retire to Medina. Whereupon to amuse his enemies, he directed Ali to lie down in his place and wrap himself up in his green cloak, which he did, and Mohammed escaped miraculously as they pretend,⁵ to Abu Becr's house, unperceived by the conspirators, who had already assembled at the prophet's door. They in the mean time, looking through a crevice and seeing Ali, whom they took to be Mohammed himself, asleep continued watching there till morning, when Ali arose and they found themselves deceived.

From Abu Becr's house Mohammed and he went to a cave in Mount Thûr, to the south east of Mecca, accompanied only by Amer Ebn Foheirah, Abu Becr's servant, and Abd'allah Ebn Orakat, an idolater, whom they had hired for a guide. In this cave they lay hid three days to avoid the search of their enemies, which they very narrowly escaped, and not without the assistance of more miracles than one, for some say that the Koraish were struck with blindness, so that they could not find the cave, others, that after Mohammed and his companions were got in, two pigeons laid their eggs at the entrance, and a spider covered the mouth of the cave with her web,⁶ which made them look no farther.⁷ Abu Becr seeing the prophet in such imminent danger became very sorrowful, whereupon Mohammed comforted him with these words recorded in the Korân,⁸—“Be not grieved, for God is with us.” Their enemies being retired, they left the cave and set out for Medina, by a by road, and having fortunately, or as the Mohammedans tell us, miraculously escaped some who were sent to pursue them, arrived safely in the city, whither Ali followed them in three days, after he had settled some affairs at Mecca.⁹

The first thing Mohammed did after his arrival in Medina was to build a temple for his religious worship, and a house for himself, which he did on a parcel of ground which had before served to put camels in, or as others tell us, for a burying ground, and belonged to Sahal and Soheil the sons of Amru, who were orphans.¹ This action Dr Prudeau exclaims against, representing it as a flagrant instance of injustice, for that, says he, he violently dispossessed these poor orphans, the sons of an inferior artificer, (whom the author he quotes² calls a carpenter) of this ground, and so founded the first fabric of his worship with the like wickedness as he did his religion.³ But to say nothing of the improbability that Mohammed should act in so impolitic a manner at his first coming the Mohammedan writers set this affair in a quite different light, one tells us that he treated with the lads about the price of the ground, but they desired he would accept it as

⁵ See the notes to chap. 8 and 36.

⁶ It is observable that the Jews have a like tradition concerning David when he fled from Saul into the cave, and the Targum paraphrases these words of the second verse of Psalm lvi, (which was composed on occasion of that deliverance) “I will pray before the most high God that performeth all things for me,” in this manner, “I will pray before the most high God who called a spider to weave a web for my sake in the mouth of the cave.” Al Beidawi in Kor. cap. 9. Vide d Herbel Bibl. Orient. p. 445. ⁷ Chap. 9. ⁸ Abulfeda Vit. Moham. p. 50 &c. Ebn Shohnah. ⁹ Abulfeda, ib. p. 52, 53. ¹ Disputatio Christiani contra Saracen. cap. iv. ² Prudeau's Life of Moham. p. 58.

a present,⁴ however, as historians of good credit assure us, he actually bought it,⁵ and the money was paid by Abu Becr.⁶ Besides, had Mohammed accepted it as a present, the orphans were in circumstances sufficient to have afforded it, for they were of a very good family, of the tribe Najjâr, one of the most illustrious among the Arabs, and not the sons of a carpenter, as Dr Prideaux's author writes, who took the word Najjâr, which signifies a carpenter, for an appellative, whereas it is a proper name.⁷

Mohammed being securely settled at Medina, and able not only to defend himself against the insults of his enemies, but to attack them, began to send out small parties to make reprisals on the Koreish, the first party consisting of no more than nine men, who intercepted and plundered a caravan belonging to that tribe, and in the action took two prisoners. But what established his affairs very much, and was the foundation on which he built all his succeeding greatness, was the gaining of the battle of Bedi, which was fought in the second year of the Hejra, and is so famous in the Mohammedan history.⁸ As my design is not to write the life of Mohammed, but only to describe the manner in which he carried on his enterprise, I shall not enter into any detail of his subsequent battles and expeditions, which amounted to a considerable number. Some reckon no less than twenty seven expeditions wherein Mohammed was personally present, in nine of which he gave battle, besides several other expeditions in which he was not present.⁹ Some of them however will be necessarily taken notice of in explaining several passages of the Koran. His forces he maintained partly by the contributions of his followers for this purpose, which he called by the name of zacât or alms, and the paying of which he very artfully made one main article of his religion, and partly by ordering a fifth part of the plunder to be brought into the public treasury for that purpose, in which matter he likewise pretended to act by the divine direction.

In a few years by the success of his arms (notwithstanding he sometimes came off by the worst), he considerably raised his credit and power. In the sixth year of the Hejra he set out with 1400 men to visit the temple of Mecca, not with any intent of committing hostilities, but in a peaceable manner. However when he came to al Hodeibiya, which is situate partly within and partly without the sacred territory, the Koreish sent to let him know that they would not permit him to enter Mecca, unless he forced his way, whereupon he called his troops about him, and they all took a solemn oath of fealty or homage to him, and he resolved to attack the city, but those of Mecca sending Arwa Ebn Masûd * prince of the tribe of Thakif, as their ambassador to desire peace, a truce was concluded between them for ten years, by which any person was allowed to enter into league either with Mohammed or with the Koreish as he thought fit.

It may not be improper, to show the inconceivable veneration and respect the Mohammedans by this time had for their prophet, to mention the account which the above mentioned ambassador gave the Koreish, at his return, of their behaviour. He said he had been at the courts both of the Roman emperor and of the king of Persia, and never saw any prince so highly respected by his subjects as Mohammed was by his companions,

⁴ Al Bokhârî in Sonna. ⁵ Al Jannabî. ⁶ Ahmed Ebn Yusef. ⁷ Vide Gagnier, Not. in Abulfed de Vit. Mahom. p. 52. 53. ⁸ See the notes on the Koran, chap. 3. p. 86. ⁹ Vide Abulfed Vit. Moh. p. 158.

* This is erroneous. The ambassador was Sohaïl Ebn Amra. See note, chap. 48.

for whenever he made the ablution, in order to say his prayers, they ran and caught the water that he had used, and whenever he spit, they immediately licked it up, and gathered every hair that fell from him with great superstition¹

In the seventh year of the Hejra, Mohammed began to think of propagating his religion beyond the bounds of Arabia, and sent messengers to the neighbouring princes with letters to invite them to Mohammedism. Nor was this project without some success. Khosru Parviz, then king of Persia, received his letter with great disdain, and tore it in a passion, sending away the messenger very abruptly, which, when Mohammed heard, he said, God shall tear his kingdom. And soon after a messenger came to Mohammed from Badhân king of Yaman, who was a dependant on the Persians,² to acquaint him that he had received orders to send him to Khosrû. Mohammed put off his answer till the next morning, and then told the messenger it had been revealed to him that night, that Khosrû was slain by his son Shirûyeh, adding that he was well assured his new religion and empire should rise to as great a height as that of Khosru, and therefore bid him advise his master to embrace Mohammedism. The messenger being returned, Badhân in a few days received a letter from Shirûyeh informing him of his father's death, and ordering him to give the prophet no further disturbance. Whereupon Badhân and the Persians with him turned Mohammedans³.

The emperor Heraclius, as the Arabian historians assure us, received Mohammed's letter with great respect, laying it on his pillow, and dismissed the bearer honourably. And some pretend that he would have professed this new faith, had he not been afraid of losing his crown.⁴

Mohammed wrote to the same effect to the king of Ethiopia, though he had been converted before, according to the Arab writers, and to Mokawkas, governor of Egypt, who gave the messenger a very favourable reception, and sent several valuable presents to Mohammed, and among the rest two girls, one of which, named Mary,⁵ became a great favourite with him. He also sent letters of the like purport to several Arab princes, particularly one to al Hareth Ebn Abi Shamer⁶ king of Ghassân who returning for answer that he would go to Mohammed himself, the prophet said, May his kingdom perish, another to Hawdha Ebn Ali, king of Yamâma, who was a Christian, and having some time before professed Islamism, had lately returned to his former faith, this prince sent back a very rough answer, upon which, Mohammed cursing him, he died soon after, a third to al Mondar Ebn Sâwa, king of Bahrein, who embraced Mohammedism, and all the Arabs of that country followed his example⁷.

The eighth year of the Hejra was a very fortunate year to Mohammed. In the beginning of it Khâled Ebn al Walid and Amru Ebn al As, both excellent soldiers, the first of whom afterwards conquered Syria and other countries, and the latter Egypt, became proselytes of Mohammedism. And soon after the prophet sent 3000 men against the Grecian forces, to revenge the death of one of his ambassadors, who being sent to the governor of Bosra, on the same errand as those who went to the above-mentioned princes, was slain by an Arab of the tribe of Ghassân at Mûta, a town in the territory of Balkâ in Syria, about three days' journey eastward from Jerusalem, near

¹ Abulfeda, Vit. Moh. p. 85. ² See before, p. 8. ³ Abulfeda, Vit. Moh. p. 92. &c. ⁴ Al Jannabi. ⁵ It is however a different name from that of the Virgin Mary which the orientals always write Maryam or Miriam, whereas this is written Mariya. ⁶ This prince is omitted in Dr Pocock's list of the kings of Ghassan, Spec. p. 77. ⁷ Abulfeda, ubi sup. p. 94. &c.

which town they encountered. The Grecians being vastly superior in number (for, including the auxiliary Arabs, they had an army of 100,000 men), the Mohammedans were repulsed in the first attack, and lost successively three of their generals, viz Zeid Ebn Hâretha, Mohammed's freedman, Jaafar the son of Abu Tâleb, and Abdâllah Ebn Rawâha, but Khâled Ebn al Walid, succeeding to the command, overthrew the Greeks with a great slaughter, and brought away abundance of rich spoil,² on occasion of which action Mohammed gave him the honourable title of Seif min soyuf Allah, one of the swords of God.³

In this year also Mohammed took the city of Mecca, the inhabitants whereof had broken the truce concluded on two years before. For the tribe of Becr, who were confederates of the Koreish, attacking those of Khozâah, who were allies of Mohammed, killed several of them, being supported in the action by a party of the Koreish themselves. The consequence of this violation was soon apprehended, and Abu Sofîan himself made a journey to Medina on purpose to heal the breach and renew the truce,¹ but in vain, for Mohammed, glad of this opportunity, refused to see him, whereupon he applied to Abu Becr and Ali, but they giving him no answer, he was obliged to return to Mecca as he came.

Mohammed immediately gave orders for preparations to be made, that he might surprise the Meccans while they were unprovided to receive him. In a little time he began his march thither, and by the time he came near the city his forces were increased to 10,000 men. Those of Mecca being not in a condition to defend themselves against so formidable an army, surrendered at discretion, and Abu Sofîan saved his life by turning Mohammedan. About twenty eight of the idolaters were killed by a party under the command of Khâled, but this happened contrary to Mohammed's orders, who, when he entered the town, pardoned all the Koreish on their submission, except only six men and four women, who were more obnoxious than ordinary (some of them having apostatized), and were solemnly proscribed by the prophet himself, but of these no more than three men and one woman were put to death, the rest obtaining pardon on their embracing Mohammedism, and one of the women making her escape.²

The remainder of this year Mohammed employed in destroying the idols in and round about Mecca, sending several of his generals on expeditions for that purpose, and to invite the Arabs to Islamism, wherein it is no wonder if they now met with success.

The next year, being the ninth of the Hejra, the Mohammedans call the year of embassies, for the Arabs had been hitherto expecting the issue of the war between Mohammed and the Koreish, but so soon as that tribe, the principal of the whole nation, and the genuine descendants of Ishmael, whose prerogatives none offered to dispute, had submitted, they were satisfied that it was not in their power to oppose Mohammed, and therefore began to come in to him in great numbers, and to send embassies to make their submissions to him, both to Mecca while he staid there, and also to Medina whither he returned this year.³ Among the rest, five kings of the tribe of Hamyar professed Mohammedism, and sent ambassadors to notify the same.⁴

(In the tenth year Ali was sent into Yaman to propagate the Moham-

² Abulf Vit Moh p 99, 100, &c. ³ Al Bokhari in Sonna. ¹ This circumstance is a plain proof that the Koreish had actually broken the truce, and that it was not a mere pretence of Mohammed's, as Dr Prideaux insinuates. Life of Moh p 94.

² Vide Abulfed ubi sup. c. 51. 52. ⁴ Vide Gagner, Not. ad Abulfed. p 122.

³ Abulfeda, ubi sup p 128.

medan faith there, and, as it is said, converted the whole tribe of Hamdân in one day. Their example was quickly followed by all the inhabitants of that province, except only those of Najran, who, being Christians, chose rather to pay tribute.⁶

Thus was Mohammedism established, and idolatry rooted out, even in Mohammed's life time (for he died the next year) throughout all Arabia, except only Yamama, where Moseilama, who set up also for a prophet as Mohammed's competitor, had a great party, and was not reduced till the Khalifat of Abu Becr. And the Arabs being then united in one faith and under one prince, found themselves in a condition of making those conquests which extended the Mohammedan faith over so great a part of the world.

SECTION III

OF THE KORAN ITSELF, THE PECULIARITIES OF THAT BOOK, THE MANNER OF ITS BEING WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED, AND THE GENERAL DESIGN OF IT

THE word Korân, derived from the verb karaa, to read, signifies properly in Arabic, the reading, or rather, that which ought to be read, by which name the Mohammedans denote not only the entire book or volume of the Korân, but also any particular chapter or section of it, just as the Jews call either the whole scripture, or any part of it by the name of Karâh, or Mikra,⁶ words of the same origin and import. Which observation seems to overthrow the opinion of some learned Arabians, who would have the Korân so named, because it is a collection of the loose chapters or sheets which compose it, the verb karaa signifying also to gather or collect⁷ and may also, by the way, serve as an answer to those who object⁸ that the Korân must be a book forged at once, and could not possibly be revealed by parcels at different times, during the course of several years, as the Mohammedans affirm, because the Korân is often mentioned, and called by that name, in the very book itself. It may not be amiss to observe, that the syllable Al in the word Alkoran is only the Arabic article, signifying *the*, and therefore ought to be omitted when the English article is prefixed.

Beside this peculiar name, the Korân is also honoured with several appellations common to other books of scripture as al Forkân, from the verb faraka, to divide or distinguish, not as the Mohammedan doctors say, because those books are divided into chapters or sections, or distinguish between good and evil, but in the same notion that the Jews use the word Perek, or Puka, from the same root, to denote a section or portion of Scripture.⁹ It is also called al Moshâf, the volume and al Kitab, the book, by way of eminence, which answers to the Biblia of the Greeks, and al Dhikr, the admonition, which name is also given to the Pentateuch and Gospel.

The Korân is divided into one hundred and fourteen larger portions of

⁶ Abulfeda, ubi sup. p. 129. ⁷ This name was at first given to the Pentateuch only. Nehem. viii. Vide Simon. Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test. lib. 1. c. 9. ⁸ Vide Erpen. Not. ad Hist. Joseph. p. 3. ⁹ Marracc. de Alcor. p. 41. ¹⁰ Vide Gol. in append. ad Gram. Arab. Erpen. 175. A chapter or sub division of the Massicot of the Mishna is also called Perek. Maimon. pref. in Seder Zeraim, f. 57.

very unequal length, which we call chapters, but the Arabians Sowar, in the singular Sûra, a word rarely used on any other occasion, and properly signifying a row, order, or regular series, as a course of bricks in building, or a rank of soldiers in an army, and is the same in use and import with the Sûra, or Tora of the Jews, who also call the fifty-three sections of the Pentateuch Sedârim, a word of the same signification ¹

These chapters are not in the manuscript copies distinguished by their numerical order, though for the reader's ease, they are numbered in this edition, but by particular titles, which (except that of the first, which is the initial chapter, or introduction to the rest, and by the old Latin translator not numbered among the chapters) are taken sometimes from a particular matter treated of, or person mentioned therein, but usually from the first word of note, exactly in the same manner as the Jews have named their Sedârim, though the word from which some chapters are denominated be very far distant, towards the middle, or perhaps the end of the chapter, which seems ridiculous. But the occasion of this seems to have been, that the verse or passage wherein such word occurs was, in point of time, revealed and committed to writing before the other verses of the same chapter which precede it in order, and the title being given to the chapter before it was completed, or the passages reduced to their present order, the verse from whence such title was taken did not always happen to begin the chapter. Some chapters have two or more titles, occasioned by the difference of the copies.

Some of the chapters having been revealed at Mecca, and others at Medina, the noting this difference makes a part of the title, but the reader will observe that several of the chapters are said to have been revealed partly at Mecca, and partly at Medina, and as to others, it is yet a dispute among the commentators to which place of the two they belong.

Every chapter is subdivided into smaller portions, of very unequal length also, which we customarily call verses, but the Arabic word is Ayat, the same with the Hebrew Oth and signifies signs, or wonders, such as are the secrets of God, his attributes, works, judgments, and ordinances, delivered in those verses, many of which have their particular titles also, imposed in the same manner as those of the chapters.

Notwithstanding this subdivision is common, and well known, yet I have never yet seen any manuscript wherein the verses are actually numbered, though in some copies the number of verses in each chapter is set down after the title, which we have therefore added in the table of the chapters. And the Mohammedans seem to have some scruple in making an actual distinction in their copies, because the chief disagreement between their several editions of the Koran consists in the division and number of the verses, and for this reason I have not taken upon me to make any such division.

Having mentioned the different editions of the Korân, it may not be amiss here to acquaint the reader, that there are seven principal editions, if I may so call them, or ancient copies of that book, two of which were published and used at Medina, a third at Mecca, a fourth at Cufa, a fifth at Basra, a sixth in Syria, and a seventh called the common or vulgar edition. Of these editions, the first of Medina makes the whole number of the verses six thousand, the second and fifth, six thousand two hundred and fourteen, the third, six thousand two hundred and nineteen, the fourth,

¹ Vide Gol ubi sup p 177. Each of the six grand divisions of the Mishna is also called Seder. Maimon ubi sup p 50.

six thousand two hundred and thirty-six, the sixth, six thousand two hundred and twenty-six, and the last, six thousand two hundred and twenty-five. But they are all said to contain the same number of words, namely seventy-seven thousand six hundred and thirty nine,² and the same number of letters, viz, three hundred and twenty-three thousand and fifteen³ for the Mohammedans have in this also imitated the Jews, that they have superstitiously numbered the very words and letters of their law, nay, they have taken the pains to compute (how exactly I know not) the number of times each particular letter of the alphabet is contained in the Koran.⁴

Besides these unequal divisions of chapter and verse, the Mohammedans have also divided their Korân into sixty equal portions, which they call *Abzab*, in the singular *Hizb*, each subdivided into four equal parts, which is also an imitation of the Jews, who have an ancient division of their *Mishna* into sixty portions called *Massicthoth*⁵ but the Korân is more usually divided into thirty sections only, named *Ajzâ*, from the singular *Joz*, each of twice the length of the former, and in the like manner subdivided into four parts. These divisions are for the use of the readers of the Korân in the royal temples, or in the adjoining chapels where the emperors and great men are interred. There are thirty of these readers belonging to every chapel, and each reads his section every day, so that the whole Koran is read over once a day⁶. I have seen several copies divided in this manner, and bound up in as many volumes, and have thought it proper to mark these divisions in the margin of this translation by numeral letters.

Next after the title, at the head of every chapter except only the ninth, is prefixed the following solemn form, by the Mohammedans called the *Bismillah*, "In the name of the most merciful God," which form they constantly place at the beginning of all their books and writings in general, as a peculiar mark or distinguishing characteristic of their religion, it being counted a sort of impiety to omit it. The Jews for the same purpose make use of the form, In the name of the Lord, or, in the name of the great God and the eastern Christians that of, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. But I am apt to believe Mohammed really took this form, as he did many other things, from the Persian Magi, who used to begin their books in these words, *Benâm Yezdân bakhshahshgher dadâr*, that is, In the name of the most merciful, just God⁷.

This auspiciatory form, and also the titles of the chapters, are, by the generality of the doctors and commentators, believed to be of divine original, no less than the text itself, but the more moderate are of opinion they are only human additions, and not the very word of God.

There are twenty nine chapters of the Korân, which have this peculiarity, that they begin with certain letters of the alphabet, some with a single one, others with more. These letters the Mohammedans believe to be the peculiar marks of the Korân, and to conceal several profound mysteries, the certain understanding of which, the more intelligent confess has not been communicated to any mortal, their prophet only excepted. Notwithstanding which, some will take the liberty of guessing at their meaning by

² Or as others reckon them, ninety-nine thousand four hundred and sixty four. Reland, de Rel. Moh. p. 25. ³ Or according to another computation, three hundred and thirty thousand one hundred and thirteen. Ibid. V. Gol. ubi sup. p. 178. D. Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 87. ⁴ Vide Reland. de Relig. Moh. p. 25. ⁵ Vide Gol. ubi sup. p. 178. Maimon præf. in Seder Zeraim, p. 57. ⁶ Vide Smith, de Moribus et Institut. Turcar. p. 58. ⁷ Hyda. Hist. Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 14.

that species of Cabbala called by the Jews *Notarikon*,⁸ and suppose the letters to stand for as many words expressing the names and attributes of God, his works, ordinances, and decrees, and therefore these mysterious letters, as well as the verses themselves, seem in the *Korân* to be called signs. Others explain the intent of these letters from the nature or organ, or else from their value in numbers, according to another species of the Jewish Cabbala called *Gematria*,⁹ the uncertainty of which conjectures sufficiently appears from their disagreement. Thus, for example, five chapters, one of which is the second, begin with these letters, A L M which some imagine to stand for Allah latif magid, God is gracious and to be glorified, or, Ana li minni, to me and from me, viz belongs all perfection, and proceeds all good or else for Ana Allah âlam, I am the most wise God, taking the first letter to mark the beginning of the first word, the second the middle of the second word, and the third the last of the third word, or for Allah, Gabriel, Mohammed, the author, revealer, and preacher of the *Korân*. Others say, that as the letter A belongs to the lower part of the throat, the first of the organs of speech, L to the palate, the middle organ, and M to the lips, which are the last organ, so these letters signify that God is the beginning, middle, and end, or ought to be praised in the beginning, middle, and end, of all our words and actions or, as the total value of those three letters in numbers is seventy one, they signify that in the space of so many years, the religion preached in the *Koran* should be fully established. The conjecture of a learned Christian¹ is at least as certain as any of the former, who supposes these letters were set there by the amanuensis, for Amai li Mohammed, I e At the command of Mohammed, as the five letters prefixed to the nineteenth chapter seem to be there written by a Jewish scribe, Cob Yaas, I e Thus he commanded.

The *Koran* is universally allowed to be written with the utmost elegance and purity of language, in the dialect of the tribe of Koreish, the most noble and polite of all the Arabians, but with some mixture, though very rarely, of other dialects. It is confessedly the standard of the Arabic tongue, and as the more orthodox believe, and are taught by the book itself, inimitable by any human pen, (though some sectaries have been of another opinion),² and therefore insisted on as a permanent miracle, greater than that of raising the dead,³ and alone sufficient to convince the world of its divine original.

And to this miracle did Mohammed himself chiefly appeal for the confirmation of his mission, publicly challenging the most eloquent men in Arabia, which was at this time stocked with thousands whose sole study and ambition it was to excel in elegance of style and composition,⁴ to produce even a single chapter that might be compared with it.⁵ I will mention but one instance out of several, to show that this book was really admired for the beauty of its composure by those who must be allowed to have been competent judges. A poem of Labid Ebn Rabia, one of the greatest wits in Arabia in Mohammed's time, being fixed up on the gate of

⁸ Vide Buxtorf Lexicon Rabbin. ⁹ Vide Ib. See also Schickard's Bechinat ha-perushim, p. 62 &c. ¹ Golius in append ad Gram. Erp. p. 182. ² See after.

³ Ahmed Abd alahim apud Marracc. de Alc. p. 43. ⁴ A noble writer therefore mistakes the question when he says, these eastern religionists leave their sacred writ the sole standard of literate performance, by extinguishing all true learning. For though they were destitute of what we call learning, yet they were far from being ignorant, or unable to compose elegantly in their own tongue. See L. Shaftesbury's Characteristics, vol. i. p. 235. ⁵ Al Gazali, apud Poc. Spec. 191. See *Korân*, c. 17, and also c. 2 p. 3 and c. 11, &c.

the temple of Mecca, an honour allowed to none but the most esteemed performances, none of the other poets durst offer any of their own in competition with it. But the second chapter of the Korân being fixed up by it soon after, Labid himself (then an idolater) on reading the first verses only, was struck with admiration, and immediately professed the religion taught thereby, declaring that such words could proceed from an inspired person only. This Labid was afterwards of great service to Mohammed, in writing answers to the satires and invectives that were made on him and his religion by the infidels, and particularly by Amri al Kais,⁶ prince of the tribe of Asad,⁷ and author of one of those seven famous poems called al Moallakat.⁸

The style of the Korân is generally beautiful and fluent, especially where it imitates the prophetic manner, and scripture phrases. It is concise, and often obscure, adorned with bold figures after the eastern taste, enlivened with florid and sententious expressions, and in many places, especially where the majesty and attributes of God are described, sublime and magnificent, of which the reader cannot but observe several instances, though he must not imagine the translation comes up to the original, notwithstanding my endeavours to do it justice.

Though it be written in prose, yet the sentences generally conclude in a long continued rhyme, for the sake of which the sense is often interrupted, and unnecessary repetitions too frequently made, which appear still more ridiculous in a translation, where the ornament, such as it is, for whose sake they were made, cannot be perceived. However, the Arabians are so mightily delighted with this jingling that they employ it in their most elaborate compositions, which they also embellish with frequent passages of and allusions to the Korân, so that it is next to impossible to understand them without being well versed in this book.

It is probable the harmony of expression which the Arabians find in the Korân might contribute not a little to make them relish the doctrine therein taught, and give an efficacy to arguments, which, had they been nakedly proposed without this rhetorical dress, might not have so easily prevailed. Very extraordinary effects are related of the power of words well chosen and artfully placed, which are no less powerful either to ravish or amaze than music itself, wherefore as much has been ascribed by the best orators to this part of rhetoric as to any other.⁹ He must have a very bad ear, who is not uncommonly moved with the very cadence of a well turned sentence, and Mohammed seems not to have been ignorant of the enthusiastic operation of rhetoric on the minds of men, for which reason he has not only employed his utmost skill in these his pretended revelations, to preserve that dignity and sublimity of style, which might seem not unworthy of the majesty of that being, whom he gave out to be the author of them, and to imitate the prophetic manner of the Old Testament, but he has not neglected even the other arts of oratory, wherein he succeeded so well, and so strangely captivated the minds of his audience, that several of his opponents thought it the effect of witchcraft and enchantment, as he sometimes complains.¹

"The general design of the Korân," (to use the words of a very learned person,) "seems to be this. To unite the professors of the three different religions then followed in the populous country of Arabia, who, for the most part, lived promiscuously, and wandered without guides, the far greater number being idolaters, and the rest Jews and Christians mostly of

⁶ D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 512, &c.

⁷ Poc. Spec. p. 80

⁸ See before, p. 20.

⁹ See Casaubon, of Enthusiasm, chap. 17

¹ Koran, chap. 15, 21, &c.

erroneous and heterodox belief, in the knowledge and worship of one eternal, invisible God, by whose power all things were made, and those which are not, may be, the supreme Governor, Judge, and absolute Lord of the creation, established under the sanction of certain laws, and the outward signs of certain ceremonies, partly of ancient and partly of novel institution, and enforced by setting before them rewards and punishments, both temporal and eternal and to bring them all to the obedience of Mohammed, as the prophet and ambassador of God, who after the repeated admonitions, promises, and threats of former ages, was at last to establish and propagate God's religion on earth by force of arms, and to be acknowledged chief pontiff in spiritual matters, as well as supreme prince in temporal."²

The great doctrine then of the Korân is the unity of God, to restore which point Mohammed pretended was the chief end of his mission, it being laid down by him as a fundamental truth, that there never was nor ever can be more than one true orthodox religion. For though the particular laws or ceremonies are only temporary, and subject to alteration according to the divine direction, yet the substance of it being eternal truth, is not liable to change, but continues immutably the same. And he taught that whenever this religion became neglected, or corrupted in essentials, God had the goodness to reinform and readmonish mankind thereof, by several prophets, of whom Moses and Jesus were the most distinguished, till the appearance of Mohammed, who is their seal, no other being to be expected after him. And the more effectually to engage people to hearken to him, great part of the Koran is employed in relating examples of dreadful punishments formerly inflicted by God on those who rejected and abused his messengers, several of which stories or some circumstances of them are taken from the Old and New Testament, but many more from the apocryphal books and traditions of the Jews and Christians of those ages, set up in the Korân as truths in opposition to the scriptures, which the Jews and Christians are charged with having altered, and I am apt to believe that few or none of the relations or circumstances in the Koran were invented by Mohammed, as is generally supposed, it being easy to trace the greatest part of them much higher, as the rest might be, were more of those books extant, and it was worth while to make the inquiry.

The other part of the Korân is taken up in giving necessary laws and directions, in frequent admonitions to moral and divine virtues, and above all to the worshipping and reverencing of the only true God, and resignation to his will, among which are many excellent things intermixed, not unworthy even a Christian's perusal.

But, besides these, there are a great number of passages which are occasional, and relate to particular emergencies. For whenever any thing happened which perplexed and gravelled Mohammed, and which he could not otherwise get over, he had constant recourse to a new revelation, as an infallible expedient in all nice cases, and he found the success of this method answer his expectation. It was certainly an admirable and politic contrivance of his to bring down the whole Korân at once to the lowest heaven only, and not to the earth, as a bungling prophet would have done, for if the whole had been published at once, innumerable objections might have been made, which it would have been very hard, if not impossible, for him to solve. But as he pretended to have received it by parcels as God saw proper that they should be published for the con-

² Golius, in append ad Gram Erp p 176

version and instruction of the people, he had a sure way to answer all emergencies, and to extricate himself with honour from any difficulty which might occur. If any objection be hence made to that eternity of the Korân, which the Mohammedans are taught to believe, they easily answer it by their doctrine of absolute predestination, according to which all the accidents for the sake of which these occasional passages were revealed were predetermined by God from all eternity.

That Mohammed was really the author and chief contriver of the Korân, is beyond dispute, though it is highly probable that he had no small assistance in his design from others, as his countrymen failed not to object to him,³ however they differed so much in their conjectures as to the particular persons who gave him such assistance,⁴ that they were not able, it seems, to prove the charge. Mohammed, it is to be presumed, having taken his measures too well to be discovered. Dr Prideaux⁵ has given the most probable account of this matter, though chiefly from Christian writers, who generally mix such ridiculous fables with what they deliver, that they deserve not much credit.

However it be, the Mohammedans absolutely deny the Korân was composed by their prophet himself, or any other for him, it being their general and orthodox belief that it is of divine original, nay that it is eternal and uncreated, remaining, as some express it, in the very essence of God, that the first transcript has been from everlasting by God's throne, written on a table of vast bigness, called the preserved table, in which are also recorded the divine decrees past and future, that a copy from this table, in one volume on paper, was, by the ministry of the angel Gabriel, sent down to the lowest heaven, in the month of Ramadan, on the night of power⁶ from whence Gabriel revealed it to Mohammed by parcels, some at Mecca and some at Medina, at different times, during the space of twenty three years, as the exigency of affairs required giving him however the consolation to show him the whole (which they tell us was bound in silk, and adorned with gold and precious stones of paradise) once a year but in the last year of his life he had the favour to see it twice. They say that few chapters were delivered entire, the most part being revealed piecemeal, and written down from time to time by the prophet's amanuensis in such or such a part of such or such a chapter till they were completed, according to the directions of the angel.⁷ The first parcel that was revealed is generally agreed to have been the first five verses of the ninety sixth chapter.⁸

After the new revealed passages had been from the prophet's mouth taken down in writing by his scribe, they were published to his followers, several of whom took copies for their private use, but the far greater number got them by heart. The originals, when returned, were put promiscuously into a chest, observing no order of time, for which reason it is uncertain when many passages were revealed.

When Mohammed died, he left his revelations in the same disorder I have mentioned, and not digested into the method, such as it is, which we now find them in. This was the work of his successor Abu Beker, who, considering that a great number of passages were committed to the memory of Mohammed's followers, many of whom were slain in their wars, ordered the

³ Vide Koran, chap 16 and chap 25. ⁴ See the notes on those passages. ⁵ Life of Moham p 31 &c. ⁶ Vide Koran, c 97 and note ibid. ⁷ Therefore it is a mistake of Dr Prideaux to say it was brought him chapter by chapter. Life of Moham p. 6. The Jews also say the law was given to Moses by parcels. Vide Millum, de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p 365. ⁸ Not the whole chapter as Gellius says Append ad Gr. Erp. p 180.

whole to be collected, not only from the palm-leaves and skins on which they had been written, and which were kept between two boards or covers but also from the mouths of such as had gotten them by heart. And this transcript, when completed, he committed to the custody of Hafsa the daughter of Omar, one of the prophet's widows.⁹

From this relation it is generally imagined, that Abu Becr was really the compiler of the Korân, though for aught appears to the contrary, Mohammed left the chapters complete as we now have them, excepting such passages as his successor might add or correct from those who had gotten them by heart, what Abu Becr did else being perhaps no more than to range the chapters in their present order, which he seems to have done without any regard to time, having generally placed the longest first.

However, in the thirtieth year of the Hejra, Othmân being then Khalif, and observing the great disagreement in the copies of the Korân in the several provinces of the empire, those of Irak, for example, following the reading of Abu Musa al Ashari, and the Syrians that of Macdud Ebn Aswad, he, by advice of the companions, ordered a great number of copies to be transcribed from that of Abu Becr, in Hafsa's care, under the inspection of Zeid Ebn Thabet, Abdallah Ebn Zobair, Said Ebn al As, and Abdalrahmân Ebn al Hareth the Makhzumite, whom he directed that wherever they disagreed about any word, they should write it in the dialect of the Koreish, in which it was at first delivered.¹ These copies when made were dispersed in the several provinces of the empire, and the old ones burnt and suppressed. Though many things in Hafsa's copy were corrected by the above-mentioned supervisors, yet some few various readings still occur, the most material of which will be taken notice of in their proper places.

The want of vowels² in the Arabic character made Mokris, or readers, whose peculiar study and profession it was to read the Koran with its proper vowels, absolutely necessary. But these differing in their manner of reading, occasioned still further variations in the copies of the Korân, as they are now written with the vowels, and herein consist much the greater part of the various readings throughout the book. The readers whose authority the commentators chiefly allege, in admitting these various readings, are seven in number.

There being some passages in the Koran which are contradictory, the Mohammedan doctors obviate any objection from thence, by the doctrine of abrogation, for they say, that God in the Korân commanded several things which were, for good reasons, afterward revoked and abrogated.

Passages abrogated are distinguished into three kinds the first, where the letter and sense are both abrogated, the second, where the letter only is abrogated, but the sense remains, and the third where the sense is abrogated, though the letter remains.

Of the first kind were several verses, which, by the tradition of Malec Ebn Ans, were in the prophet's lifetime read in the chapter of repentance, but are not now extant, one of which, being all he remembered of them, was the following, "If a son of Adam had two rivers of gold, he would covet yet a third, and if he had three, he would covet yet a fourth (to be added) unto them, neither shall the belly of a son of Adam be filled, but with

⁹ Elmacin. in Vita Abi Becr Abulfeda. ¹ Abulfeda, in Vita Abubecr and Othman. ² The characters or marks of the Arabic vowels were not used till several years after Mohammed. Some ascribe the invention of them to Yahya Ebn Yamer, some to Nasr Ebn Assam surnamed al Leithi and others to Abu'l-aswad al Libi, all three of whom were doctors of Basra, and immediately succeeded the companions. See D Harbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 82.

dust. God will turn unto him who shall repent." Another instance of this kind we have from the tradition of Abd'allah Ebn Mas'ûd, who reported that the prophet gave him a verse to read which he wrote down, but the next morning looking in his book, he found it was vanished, and the leaf blank. This he acquainted Mohammed with, who assured him the verse was revoked the same night.

Of the second kind is a verse called the verse of stoning, which, according to the tradition of Omar, afterwards Khalif, was extant while Mohammed was living, though it be not now to be found. The words are these, "Abhor not your parents, for this would be ingratitude in you. If a man and woman of reputation commit adultery, ye shall stone them both, it is a punishment ordained by God, for God is mighty and wise."

Of the last kind are observed several verses in sixty three different chapters, to the number of two hundred and twenty five. Such as the precepts of turning in prayer to Jerusalem, fasting after the old custom, forbearance towards idolaters, avoiding the ignorant and the like.³ The passages of this sort have been carefully selected by several writers, and are most of them remarked in their proper places.

Though it is the belief of the Sonnites or orthodox that the Korân is uncreated and eternal, subsisting in the very essence of God, and Mohammed himself is said to have pronounced him an infidel who asserted the contrary,⁴ yet several have been of a different opinion, particularly the sect of the Motazalites,⁵ and the followers of Isa Ebn Sobaih Abu Musa, surnamed al Mozdr, who stuck not to accuse those who held the Korân to be uncreated of infidelity, as asserters of two eternal beings.⁶

This point was controverted with so much heat that it occasioned many calamities under some of the Khalifs of the family of Abbas, al Mamûn⁷ making a public edict declaring the Koran to be created, which was confirmed by his successors al Motasem⁸ and al Wathek,⁹ who whipt, imprisoned, and put to death those of the contrary opinion. But at length al Motawakkel,¹ who succeeded al Wathek, put an end to these persecutions, by revoking the former edicts, releasing those that were imprisoned on that account, and leaving every man at liberty as to his belief in this point.²

Al Ghazali seems to have tolerably reconciled both opinions, saying, that the Korân is read and pronounced with the tongue, written in books, and kept in memory, and is yet eternal, subsisting in God's essence, and not possible to be separated thence by any transmission into men's memories or the leaves of books,³ by which he seems to mean no more than that the original idea of the Koran only is really in God, and consequently co essential and co eternal with him, but that the copies are created, and the work of man.

The opinion of al Jahedh, chief of a sect bearing his name, touching the Koran, is too remarkable to be omitted. He used to say it was a body, which might sometimes be turned into a man,⁴ and sometimes into a

³ Abu Hashem Hebutallah apud Marracc. de Alc p 42 ⁴ Apud Poc. Spec 220 ⁵ See after in sect. viii ⁶ Vide Poc Spec p 219, &c ⁷ Anno Hej 218 Abulfarag p 245 v etiam Filmacin in Vita al Mamûn ⁸ In the time of Al Motasem a doctor named Abu Haiûn Ebn al Baca found out a distinction: "to screen himself, by affirming that the Koran was ordained, because it is said in that book, "And I have ordained thee the Koran." He went still farther to allow that what was ordained was created, and so he denied it thence followed that the Koran was created. Abulfarag p 253 ⁹ Ibid p 257 ¹ Anno Hej 242 ² Abulfarag, p 262 ³ Al Ghazali in prof fid ⁴ The Khalif al Wahd Ebn Yazid, who was the eleventh of the race of Ommeya, and is looked on by the Mohammedans as a reprobate, and one of no religion, seems to have treated this book as a rational creature. For dipping into it one day, the first words he met

beast, which seems to agree with the notion of those who assert the Koran to have two faces, one of a man, the other of beast⁶ thereby, as I conceive, intimating the double interpretation it will admit of, according to the letter or the spirit

As some have held the Korân to be created, so there have not been wanting those who have asserted that there is nothing miraculous in that book in respect to style or composition, excepting only the prophetic relations of things past, and predictions of things to come, and that had God left men to their natural liberty, and not restrained them in that particular, the Arabians could have composed something not only equal, but superior to the Korân in eloquence, method, and purity of language. This was another opinion of the Motazalites, and in particular of al Mozdar above mentioned and al Nodham⁷

The Koran being the Mohammedans rule of faith and practice, it is no wonder its expositors and commentators are so very numerous. And it may not be amiss to take notice of the rules they observe in expounding it.

One of the most learned commentators⁸ distinguishes the contents of the Koran, into allegorical and literal. The former comprehends the more obscure, parabolical, and enigmatical passages, and such as are repealed or abrogated, the latter those which are plain, perspicuous, liable to no doubt, and in full force.

To explain these severally in a right manner, it is necessary from tradition and study to know the time when each passage was revealed, its circumstances, state, and history, and the reasons or particular emergencies for the sake of which it was revealed.⁹ Or more explicitly, whether the passage was revealed at Mecca, or at Medina, whether it be abrogated, or does itself abrogate any other passage, whether it be anticipated in order of time, or postponed, whether it be distinct from the context, or depends thereon, whether it be particular or general, and lastly whether it be implicit by intention, or explicit in words.¹

By what has been said the reader may easily believe this book is in the greatest reverence and esteem among the Mohammedans. They dare not so much as touch it without being first washed or legally purified,² which lest they should do by inadvertence, they write these words on the cover or label, "Let none touch it, but they who are clean." They read it with great care and respect, never holding it below their girdles. They swear by it, consult it in their weighty occasions,³ carry it with them to war, write sentences of it on their banners, adorn it with gold and precious stones, and knowingly suffer it not to be in the possession of any of a different persuasion.

The Mohammedans, far from thinking the Koran to be profaned by

with were these "Every rebellious perverse person shall not prosper. Whereupon he stuck it on a lance and shot it to pieces with arrows repeating these verses

"Dost thou rebuke every rebellious perverse person? behold, I am that rebellious perverse person

"When thou appearest before thy Lord on the day of resurrection, say O Lord, al Walid has torn me thus —Ebn Shohnah v Poc. Spec 223⁴ Poc. Spec

p 222⁵ Herbelot, p 87⁶ Abulfeda, Shahrestani, &c apud Poc. Spec

p 222, et Marracc de Kor p 44⁷ Al Zamakhshari Vide Koran, chap 3 p 35

⁸ Ahmed Ebn Moham al Thalabi, in princip Expos Alc. ¹ Yahya Ebn al Salam al Basri in Princip Expos Alc ² The Jews have the same veneration for their

law, not daring to touch it with unwashed hands, nor then either without a cover Vide Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moham p 366. ³ This they do by dipping into it, and taking an omen from the words which they first light on which practice they also learned of the Jews, who do the same with the Scriptures. Vide Millium, ubi sup

a translation, as some authors have written,⁴ have taken care to have their scriptures translated not only into the Persian tongue, but into several others, particularly the Javan and Malayan,⁵ though out of respect to the original Arabic, these versions are generally (if not always) interlineary

SECTION IV

OF THE DOCTRINES AND POSITIVE PRECEPTS OF THE KORAN, WHICH RELATE TO FAITH AND RELIGIOUS DUTIES.

It has been already observed more than once, that the fundamental position on which Mohammed erected the superstructure of his religion was, that from the beginning to the end of the world there has been, and for ever will be, but one true orthodox belief, consisting, as to matter of faith, in the acknowledging of the only true God, and the believing in and obeying such messengers or prophets as he should from time to time send, with proper credentials, to reveal his will to mankind, and as to matter of practice, in the observance of the immutable and eternal laws of right and wrong, together with such other precepts and ceremonies as God should think fit to order for the time being, according to the different dispensations in different ages of the world for these last he allowed were things indifferent in their own nature, and became obligatory by God's positive precept only, and were therefore temporary and subject to alteration according to his will and pleasure. And to this religion he gives the name of Islam, which word signifies *resignation*, or *submission* to the service and commands of God,⁶ and is used as the proper name of the Mohammedan religion, which they will also have to be the same at bottom with that of all the prophets from Adam. Under pretext that this eternal religion was in his time corrupted, and professed in its purity by no one sect of men, Mohammed pretended to be a prophet sent by God, to reform those abuses which had crept into it, and to reduce it to its primitive simplicity, with the addition however of peculiar laws and ceremonies, some of which had been used in former times, and others were now first instituted. And he comprehended the whole substance of his doctrine under these two propositions, or articles of faith, *viz.* that there is but one God, and that himself was the apostle of God, in consequence of which latter article, all such ordinances and institutions as he thought fit to establish must be received as obligatory and of divine authority

The Mohammedans divide their religion, which as I just now said they call *Islām*, into two distinct parts *Imān*, i. e. *faith* or theory, and *Dīn*, i. e. *religion*, or practice, and teach that it is built on five fundamental points, one belonging to faith, and the other four to practice

The first is that confession of faith which I have already mentioned, that "there is no god but the true God, and that Mohammed is his apostle." Under which they comprehend six distinct branches *viz.* 1 Belief in God, 2 In his angels, 3 In his scriptures, 4 In his pro-

⁴ Sionita, de Urb Orient. p 41, et Marracc de Alc p 33 ⁵ Reland, de Rel Moh p 265 ⁶ The root Salama, from whence Islam is formed, in the first and fourth conjugations, signifies also *to be saved*, or *to enter into a state of salvation*, according to which Islam may be translated *the religion or state of salvation* but the other sense is more approved by the Mohammedans, and alluded to in the Koran itself. See c. 2, p. 16, and c. 3, p. 37

phets, 5 In the resurrection and day of judgment, and, 6 In God's absolute decree and predetermination both of good and evil

The four points relating to practice are, 1 Prayer, under which are comprehended those washings or purifications which are necessary preparations required before prayer, 2 Alms, 3 Fasting, and, 4 The pilgrimage to Mecca. Of each of these I shall speak in their order

That both Mohammed and those among his followers who are reckoned orthodox had, and continue to have, just and true notions of God and his attributes (always excepting their obstinate and impious rejecting of the Trinity), appears so plain from the Korân itself, and all the Mohammedan divines, that it would be loss of time to refute those who suppose the God of Mohammed to be different from the true God, and only a fictitious deity or idol of his own creation.⁷ Nor shall I here enter into any of the Mohammedan controversies concerning the divine nature and attributes, because I shall have a more proper opportunity of doing it elsewhere.⁸

The existence of angels and their purity are absolutely required to be believed in the Korân, and he is reckoned an infidel who denies there are such beings, or hates any of them,⁹ or asserts any distinction of sexes among them. They believe them to have pure and subtle bodies, created of fire,¹ that they neither eat nor drink, nor propagate their species, that they have various forms and offices, some adoring God in different postures, others singing praises to him, or interceding for mankind. They hold that some of them are employed in writing down the actions of men, others in carrying the throne of God and other services

The four angels whom they look on as more eminently in God's favour, and often mention on account of the offices assigned them, are Gabriel, to whom they give several titles, particularly those of the *holy spirit*,² and the *angel of revelations*,³ supposing him to be honoured by God with a greater confidence than any other, and to be employed in writing down the divine decrees,⁴ Michael, the friend and protector of the Jews,⁵ Azrael, the *angel of death*, who separates men's souls from their bodies,⁶ and Israfil, whose office it will be to sound the trumpet at the resurrection.⁷ The Mohammedans also believe that two guardian angels attend on every man, to observe and write down his actions,⁸ being changed every day, and therefore called al Moakkibât, or the angels who continually succeed one another

This whole doctrine concerning angels Mohammed and his disciples have borrowed from the Jews, who learned the names and offices of those beings from the Persians, as themselves confess.⁹ The ancient Persians firmly believed the ministry of angels, and their superintendence over the affairs of this world (as the Magians still do), and therefore assigned them distinct charges and provinces, giving their names to their months and the days of their months. Gabriel they called Sorûsh and Revân bakhsh, or the *giver of souls*, in opposition to the contrary office of the angel of death, to whom among other names, they gave that of Mordâd, or, the *giver of death*. Michael they called Beshter, who, according to them, provides sustenance

⁷ Marracc. in Alc p 102 ⁸ Sect viii. ⁹ Koran, c 2, p 13 ¹ Ibid c 7, and 38, ² Ibid c 2 p 12 ³ See the notes, Ibid p 13 ⁴ Vide Hyde, Hist. Rel. Vet. Pers. p 262. ⁵ Vide Ibid p 271, and note in Kor p 15 ⁶ Vide note y, Ibid. p 4. ⁷ Kor chap. 6, 13, and 86 The offices of these four angels are described almost in the same manner in the apocryphal gospel of Barnabas, where it is said that Gabriel reveals the secrets of God Michael combats against his enemies, Raphael receives the souls of those who die, and Uriel is to call every one to judgment on the last day See the Menagiana, tom. iv p 333 ⁸ Kor c. 10 ⁹ Talmud Hieros. in Rosh hashan

for mankind¹ The Jews teach that the angels were created of fire² that they have several offices,³ that they intercede for men,⁴ and attend them.⁵ The angel of death they name Duma, and say he calls dying persons by their respective names at their last hour⁶

The devil, whom Mohammed names Eblis, from his *despair*, was once one of those angels who are nearest to God's presence, called Azazil,⁷ and fell, according to the doctrine of the Korân, for refusing to pay homage to Adam at the command of God.⁸

Besides angels and devils, the Mohammedans are taught by the Korân to believe the existence of an intermediate order of creatures, which they call Jin or Genu, created also of fire,⁹ but of a grosser fabric than angels since they eat and drink, and propagate their species, and are subject to death¹ Some of these are supposed to be good, and others bad, and capable of future salvation or damnation, as men are, whence Mohammed pretended to be sent for the conversion of Genu as well as men.² The Orientals pretend that these Genu inhabited the world for many ages before Adam was created, under the government of several successive princes, who all bore the common name of Solomon, but falling at length into an almost general corruption, Eblis was sent to drive them into a remote part of the earth, there to be confined, that some of that generation still remaining, were by Tahmurath, one of the ancient kings of Persia, who waged war against them, forced to retreat into the famous mountains of Kaf. Of which successions and wars they have many fabulous and romantic stories. They also make different ranks and degrees among these beings (if they be not rather supposed to be of a different species), some being called absolutely Jin, some Peri or fairies, some Div or giants, others Tacwins or fates.³

The Mohammedan notions concerning these Genu agree almost exactly with what the Jews write of a sort of demons, called Shedim, whom some fancy to have been begotten by two angels named Aza and Azael, on Maamah the daughter of Lamech, before the flood.⁴ However the Shedim, they tell us, agree in three things with the ministering angels, for that, like them, they have wings, and fly from one end of the world to the other, and have some knowledge of futurity, and in three things they agree with men, like whom they eat and drink, are propagated, and die.⁵ They also say that some believe in the law of Moses, and are consequently good, and that others of them are infidels and reprobates.⁶

As to the Scriptures, the Mohammedans are taught by the Korân that God, in divers ages of the world, gave revelations of his will in writing to several prophets, the whole and every word of which it is absolutely necessary for a good Moslem to believe. The number of these sacred books was, according to them, 104. Of which ten were given to Adam, fifty to Seth, thirty to Edris or Enoch, ten to Abraham, and the other four, being the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospel, and the Koran, were successively delivered to Moses, David, Jesus, and Mohammed, which last being the seal of the prophets, those revelations are now closed, and no more are to be expected. All these divine books, except the four last, they

¹ Vide Hyde ubi sup c xix and xx. ² Gemar in Hagig and Bereshit rabbah &c Vide Psalm civ. 4. ³ Yalkut hadash. ⁴ Gemar in Shebet, and Bava Bathra, &c. ⁵ Midrash, Yalkut Shemûni. ⁶ Gemar Berachoth. Vide Reland, de Rel. Moh p 189, &c. ⁷ Koran, c 2, p 5. See also c 7, 38 &c. ⁸ Koran, c 55. See the notes there. ⁹ Jallalo ddin in Koran, c 2, and 18. ¹⁰ Vide Koran, c 55, 72, and 74. ¹¹ See D Herbelot, Bibl Orient. p 369, 820, &c. ¹² In libro Zohar. ¹³ Gemara, in Hagiga. ¹⁴ Igrot Baale hayyim c 15.

agree to be now entirely lost, and their contents unknown, though the Sabians have several books which they attribute to some of the antediluvian prophets. And of those four, the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospel, they say, have undergone so many alterations and corruptions, that though there may possibly be some part of the true word of God therein, yet no credit is to be given to the present copies in the hands of the Jews and Christians. The Jews in particular are frequently reflected on in the Korân for falsifying and corrupting their copies of their law, and some instances of such pretended corruptions, both in that book and the two others, are produced by Mohammedan writers, wherein they merely follow their own prejudices, and the fabulous accounts of spurious legends. Whether they have any copy of the Pentateuch among them different from that of the Jews or not, I am not entirely satisfied, since a person who travelled into the east was told, that they had the books of Moses, though very much corrupted;⁷ but I know nobody that has ever seen them. However they certainly have and privately read a book which they call the Psalms of David, in Arabic and Persian, to which are added some prayers of Moses, Jonas, and others.⁸ This Mr Reland supposes to be a translation from our copies (though no doubt falsified in more places than one), but M D'Herbelot says it contains not the same Psalms which are in our Psalter, being no more than an extract from thence mixed with other very different pieces.⁹ The easiest way to reconcile these two learned gentlemen is to presume that they speak of different copies. The Mohammedans have also a Gospel in Arabic, attributed to St Barnabas, wherein the history of Jesus Christ is related in a manner very different from what we find in the true Gospels, and correspondent to those traditions which Mohammed has followed in his Korân. Of this Gospel the Moriscoes in Africa have a translation in Spanish,¹⁰ and there is in the library of prince Eugene of Savoy a manuscript of some antiquity, containing an Italian translation of the same Gospel,¹¹ made, it is to be supposed, for the use of renegades. This book appears to be no original forgery of the Mohammedans, though they have no doubt interpolated and altered it since, the better to serve their purpose, and in particular, instead of the Paraclete or Comforter,¹² they have in this apocryphal gospel inserted the word Periclyte, that is, the famous or illustrious, by which they pretend their prophet was foretold by name, that being the signification of Mohammed in Arabic¹³ and thus they say to justify that passage of the Koran,¹⁴ where Jesus Christ is formally asserted to have foretold his coming, under his other name of Ahmed, which is derived from the same root as Mohammed, and of the same import. From these or some other forgeries of the same stamp it is that the Mohammedans quote several passages of which there are not the least footsteps in the New Testament. But after all we must not hence infer that the Mohammedans, much less all of them, hold these copies of theirs to be the ancient and genuine Scriptures themselves. If any argue, from the corruption which they insist has happened to the Pentateuch and Gospel, that the Koran may possibly be corrupted also, they answer, that God has promised that he will take care of the latter, and preserve it from any addition or diminution,¹⁵ but that he left the two others to the care of men. However, they confess there are some various readings in the Koran,¹⁶ as has been observed.

⁷ Terry's Voyage to the East Indies, p 277 ⁸ De Rel Moham p 23 ⁹ A copy of this kind he tells us is in the library of the Duke of Tuscany, Bibl. Orient. p 924
¹⁰ Reland, ubi sup ¹¹ Menagian. tom iv p 321, &c ¹² John xiv 16, 26, xv 26, and xvi. 7, compared with Luke, xxiv 49 ¹³ See Toland's Nazarenus, the first eight chapters ¹⁴ Chap 61 ¹⁵ Kor c. 15 ¹⁶ Reland, ubi sup p 24, 27

Besides the books above mentioned, the Mohammedans also take notice of the writings of Daniel and several other prophets, and even make quotations thence but these they do not believe to be divine scripture, or of any authority in matters of religion.⁷

The number of the prophets, which have been from time to time sent by God into the world, amounts to no less than 224,000, according to one Mohammedan tradition, or to 154,000, according to another, among whom 313 were apostles, sent with special commissions to reclaim mankind from infidelity and superstition, and six of them brought new laws or dispensations, which successively abrogated the preceding these were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed. All the prophets in general the Mohammedans believe to have been free from great sins, and errors of consequence, and professors of one and the same religion, that is Islam, notwithstanding the different laws and institutions which they observed. They allow of degrees among them, and hold some of them to be more excellent and honourable than others.⁸ The first place they give to the revealers and establishers of new dispensations, and the next to the apostles

In this great number of prophets, they not only reckon divers patriarchs and persons named in Scripture, but not recorded to have been prophets, (wherein the Jewish and Christian writers have sometimes led the way⁹), as Adam, Seth, Lot, Ismael, Nun, Joshua, &c, and introduce some of them under different names, as Enoch, Heber, and Jethro, who are called in the Koran, Edris, Hud, and Shoab, but several others, whose very names do not appear in Scripture (though they endeavour to find some persons there to fix them on), as Saleh, Khedr, Dhulkefi, &c. Several of their fabulous traditions concerning these prophets we shall occasionally mention in the notes on the Koran.

As Mohammed acknowledged the divine authority of the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospel, he often appeals to the consonancy of the Koran with those writings, and to the prophecies which he pretended were therein concerning himself, as proofs of his mission, and he frequently charges the Jews and Christians with stifling the passages which bear witness to him.¹ His followers also fail not to produce several texts even from our present copies of the Old and New Testament, to support their master's cause.²

The next article of faith required by the Koran is the belief of a general resurrection and a future judgment. But before we consider the Mohammedan tenets in those points, it will be proper to mention what they are taught to believe concerning the intermediate state, both of the body and of the soul, after death

When a corpse is laid in the grave, they say he is received by an angel, who gives him notice of the coming of the two Examiners, who are two black livid angels, of a terrible appearance, named Monker and Nakir. These order the dead person to sit upright, and examine him concerning his faith, as to the unity of God, and the mission of Mohammed: if he answer rightly, they suffer the body to rest in peace, and it is refreshed by the air of paradise, but if not, they beat him on the temples with iron maces till he roars out for anguish so loud, that he is heard by all from east to west, except men and gnomes. Then they press the earth on the

⁷ Reland, ubi sup. p. 41. ⁸ Kor. c. 2 p. 30 &c. ⁹ Thus Heber is said to have been a prophet by the Jews, (Seder Olam p. 2) and Adam by Epiphanius (Adv. Hæres. p. 6). See also Joseph. Ant. lib. 1. c. 2. ¹ Kor. c. 2, pp. 6, 12, 18, c. 3, &c.

² Some of these texts are produced by Dr. Prideaux at the end of his Life of Mohammed, and more by Marracci in Aneur. p. 24, &c.

corpse, which is gnawed and stung till the resurrection by ninety-nine dragons with seven heads each or, as others say, their sins will become venomous beasts, the grievous ones stinging like dragons, the smaller like scorpions, and the others like serpents circumstances which some understand in a figurative sense.³

This examination of the sepulchre is not only founded on an express tradition of Mohammed, but is also plainly hinted at, though not directly taught, in the Korân,⁴ as the commentators agree. It is therefore believed by the orthodox Mohammedans in general, who take care to have their graves made hollow, that they may sit up with more ease while they are examined by the angels,⁵ but is utterly rejected by the sect of the Motázalites, and perhaps by some others.

These notions Mohammed certainly borrowed from the Jews, among whom they were very anciently received.⁶ They say that the angel of death coming and sitting on the grave, the soul immediately enters the body and raises it on its feet, that he then examines the departed person, and strikes him with a chain half of iron and half of fire, at the first blow all his limbs are loosened, at the second the bones are scattered, which are gathered together again by angels, and the third stroke reduces the body to dust and ashes, and it returns into the grave. This rack or torture they call Hibbut hakkeber, or the beating of the sepulchre, and pretend that all men in general must undergo it, except only those who die on the evening of the sabbath, or have dwelt in the land of Israel.⁷

If it be objected to the Mohammedans that the cry of the persons under such examination has been never heard, or if they be asked how those can undergo it whose bodies are burnt or devoured by beasts or birds, or otherwise consumed without burial they answer, that it is very possible notwithstanding, since men are not able to perceive what is transacted on the other side the grave, and that it is sufficient to restore to life any part of the body which is capable of understanding the questions put by the angels.⁸

As to the soul, they hold that when it is separated from the body by the angel of death, who performs his office with ease and gentleness towards the good, and with violence towards the wicked,⁹ it enters into that state which they call al Berzakh,¹ or the interval between death and the resurrection. If the departed person was a believer, they say two angels meet it, who convey it to heaven, that its place there may be assigned, according to its merit and degree. For they distinguish the souls of the faithful into three classes the first of prophets, whose souls are admitted into paradise immediately, the second of martyrs, whose spirits, according to a tradition of Mohammed, rest in the crops of green birds which eat of the fruits and drink of the river of paradise, and the third of other believers, concerning the state of whose souls before the resurrection there are various opinions. For, 1 Some say they stay near the sepulchres, with liberty however of going wherever they please, which they confirm from Mohammed's manner of saluting them at their graves, and his affirming that the dead heard those salutations as well as the living, though they could not answer. Whence perhaps proceeded the custom of visiting the tombs of relations, so common among the Mohammedans.² 2 Others

³ Al Ghazali Vide Poc. not. in Port. Mosia, p 241, &c. &c.

⁴ Smith, De Morib et Institut Turcar Ep ii p 57

notis ad Bobov de Visit. Egrot p 19

⁵ R. Elias, in Tishbi. See also Buxtorf. Synag Judaic. and Lexic. Talmud

⁶ Vide Poc ubi sup

⁷ Jews say the same in Nishmat bayim, f 77

⁸ Vide Poc ubi sup p 247

⁹ Cap 8, and 47,

¹ Vide Hyde, in

² Kor c 79 The

³ Kor c 23, and notis ibid.

imagine they are with Adam, in the lowest heaven, and also support their opinion by the authority of their prophet, who gave out that in his return from the upper heavens in his pretended night journey, he saw there the souls of those who were destined to paradise on the right hand of Adam, and of those who were condemned to hell on his left.³ 3 Others fancy the souls of believers remain in the well Zemzem, and those of infidels in a certain well in the province of Hadramaut, called Borbut, but this opinion is branded as heretical. 4 Others say they stay near the graves for seven days, but that whither they go afterwards is uncertain. 5 Others, that they are all in the trumpet whose sound is to raise the dead. And, 6 Others, that the souls of the good dwell in the forms of white birds, under the throne of God.⁴ As to the condition of the souls of the wicked, besides the opinions that have been already mentioned, the more orthodox hold that they are offered by the angels to heaven, from whence being repulsed as stinking and filthy, they are offered to the earth, and being also refused a place there, are carried down to the seventh earth, and thrown into a dungeon, which they call Sajm, under a green rock, or according to a tradition of Mohammed, under the devil's jaw,⁵ to be there tormented, till they are called up to be joined again to their bodies.

Though some among the Mohammedans have thought that the resurrection will be merely spiritual, and no more than the returning of the soul to the place whence it first came (an opinion defended by Ebn Sina,⁶ and called by some the opinion of the philosophers),⁷ and others, who allow man to consist of body only, that it will be merely corporeal, the received opinion is, that both body and soul will be raised, and their doctors argue strenuously for the possibility of the resurrection of the body, and dispute with great subtlety concerning the manner of it.⁸ But Mohammed has taken care to preserve one part of the body, whatever becomes of the rest, to serve for a basis of the future edifice, or rather a leaven for the mass which is to be joined to it. For he taught, that a man's body was entirely consumed by the earth, except only the bone called Ajb, which we name the os coccygis, or rump bone, and that as it was the first formed in the human body, it will also remain uncorrupted till the last day, as a seed from whence the whole is to be renewed and this he said will be effected by a forty days' rain which God should send, and which would cover the earth to the height of twelve cubits, and cause the bodies to sprout forth like plants.⁹ Herein also is Mohammed beholden to the Jews, who say the same things of the bone Luz,¹ excepting that what he attributes to a great rain will be effected according to them by a dew, impregnating the dust of the earth.

The time of the resurrection the Mohammedans allow to be a perfect secret to all but God alone, the angel Gabriel himself acknowledging his ignorance in this point when Mohammed asked him about it. However they say the approach of that day may be known from certain signs which are to precede it. These signs they distinguish into two sorts, the lesser, and the greater, which I shall briefly enumerate after Dr Pocock.²

The lesser signs are, 1 The decay of faith among men.³ 2 The advancing of the meanest persons to eminent dignity. 3 That a maid-servant shall become the mother of her mistress (or master), by which is

³ Poc. ubi sup p 248 Consonant hereto are the Jewish notions of the souls of the just being on high under the throne of glory Vide ibid p 156 ⁴ Ibid p 250 ⁵ Al Beidawi Vide Poc ubi sup p 252. ⁶ Or, as we corruptly name him Avicenna. ⁷ Kenz al afrar ⁸ Vide Poc ubi sup p 254 ⁹ Idem, ibid p 255, &c. ¹ Bereshit rabbah, &c Vide Poc. ubi sup p 117, &c. ² Ibidem. 258, &c. ³ See Luke xviii 8.

meant either that towards the end of the world men shall be much given to sensuality, or that the Mohammedans shall then take many captives.

4 Tumults and seditions 5 A war with the Turks 6 Great distress in the world, so that a man when he passes by another's grave shall say, Would to God I were in his place! 7 That the provinces of Irâk and Syria shall refuse to pay their tribute. And, 8 That the buildings of Medina shall reach to Ahab, or Yahâb

The greater signs are,

1 The sun's rising in the west Which some have imagined it originally did ⁴

2 The appearance of the beast, which shall rise out of the earth, in the temple of Mecca, or on mount Safâ, or in the territory of Tayef, or some other place This beast they say is to be sixty cubits high, though others, not satisfied with so small a size will have her reach to the clouds and to heaven, when her head only is out, and that she will appear for three days, but show only a third part of her body They describe this monster, as to her form, to be a compound of various species, having the head of a bull, the eyes of a hog, the ears of an elephant, the horns of a stag the neck of an ostrich, the breast of a lion, the colour of a tiger, the back of a cat, the tail of a ram, the legs of a camel, and the voice of an ass Some say this beast is to appear three times in several places, and that she will bring with her the rod of Moses, and the seal of Solomon, and being so swift that none can overtake or escape her, will with the first strike all the believers on the face, and mark them with the word Mumen, *i e* *believer*, and with the latter will mark the unbelievers on the face likewise, with the word Cafer, *i e* *infidel*, that every person may be known for what he really is They add that the same beast is to demonstrate the vanity of all religions except Islam, and to speak Arabic All this stuff seems to be the result of a confused idea of the beast in the Revelations ⁵

3 War with the Greeks, and the taking of Constantinople by seventy thousand of the posterity of Isaac, who shall not win that city by force of arms, but the walls shall fall down while they cry out, *There is no god but God God is most great* As they are dividing the spoil, news will come to them of the appearance of Antichrist, whereupon they shall leave all, and return back

4 The coming of Antichrist whom the Mohammedans call al Masih al Dajjal, *i e* the *false or lying Christ*, and simply al Dajjal He is to be one eyed, and marked on the forehead with the letters C F R. signifying Cafer, *or infidel* They say that the Jews give him the name of Messiah Ben David, and pretend he is to come in the last days, and to be lord both of land and sea, and that he will restore the kingdom to them According to the traditions of Mohammed, he is to appear first between Irâk and Syria, or according to others, in the province of Khorasân, they add that he is to ride on an ass, that he will be followed by seventy thousand Jews of Ispahan, and continue on earth forty days, of which one will be equal in length to a year, another to a month, another to a week, and the rest will be common days, that he is to lay waste all places, but will not enter Mecca or Medina, which are to be guarded by angels, and that at length he will be slain by Jesus, who is to encounter him at the gate of Lud It is said that Mohammed foretold several Antichrists, to the number of about thirty, but one of greater note than the rest

5 The descent of Jesus on earth They pretend that he is to descend

⁴ See Whiston's Theory of the Earth, book II. p 98, &c.

⁵ Chap. xiii.

near the white tower to the east of Damascus, when the people are returned from the taking of Constantinople, that he is to embrace the Mohammedan religion, marry a wife, get children, kill Antichrist, and at length die after forty years', or according to others twenty-four years' continuance on earth. Under him they say there will be great security and plenty in the world, all hatred and malice being laid aside, when lions and camels, bears and sheep, shall live in peace, and a child shall play with serpents unhurt.⁷

6 War with the Jews, of whom the Mohammedans are to make a prodigious slaughter, the very trees and stones discovering such of them as hide themselves, except only the tree called Gharkad, which is the tree of the Jews.

7 The eruption of Gog and Magog, or, as they are called in the east, Yajuj and Majuj, of whom many things are related in the Korân,⁸ and the traditions of Mohammed. These barbarians, they tell us, having passed the lake of Tiberias, which the vanguard of their vast army will drink dry, will come to Jerusalem, and there greatly distress Jesus and his companions, till at his request God will destroy them, and fill the earth with their carcasses, which after some time God will send birds to carry away, at the prayers of Jesus and his followers. Their bows, arrows and quivers the Moslems will burn for seven years together,⁹ and at last God will send a rain to cleanse the earth, and to make it fertile.

8 A smoke, which shall fill the whole earth.¹

9 An eclipse of the moon. Mohammed is reported to have said, 'As there would be three eclipses before the last hour, one to be seen in the east, another in the west, and the third in Arabia.'

10 The returning of the Arabs to the worship of Allat and al Uzza, and the rest of their ancient idols, after the decease of every one in whose heart there was faith equal to a grain of mustard seed, none but the very worst of men being left alive. For God, they say, will send a cold odorous wind, blowing from Syria Damascena, which shall sweep away the souls of all the faithful, and the Koran itself, so that men will remain in the grossest ignorance for a hundred years.

11 The discovery of a vast heap of gold and silver by the retreating of the Euphrates, which will be the destruction of many.

12 The demolition of the Caaba, or temple of Mecca, by the Ethiopians.²

13 The speaking of beasts and inanimate things.

14 The breaking out of fire in the province of Hejaz, or, according to others, in Yaman.

15 The appearance of a man of the descendants of Kahtân, who shall drive men before him with his staff.

16 The coming of the Mohdi, or *director*, concerning whom Mohammed prophesied, that the world should not have an end till one of his own family should govern the Arabians, whose name should be the same with his own name, and whose father's name should also be the same with his father's name, and who should fill the earth with righteousness. This person the Shutes believe to be now alive, and concealed in some secret place, till the time of his manifestation, for they suppose him to be no other than the last of the twelve Imâms, named Mohammed Abu'lkasem, as their prophet was, and the son of Hassan al Askeri, the eleventh of that succession. He was born at Sermanrai in the two hundred and fifty fifth

* Al Thalabi, in Kor chap 4. 7 See Isaiah xi 6, &c 8 Chap 18. and 21
 9 See Erek. xxxix. 9 Revel. xx. 8. 1 See Koran, chap 44 and the notes thereon
 are also Joel ii. 30, and Rev ix. 2. 2 See after, in this section.

year of the Hejra.³ From this tradition, it is to be presumed, an opinion pretty current among the Christians took its rise, that the Monammedans are in expectation of their prophet's return

17 A wind which shall sweep away the souls of all who have but a grain of faith in their hearts, as has been mentioned under the tenth sign

These are the greater signs which, according to their doctrine, are to precede the resurrection, but still leave the hour of it uncertain for the immediate sign of its being come will be the first blast of the trumpet, which they believe will be sounded three times. The first they call the *blast of consternation*, at the hearing of which all creatures in heaven and earth shall be struck with terror, except those whom God shall please to exempt from it. The effects attributed to this first sound of the trumpet are very wonderful for they say, the earth will be shaken, and not only all buildings, but the very mountains, levelled, that the heavens shall melt, the sun be darkened, the stars fall on the death of the angels, who, as some imagine, hold them suspended between heaven and earth, and the sea shall be troubled and dried up, or, according to others, turned into flames, the sun, moon, and stars being thrown into it the Korân, to express the greatness of the terror of that day, adds that women who give suck shall abandon the care of their infants, and even the she camels which have gone ten months with young (a most valuable part of the substance of that nation) shall be utterly neglected. A farther effect of this blast will be that concourse of beasts mentioned in the Korân,⁴ though some doubt whether it be to precede the resurrection or not. They who suppose it will precede, think that all kinds of animals, forgetting their respective natural fierceness and timidity, will run together into one place, being terrified by the sound of the trumpet and the sudden shock of nature

The Mohammedans believe that this first blast will be followed by a second, which they call the *blast of exanimation*,⁵ when all creatures both in heaven and earth shall die or be annihilated except those which God shall please to exempt from the common fate,⁶ and this, they say, shall happen in the twinkling of an eye, nay in an instant, nothing surviving except God alone, with paradise and hell, and the inhabitants of those two places, and the throne of glory.⁷ The last who shall die will be the angel of death

Forty years after this will be heard the *blast of resurrection*, when the trumpet shall be sounded the third time by Israfil who, together with Gabriel and Michael, will be previously restored to life, and standing on the rock of the temple of Jerusalem,⁸ shall at God's command call together all the dry and rotten bones, and other dispersed parts of the bodies, and the very hairs, to judgment. This angel having, by the divine order, set the trumpet to his mouth, and called together all the souls from all parts, will throw them into his trumpet, from whence, on his giving the last sound, at the command of God, they shall fly forth like bees, and fill the whole space between heaven and earth, and then repair to their respective bodies, which the opening earth will suffer to arise, and the first who shall so arise,

³ Vide D Herbel Bibl Orient p 531 ⁴ Chap 81 ⁵ Several writers, however make no distinction between this blast and the first, supposing the trumpet will sound but twice. See the notes to Kor chap 39 ⁶ Kor chap 39 ⁷ To these some add the spirit who bears the waters on which the throne is placed, the *preserved Table* wherein the decrees of God are registered, and the pen wherewith they are written all which things the Mohammedans imagine were created before the world. ⁸ In this circumstance the Mohammedans follow the Jews, who also agree that the trumpet will sound more than once. Vide R. Beclat in Buur hattorah and Otiot Moshe R. Akiba.

according to a tradition of Mohammed, will be himself. For this birth the earth will be prepared by the rain above mentioned, which is to fall continually for forty years,⁹ and will resemble the seed of a man, and be supplied from the water under the throne of God, which is called *living water*, by the efficacy and virtue of which the dead bodies shall spring forth from their graves, as they did in their mother's womb, or as corn sprouts forth by common rain, till they become perfect, after which, breath will be breathed into them, and they will sleep in their sepulchres till they are raised to life at the last trump

As to the length of the day of judgment, the Koran in one place tells us that it will last one thousand years,¹ and in another fifty thousand.² To reconcile this apparent contradiction, the commentators use several shifts: some saying, they know not what measure of time God intends in those passages, others, that these forms of speaking are figurative, and not to be strictly taken, and were designed only to express the terribleness of that day, it being usual for the Arabs to describe what they dislike as of long continuance, and what they like as the contrary, and others suppose them spoken only in reference to the difficulty of the business of the day, which if God should commit to any of his creatures, they would not be able to go through it in so many thousand years, to omit some other opinions which we may take notice of elsewhere

Having said so much in relation to the time of the resurrection, let us now see who are to be raised from the dead, in what manner and form they shall be raised, in what place they shall be assembled, and to what end, according to the doctrine of the Mohammedans

That the resurrection will be general, and extend to all creatures, both angels, genus, men, and animals, is the received opinion, which they support by the authority of the Koran, though that passage which is produced to prove the resurrection of brutes be otherwise interpreted by some.³

The manner of their resurrection will be very different. Those who are destined to be partakers of eternal happiness will arise in honour and security, and those who are doomed to misery, in disgrace and under dismal apprehensions. As to mankind, they say, that they will be raised perfect in all their parts and members, and in the same state as they came out of their mother's wombs, that is, barefooted, naked, and uncircumcised, which circumstances when Mohammed was telling his wife Ayesha, she, fearing the rules of modesty might be thereby violated, objected that it would be very indecent for men and women to look upon one another in that condition: but he answered her, that the business of the day would be too weighty and serious to allow them the making use of that liberty. Others, however, allege the authority of their prophet for a contrary opinion as to their nakedness, and pretend he asserted that the dead should arise dressed in the same clothes in which they died,⁴ unless we interpret these words, as some do, not so much of the outward dress of the body, as the inward clothing of the mind, and understand thereby that every person will rise again in the same state as to his faith or infidelity, knowledge or ignorance, his good or bad works. Mohammed is also said to have farther taught, by another tradition, that mankind shall be assembled at the last day, distinguished into three classes. The first, of those who go on foot,

⁹ Elsewhere (see before p. 56) this rain is said to continue only forty days, but it rather seems that it is to fall during the whole interval between the second and third blasts. ¹ Kor chap 32 ² 1b chap 70 ³ See the notes to Kor chap 81, and the preceding page ⁴ In this also they follow their old guides, the Jews, who say that if the wheat which is sown naked rise clothed, it is no wonder the pious who are buried in their clothes should rise with them. Gemar Sanedr fol 90

the second, of those who ride, and the third, of those who creep grovelling with their faces on the ground. The first class is to consist of those believers whose good works have been few, the second of those who are in greater honour with God, and more acceptable to him, whence Ali affirmed that the pious, when they come forth from the sepulchres, shall find ready prepared for them white winged camels, with saddles of gold, wherein are to be observed some footsteps of the doctrine of the ancient Arabians,⁵ and the third class, they say, will be composed of the infidels, whom God shall cause to make their appearance with their faces on the earth, blind, dumb, and deaf. But the ungodly will not be thus only distinguished, for, according to a tradition of the prophet, there will be ten sorts of wicked men on whom God shall on that day fix certain discretoary marks. The first will appear in the form of apes, these are the professors of Zendicism the second in that of swine, these they who have been greedy of filthy lucre, and enriched themselves by public oppression the third will be brought with their heads reversed, and their feet distorted, these are the usurers the fourth will wander about blind, these are unjust judges the fifth will be deaf, dumb, and blind, understanding nothing, these are they who glory in their works the sixth will gnaw their tongues, which will hang down upon their breasts, corrupted blood flowing from their mouths like spittle, so that every body shall detest them, these are the learned men and doctors, whose actions contradict t^heir sayings the seventh will have their hands and feet cut off, these are they who have injured their neighbours the eighth will be fixed to the trunks of palm trees or stakes of wood, these are the false accusers and informers the ninth will stink worse than a corrupted corpse, these are they who have indulged their passions and voluptuous appetites, but refused God such part of their wealth as was due to him the tenth will be clothed with garments daubed with pitch, and these are the proud, the vainglorious, and the arrogant.

As to the place where they are to be assembled to judgment, the Korân and the traditions of Mohammed agree that it will be on the earth, but in what part of the earth it is not agreed. Some say their prophet mentioned Syria for the place, others, a white and even tract of land, without inhabitants or any signs of buildings. Al Ghazali imagines it will be a second earth, which he supposes to be of silver, and others an earth which has nothing in common with ours, but the name, having, it is possible heard something of the new heavens and new earth mentioned in Scripture whence the Korân has this expression, "on the day wherein the earth shall be changed into another earth."⁶

The end of the resurrection the Mohammedans declare to be, that they who are so raised may give an account of their actions, and receive the reward thereof. And they believe that not only mankind, but the genii and irrational animals also⁷ shall be judged on this great day, when the unarmed cattle shall take vengeance on the horned, till entire satisfaction shall be given to the injured.⁸

⁵ See before sect i p 15 ⁶ Chap 14 ⁷ Kor chap vi Vide Maimonid. More Nev part 3 chap 17 ⁸ This opinion the learned Greaves supposed to have taken its rise from the following words of Ezekiel wrongly understood, "And as for ye, O my flock, thus saith the Lord God, Behold I judge between cattle and cattle, between the rams and the he goats — Behold I, even I, will judge between the fat cattle, and between the lean cattle, because ye have thrust with side and with shoulder, and pushed all the diseased with your horns till you have scattered them abroad therefore will I save my flock and they shall no more be a prey, and I will judge between cattle and cattle," &c. Ezek xxxiv 17, 20, 21, 22 Much might be said concerning brutes deserving future reward and punishment See Bayle Dict Hist Art. Bonarius Rem D &c.

As to mankind, they hold that when they are all assembled together, they will not be immediately brought to judgment, but the angels will keep them in their ranks and order while they attend for that purpose and this attendance some say is to last forty years, others seventy, others three hundred nay, some say no less than fifty thousand years, each of them vouching their prophet's authority During this space they will stand looking up to heaven, but without receiving any information or orders thence, and are to suffer grievous torments, both the just and the unjust, though with manifest difference For the limbs of the former, particularly those parts which they used to wash in making the ceremonial ablution before prayer, shall shine gloriously, and their sufferings shall be light in comparison, and shall last no longer than the time necessary to say the appointed prayers, but the latter will have their faces obscured with blackness, and disfigured with all the marks of sorrow and deformity What will then occasion not the least of their pain, is a wonderful and incredible sweat, which will even stop their mouths, and in which they will be immersed in various degrees according to their demerits, some to the ankles only and some to the knees, some to the middle, some so high as their mouth, and others as their ears And this sweat they say, will be provoked not only by that vast concourse of all sorts of creatures mutually pressing and treading on one another's feet, but by the near and unusual approach of the sun which will be then no farther from them than the distance of a mile, or (as some translate the word, the signification of which is ambiguous,) than the length of a bodkin So that their skulls will boil like a pot,⁹ and they will be all bathed in sweat. From this inconvenience, however, the good will be protected by the shade of God's throne, but the wicked will be so miserably tormented with it, and also with hunger and thirst, and a stifling air, that they will cry out *Lord, deliver us from this anguish, though thou send us into hell-fire*¹ What they fable of the extraordinary heat of the sun on this occasion, the Mohammedans certainly borrowed from the Jews, who say that, for the punishment of the wicked on the last day, that planet shall be drawn forth from its sheath, in which it is now put up, lest it should destroy all things by its excessive heat²

When those who have risen shall have waited the limited time, the Mohammedans believe God will at length appear to judge them, Mohammed undertaking the office of intercessor, after it shall have been declined by Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Jesus, who shall beg deliverance only for their own souls. They say that on this solemn occasion God will come in the clouds, surrounded by angels, and will produce the books wherein the actions of every person are recorded by their guardian angels,³ and will command the prophets to bear witness against those to whom they have been respectively sent. Then every one will be examined concerning all his words and actions, uttered and done by him in this life, not as if God needed any information in those respects, but to oblige the person to make public confession and acknowledgment of God's justice. The particulars of which they shall give an account, as Mohammed himself enumerated them, are of their time, how they spent it, of their wealth, by what means they acquired it, and how they employed it, of their bodies, wherein they exercised them, of their knowledge and learning, what use they made of them It is said, however, that Mohammed has affirmed that no less than seventy thousand of his followers should be permitted to

⁹ Al Ghazali.
before, p 51.

¹ Idem

² Vide Pocock, Not. in Port. Mosia, p 277

³ See

enter paradise without any previous examination, which seems to be contradictory to what is said above. To the questions it is said each person shall answer, and make his defence in the best manner he can, endeavouring to excuse himself by casting the blame of his evil deeds on others, so that a dispute shall arise even between the soul and the body, to which of them their guilt ought to be imputed. The soul saying, "O Lord, my body I received from thee, for thou createdst me without a hand to lay hold with, a foot to walk with, an eye to see with, or an understanding to apprehend with, till I came and entered into this body, therefore punish it eternally, but deliver me." The body on the other side will make this apology, "O Lord, thou createdst me like a stock of wood, having neither hand that I could lay hold with, nor foot that I could walk with, till this soul, like a ray of light, entered into me, and my tongue began to speak, my eye to see, and my foot to walk, therefore punish it eternally, but deliver me." But God will propound to them the following parable of the blind man and the lame man, which, as well as the preceding dispute, was borrowed by the Mohammedans from the Jews.^a A certain king having a pleasant garden, in which were ripe fruits, set two persons to keep it, one of whom was blind, and the other lame, the former not being able to see the fruit, nor the latter to gather it, the lame man, however, seeing the fruit, persuaded the blind man to take him upon his shoulders, and by that means he easily gathered the fruit, which they divided between them. The lord of the garden coming some time after, and inquiring after his fruit, each began to excuse himself, the blind man said he had no eyes to see with, and the lame man that he had no feet to approach the trees. But the king, ordering the lame man to be set on the blind, passed sentence on and punished them both. And in the same manner will God deal with the body and the soul. As these apologies will not avail on that day, so will it also be in vain for any one to deny his evil actions, since men and angels and his own members, nay, the very earth itself, will be ready to bear witness against him.

Though the Mahommedans assign so long a space for the attendance of the resuscitated before their trial, yet they tell us the trial itself will be over in much less time, and, according to an expression of Mohammed, familiar enough to the Arabs, will last no longer than while one may milk an ewe, or than the space between two milkings of a she-camel.^b Some, explaining those words so frequently used in the Korân, "God will be swift in taking an account," say that he will judge all creatures in the space of half a day, and others that it will be done in less time than the twinkling of an eye.^c

At this examination they also believe that each person will have the book wherein all the actions of his life are written delivered to him, which books the righteous will receive in their right hand, and read with great pleasure and satisfaction, but the ungodly will be obliged to take them against their wills in their left,^d which will be bound behind their backs, their right hand being tied up to their necks.^e

To show the exact justice which will be observed on this great day of trial, the next thing they describe is the *balance*, wherein all things shall be weighed. They say it will be held by Gabriel, and that it is of so vast a size, that its two scales, one of which hangs over paradise, and the other over hell, are capacious enough to contain both heaven and earth. Though

^a Gemara, Sanhedr chap xi R Jos Albo Serm. 4 chap xxxiii. See also Epiphani in Ancorat. sect. lxxix. ^b The Arabs use, after they have drawn some milk from the camel, to wait awhile and let her young one suck a little that she may give down her milk more plentifully at the second milking. ^c Poococ, Not. i. Port. Mosis p 278—282. See also Kor chap 2 p 24. ^d Kor chap 17, 18, 69 and 84. ^e Jallalo ddin.

some are willing to understand what is said in the Korân concerning this balance allegorically, and only as a figurative representation of God's equity, yet the more ancient and orthodox opinion is that it is to be taken literally, and since words and actions, being mere accidents, are not capable of being themselves weighed, they say that the books wherein they are written will be thrown into the scales, and according as those wherein the good or the evil actions are recorded shall preponderate, sentence will be given, those whose balances laden with their good works shall be heavy will be saved, but those whose balances are light will be condemned.² Nor will any one have cause to complain that God suffers any good action to pass unrewarded, because the wicked for the good they do have their reward in this life, and therefore can expect no favour in the next.

The old Jewish writers make mention as well of the books to be produced at the last day, wherein men's actions are registered,¹ as of the balance wherein they shall be weighed,² and the Scripture itself seems to have given the first notion of both.³ But what the Persian Magi believe of the balance comes nearest to the Mohammedan opinion. They hold that on the day of judgment two angels, named Mihr and Soroush, will stand on the bridge we shall describe by and by, to examine every person as he passes, that the former, who represents the divine mercy, will hold a balance in his hand, to weigh the actions of men, that according to the report he shall make thereof to God, sentence will be pronounced, and those whose good works are found more ponderous, if they turn the scale but by the weight of a hair, will be permitted to pass forward to paradise, but those whose good works shall be found light will be, by the other angel, who represents God's justice, precipitated from the bridge into hell.⁴

This examination being past, and every one's works weighed in a just balance, that mutual retaliation will follow, according to which every creature will take vengeance one of another, or have satisfaction made them for the injuries which they have suffered. And since there will then be no other way of returning like for like, the manner of giving this satisfaction will be, by taking away a proportionable part of the good works of him who offered the injury, and adding it to those of him who suffered it. Which being done, if the angels (by whose ministry this is to be performed) say, "Lord, we have given to every one his due, and there remaineth of this person's good works so much as equalleth the weight of an ant," God will of his mercy cause it to be doubled unto him, that he may be admitted into paradise, but if, on the contrary, his good works be exhausted, and there remain evil works only, and there be any who have not yet received satisfaction from him, God will order that an equal weight of their sins be added unto his, that he may be punished for them in their stead, and he will be sent to hell laden with both. This will be the method of God's dealing with mankind. As to brutes, after they shall have likewise taken vengeance of one another, as we have mentioned above, he will command them to be changed into dust,⁵ wicked men being reserved to more grievous punishment, so that they shall cry out, on hearing this sentence pronounced on the brutes, "Would to God that we were dust also!" As to the geni, many Mohammedans are of opinion that such of them as are true believers will undergo the same

² Kor chap 33, 7, &c. ¹ Midrash Yalkut Shemuni, fol 153, chap 3. ³ Gemar Sanhedr f 91 &c. ⁴ Exod. xxxii 32, 33. Dan vii 10. Rev xx 12, &c. and Dan v 27. ⁵ Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p 245, 40' &c. ⁶ Yet they say the dog of the seven sleepers and Erasmus, which was raised to life, will, by peculiar favour, be admitted into paradise. See Kor chap 18 and chap 3.

fate as the irrational animals, and have no other reward than the favour of being converted into dust, and for this they quote the authority of their prophet. But this, however, is judged not so very reasonable, since the genu, being capable of putting themselves in the state of believers as well as men, must consequently deserve, as it seems, to be rewarded for their faith, as well as to be punished for their infidelity. Wherefore some entertain a more favourable opinion, and assign the believing genu a place near the confines of paradise, where they will enjoy sufficient felicity, though they be not admitted into that delightful mansion. But the unbelieving genu, it is universally agreed, will be punished eternally, and be thrown into hell with the infidels of mortal race. It may not be improper to observe, that under the denomination of unbelieving genu, the Mohammedans comprehend also the devil and his companions.⁶

The trials being over and the assembly dissolved, the Mohammedans hold, that those who are to be admitted into paradise will take the right hand way, and those who are destined to hell fire will take the left, but both of them must first pass the bridge, called in Arabic, al Sirât, which they say is laid over the midst of hell, and described to be finer than a hair, and sharper than the edge of a sword, so that it seems very difficult to conceive how any one shall be able to stand upon it for which reason most of the sect of the Môtazalites reject it as a fable, though the orthodox think it a sufficient proof of the truth of this article, that it was seriously affirmed by him who never asserted a falsehood, meaning then prophet who, to add to the difficulty of the passage, has likewise declared that this bridge is beset on each side with briars and hooked thorns, which will however be no impediment to the good, for they shall pass with wonderful ease and swiftness, like lightning, or the wind, Mohammed and his Moslems leading the way, whereas the wicked, what with the slipperiness and extreme narrowness of the path, the entangling of the thorns, and the extinction of the light which directed the former to paradise, will soon miss their footing, and fall down headlong into hell, which is gaping beneath them.⁷

This circumstance Mohammed seems also to have borrowed from the Magians, who teach that on the last day all mankind will be obliged to pass a bridge which they call Pul Chinavad, or Chinavar, that is, *the strait bridge*, leading directly into the other world, on the midst of which they suppose the angels, appointed by God to perform that office, will stand, who will require of every one a strict account of his actions, and weigh them in the manner we have already mentioned.⁸ It is true the Jews speak likewise of the bridge of hell, which they say is no broader than a thread, but then they do not tell us that any shall be obliged to pass it, except the idolaters, who will fall thence into perdition.⁹

As to the punishment of the wicked, the Mohammedans are taught that hell is divided into seven stories, or apartments, one below another, designed for the reception of as many distinct classes of the damned.¹ The first, which they call Jchennam, they say will be the receptacle of those who acknowledged one God, that is, the wicked Mohammedans, who, after having there been punished according to their demerits, will at length be released. The second, named Ladhâ, they assign to the Jews, the third, named al Hotama, to the Christians, the fourth, named al Sair, to the Sabians, the fifth, named Sakar, to the Magians, the sixth, named al Jahim, to the idolaters, and the seventh, which is the lowest and worst of all, and

⁶ Vide Kor c. 18. ⁷ Pocock ubi sup p 282—289. ⁸ Hyde, de Rel Vet Pers pp 245, 402, &c. ⁹ Midrash, Yalkut Reubeni, sect Gehinnom. ¹ Kor c. 15.

is called al Hāwiyat, to the hypocrites, or those who outwardly professed some religion, but in their hearts were of none.² Over each of these apartments they believe there will be set a guard of angels,³ nineteen in number,⁴ to whom the damned will confess the just judgment of God, and beg them to intercede with him for some alleviation of their pain, or that they may be delivered by being annihilated.⁵

Mohammed has, in his Korān and traditions, been very exact in describing the various torments of hell, which, according to him, the wicked will suffer both from intense heat and excessive cold. We shall however enter into no detail of them here, but only observe that the degrees of these pains will also vary, in proportion to the crimes of the sufferer, and the apartment he is condemned to, and that he who is punished most lightly of all will be shod with shoes of fire, the fervour of which will cause his skull to boil like a cauldron. The condition of these unhappy wretches, as the same prophet teaches, cannot be properly called either life or death, and their misery will be greatly increased by their despair of being delivered from that place, since according to that frequent expression in the Korān, "they must remain therein for ever." It must be remarked, however, that the infidels alone will be liable to eternity of damnation, for the Moslems, or those who have embraced the true religion, and have been guilty of heinous sins, will be delivered thence after they shall have expiated their crimes by their sufferings. The contrary of either of these opinions is reckoned heretical, for it is the constant orthodox doctrine of the Mohammedans that no unbeliever or idolater will ever be released, nor any person who in his lifetime professed and believed the unity of God be condemned to eternal punishment. As to the time and manner of the deliverance of those believers whose evil actions shall outweigh their good, there is a tradition of Mohammed that they shall be released after they shall have been scorched and their skins burnt black, and shall afterwards be admitted into paradise, and when the inhabitants of that place shall in contempt call them *infernals*, God will, on their prayers, take from them that opprobrious appellation. Others say he taught, that while they continue in hell they shall be deprived of life, or (as his words are otherwise interpreted) be cast into a most profound sleep, that they may be the less sensible of their torments, and that they shall afterwards be received into paradise, and there revive on their being washed with the *water of life*, though some suppose they will be restored to life before they come forth from their place of punishment, that at their bidding farewell to their pains, they may have some little taste of them. The time which these believers shall be detained there, according to a tradition handed down from their prophet, will not be less than nine hundred years, nor more than seven thousand. And as to the manner of their delivery, they say that they shall be distinguished by the marks of prostration on those parts of their bodies with which they used to touch the ground in prayer, and over which the fire will therefore have no power, and that being known by this characteristic, they will be

² Others fill these apartments with different company. Some place in the second, the idolaters, in the third, Gog and Magog, &c., in the fourth, the devils, in the fifth, those who neglect alms and prayers, and crowd the Jews, Christians, and Magians together in the sixth. Some again will have the first to be prepared for the Dahrians, or those who deny the creation, and believe the eternity of the world, the second, for the Dualists, or Manichees, and the idolatrous Arabs, the third, for the Bramins of the Indies, the fourth, for the Jews, the fifth, for the Christians; and the sixth for the Magians. But all agree in assigning the seventh to the hypocrites. Vide Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 412. D Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 368, &c.

³ Kor. c. 40 43, 74, &c.

⁴ Ibid. c. 74

⁵ Ibid. c. 40, 43.

released by the mercy of God, at the intercession of Mohammed and the blessed, whereupon those who shall have been dead will be restored to life, as has been said, and those whose bodies shall have contracted any sootiness or filth from the flames and smoke of hell will be immersed in one of the rivers of paradise, called the *river of life*, which will wash them whiter than pearls.⁶

For most of these circumstances relating to hell and the state of the damned, Mohammed was likewise in all probability indebted to the Jews and in part to the Magians, both of whom agree in making seven distinct apartments in hell,⁷ though they vary in other particulars. The former place an angel as a guard over each of these infernal apartments, and suppose he will intercede for the miserable wretches there imprisoned, who will openly acknowledge the justice of God in their condemnation.⁸ They also teach that the wicked will suffer a diversity of punishments, and that by intolerable cold⁹ as well as heat, and that their faces shall become black,¹ and believe those of their own religion shall also be punished in hell hereafter, according to their crimes, (for they hold that few or none will be found so exactly righteous as to deserve no punishment at all,) but will soon be delivered thence, when they shall be sufficiently purged from their sins, by their father Abraham, or at the intercession of him or some other of the prophets.² The Magians allow but one angel to preside over all the seven hells, who is named by them Vanând Yezad, and, as they teach, assigns punishments proportionate to each person's crimes, restraining also the tyranny and excessive cruelty of the devil, who would, if left to himself, torment the damned beyond their sentence.³ Those of this religion do also mention and describe various kinds of torments, wherewith the wicked will be punished in the next life, among which though they reckon extreme cold to be one, yet they do not admit fire, out of respect, as it seems, to that element, which they take to be the representation of the divine nature, and therefore they rather choose to describe the damned souls as suffering by other kinds of punishment such as an intolerable stink, the stinging and biting of serpents and wild beasts, the cutting and tearing of the flesh by the devils, excessive hunger and thirst, and the like.⁴

Before we proceed to a description of the Mohammedan paradise, we must not forget to say something of the wall or partition which they imagine to be between that place and hell, and seems to be copied from the great gulf of separation mentioned in Scripture.⁵ They call it *al Orf*, and more frequently in the plural, *al Arâf*, a word derived from the verb *arafa*, which signifies to *distinguish* between things, or to *part* them, though some commentators give another reason for the imposition of this name, because, say they, those who stand on this partition will *know* and *distinguish* the blessed from the damned, by their respective marks or characteristics.⁶ and others say the word properly intends any thing that is *high raised* or *elevated*, as such a wall of separation must be supposed to be.⁷ The Mohammedan writers greatly differ as to the persons who are to be found on *al Arâf*. Some imagine it to be a sort of *limbo*, for the patriarchs and prophets, or for the martyrs and those who have been most eminent for

⁶ Poc. Not. in Port Mosis, p 289—291 ⁷ Nishmat hayim f. 32 Gemar in Arubin, f 19 Zohar ad Exod. xxxi 2, &c. and Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p 245. ⁸ Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni, part 11, f 116. ⁹ Zohar ad Exod xix ¹ Yalkut Shemuni ubi sup f 86 ² Nishmat hayim f 82. Gemar Arubin, f 19 Vide Kor. c. 2, p 11 and 3, p 38, and notes there. ³ Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 182. ⁴ Vide Eundem, ibid. p 399, &c. ⁵ Luke xvi 26. ⁶ Jallalo ddin, Vide Kor c. 7 ⁷ Al Beidâwi

sanctity, among whom they say there will be also angels in the form of men. Others place here such whose good and evil works are so equal that they exactly counterpoise each other, and therefore deserve neither reward nor punishment, and these, they say, will on the last day be admitted into paradise, after they shall have performed an act of adoration, which will be imputed to them as a merit, and will make the scale of their good works to overbalance. Others suppose this intermediate space will be a receptacle for those who have gone to war, without their parents' leave, and therein suffered martyrdom, being excluded paradise for their disobedience, and escaping hell because they are martyrs. The breadth of this partition wall cannot be supposed to be exceeding great, since not only those who shall stand thereon will hold conference with the inhabitants both of paradise and of hell, but the blessed and the damned themselves will also be able to talk to one another.⁸

If Mohammed did not take his notions of the partition we have been describing from Scripture, he must at least have borrowed it at second hand from the Jews, who mention a thin wall dividing paradise from hell.⁹

The righteous, as the Mohammedans are taught to believe, having surmounted the difficulties, and passed the sharp bridge above mentioned, before they enter paradise will be refreshed by drinking at the *pond* of their prophet, who describes it to be an exact square, of a month's journey in compass, its water, which is supplied by two pipes from al Cawthar, one of the rivers of paradise, being whiter than milk or silver, and more odoriferous than musk, with as many cups set around it as there are stars in the firmament, of which water whoever drinks will thirst no more for ever.¹ This is the first taste which the blessed will have of their future and now near approaching felicity.

Though paradise be so very frequently mentioned in the Koran, yet it is a dispute among the Mohammedans whether it be already created, or to be created hereafter, the Motazalites and some other sectaries asserting that there is not at present any such place in nature, and that the paradise which the righteous will inhabit in the next life will be different from that from which Adam was expelled. However the orthodox profess the contrary, maintaining that it was created even before the world, and describe it, from their prophet's traditions, in the following manner —

They say it is situate above the seven heavens (or in the seventh heaven), and next under the throne of God, and to express the amenity of the place tell us, that the earth of it is of the finest wheat flour, or of the purest musk, or, as others will have it, of saffron, that its stones are pearls and jacinths, the walls of its buildings enriched with gold and silver, and that the trunks of all its trees are of gold, among which the most remarkable is the tree called *Tûba*, or the tree of *happiness*. Concerning this tree they fable that it stands in the palace of Mohammed, though a branch of it will reach to the house of every true believer,² that it will be laden with pomegranates, grapes, dates, and other fruits of surprising bigness, and of tastes unknown to mortals. So that if a man desire to eat of any particular kind of fruit, it will immediately be presented to him, or if he choose flesh, birds ready dressed will be set before him, according to his wish. They add, that the boughs of this tree will spontaneously bend down to the hand of the person who would gather of its fruits, and that it will supply the blessed not only with food, but also with silken garments, and beasts to ride on ready saddled and bridled, and adorned with rich trappings, which

⁸ Kor ubi sup. Vide D'Herbel Bibl Orient p 121, &c. ⁹ Midrash Yalkut Sioni, f 11 ¹ Al Ghazali. ² Yahya, in Kor c. 13.

will burst forth from its fruits, and that this tree is so large that a person mounted on the fleetest horse would not be able to gallop from one end of its shade to the other in a hundred years.*

As plenty of water is one of the greatest additions to the pleasantness of any place, the Korân often speaks of the rivers of paradise as a principal ornament thereof some of these rivers they say, flow with water, some with milk, some with wine, and others with honey, all taking their rise from the root of the tree Tûba, two of which rivers, named al Cawthar and the *river of life*, we have already mentioned And, lest these should not be sufficient, we are told this garden is also watered by a great number of lesser springs and fountains, whose pebbles are rubies and emeralds, their earth of camphire, their beds of musk, and their sides of saffron, the most remarkable among them being Salsabil and Tasnim

But all these glories will be eclipsed by the resplendent and ravishing girls of paradise, called, from their large black eyes, Hâr al oyûn, the enjoyment of whose company will be a principal felicity of the faithful These, they say, are created, not of clay, as mortal women are, but of pure musk, being, as their prophet often affirms in his Koran, free from all natural impurities, defects, and inconveniences incident to the sex, of the strictest modesty, and secluded from public view in pavilions of hollow pearls, so large that, as some traditions have it, one of them will be no less than four parasangs (or as others say, sixty miles) long, and as many broad

The name which the Mohammedans usually give to this happy mansion is al Jannat, or *the garden*, and sometimes they call it, with an addition, Jannat al Ferdaws, *the garden of paradise*, Jannat Aden, *the garden of Eden* (though they generally interpret the word Eden, not according to its acceptation in Hebrew, but according to its meaning in their own tongue, wherein it signifies a *settled or perpetual habitation*), Jannat al Mâwa, *the garden of abode*, Jannat al Naim, *the garden of pleasure*, and the like, by which several appellations some understand so many different gardens, or at least places of different degrees of felicity (for they reckon no less than a hundred such in all), the very meanest whereof will afford its inhabitants so many pleasures and delights, that one would conclude they must even sink under them, had not Mohammed declared, that, in order to qualify the blessed for a full enjoyment of them, God will give to every one the abilities of a hundred men

We have already described Mohammed's pond, whereof the righteous are to drink before their admission into this delicious seat, besides which some authors⁴ mention two fountains, springing from under a certain tree near the gate of paradise, and say that the blessed will also drink of one of them, to purge their bodies and carry off all excrementitious dregs, and will wash themselves in the other When they are arrived at the gate itself, each person will there be met and saluted by the beautiful youths appointed to serve and wait upon him, one of them running before, to carry the news of his arrival to the wives destined for him, and also by two angels, bearing the presents sent him by God, one of whom will invest him with a garment of paradise, and the other will put a ring on each of his fingers, with inscriptions on them alluding to the happiness of his condition. By which of the eight gates (for so many they suppose paradise to have) they are respectively to enter, is not worth inquiry, but it must be observed that Mohammed has declared that no person's good works will gain him admittance, and that even himself shall be saved, not by his merits but merely

³ Jallâloddin, in Kor c. 13

⁴ Al Ghazali, Kenz al Afrâr

by the mercy of God It is, however, the constant doctrine of the Korân, that the felicity of each person will be proportioned to his deserts, and that there will be abodes of different degrees of happiness, the most eminent degree being reserved for the prophets, the second for the doctors and teachers of God's worship, the next for the martyrs, and the lower for the rest of the righteous, according to their several merits. There will also some distinction be made in respect to the time of their admission, Mohammed (to whom, if you will believe him, the gates will first be opened) having affirmed, that the poor will enter paradise five hundred years before the rich, nor is this the only privilege which they will enjoy in the next life, since the same prophet has also declared, that when he took a view of paradise, he saw the majority of its inhabitants to be the poor, and when he looked down into hell, he saw the greater part of the wretches confined there to be women.

For the first entertainment of the blessed on their admission, they fable that the whole earth will then be as one loaf of bread, which God will reach to them with his hand, holding it like a cake, and that for meat that will have the ox Balâm, and the fish Nûn, the lobes of whose livers will suffice seventy thousand men, being, as some imagine, to be set before the principal guests, viz those who, to that number, will be admitted into paradise without examination;³ though others suppose that a definite number is here put for an indefinite, and that nothing more is meant thereby than to express a great multitude of people

From this feast every one will be dismissed to the mansion designed for him, where (as has been said) he will enjoy such a share of felicity as will be proportioned to his merits, but vastly exceed comprehension or expectation, since the very meanest in paradise (as he who, it is pretended, must know best, has declared) will have eighty thousand servants, seventy two wives of the girls of paradise, besides the wives he had in this world, and a tent erected for him of pearls, jacinths, and emeralds, of a very large extent, and, according to another tradition, will be waited on by three hundred attendants while he eats, will be served in dishes of gold, whereof three hundred shall be set before him at once, containing each a different kind of food, the last morsel of which will be as grateful as the first, and will also be supplied with as many sorts of liquors in vessels of the same metal and, to complete the entertainment, there will be no want of wine, which, though forbidden in this life, will yet be freely allowed to be drank in the next, and without danger, since the wine of paradise will not inebriate, as that we drink here The flavour of this wine we may conceive to be delicious without a description, since the water of Tasnim, and the other fountains which will be used to dilute it, is said to be wonderfully sweet and fragrant If any object to these pleasures, as an impudent Jew did to Mohammed, that so much eating and drinking must necessarily require proper evacuations, we answer, as the prophet did, that the inhabitants of paradise will not need to ease themselves, nor even to blow their nose, for that all superfluities will be discharged and carried off by perspiration, or a sweat as odoriferous as musk, after which their appetite shall return afresh

The magnificence of the garments and furniture promised by the Korân to the godly in the next life is answerable to the delicacy of their diet for they are to be clothed in the richest silks and brocades, chiefly of green, which will burst forth from the fruits of paradise, and will be also supplied by the leaves of the tree Tûba, they will be adorned with bracelets of gold

³ See before, p. 62.

and silver, and crowns set with pearls of incomparable lustre, and will make use of silken carpets, litters of a prodigious size, couches, pillows, and other rich furniture embroidered with gold and precious stones.

That we may the more readily believe what has been mentioned of the extraordinary abilities of the inhabitants of paradise to taste these pleasures in their height, it is said they will enjoy a perpetual youth, that in whatever age they happen to die, they will be raised in their prime and vigour, that is, of about thirty years of age, which age they will never exceed (and the same they say of the damned), and that when they enter paradise they will be of the same stature with Adam, who, as they fable, was no less than sixty cubits high. And to this age and stature their children, if they shall desire any (for otherwise their wives will not conceive), shall immediately attain, according to that saying of their prophet, "If any of the faithful in paradise be desirous of issue, it shall be conceived, born, and grown up, within the space of an hour. And in the same manner, if any one shall have a fancy to employ himself in agriculture (which rustic pleasure may suit the wanton fancy of some), what he shall sow will spring up and come to maturity in a moment.

Last any of the senses should want their proper delight, we are told the ear will there be entertained, not only with the ravishing songs of the angel Israfil, who has the most melodious voice of all God's creatures, and of the daughters of paradise, but even the trees themselves will celebrate the divine praises with a harmony exceeding whatever mortals have heard, to which will be joined the sound of the bells hanging on the trees, which will be put in motion by the wind proceeding from the throne of God, so often as the blessed wish for music. Nay, the very clashing of the golden bodied trees, whose fruits are pearls and emeralds, will surpass human imagination, so that the pleasures of this sense will not be the least of the enjoyments of paradise.

The delights we have hitherto taken a view of, it is said, will be common to all the inhabitants of paradise, even those of the lowest order. What then, think we, must they enjoy who shall obtain a superior degree of honour and felicity? To these they say, there are prepared, besides all this, "such things as eye hath not seen, nor hath ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive," an expression most certainly borrowed from Scripture.^{*} That we may know wherein the felicity of those who shall attain the highest degree will consist, Mohammed is reported to have said, that the meanest of the inhabitants of paradise will see his gardens, wives, servants, furniture, and other possessions, take up the space of a thousand years' journey (for so far and farther will the blessed see in the next life), but that he will be in the highest honour with God, who shall behold his face morning and evening and this favour al Ghazâlî supposes to be that *additional or superabundant recompence*, promised in the Korân,[†] which will give such exquisite delight that, in respect thereof, all the other pleasures of paradise will be forgotten and lightly esteemed, and not without reason, since, as the author says, every other enjoyment is equally tasted by the very brute beast who is turned loose into luxuriant pasture.[‡] The reader will observe, by the way, that this is a full confutation of those who pretend the Mohammedans admit of no spiritual pleasure in the next life, but make the happiness of the blessed to consist wholly in corporeal enjoyments.[§]

Whence Mohammed took the greatest part of his paradise, it is easy to

^{*} Isaiah lxiv 4. [†] 1 Corinth ii 9 [‡] Chap 10, &c. [§] Vide Poc. in not. ad Port. Mossis, p 305. [¶] Vide Beland, de Rel Moham. lib 2 sect. 17

show The Jews constantly describe the future mansion of the just as a delicious garden, and make it also reach to the seventh heaven,* they also say it has three gates,⁴ or, as others will have it, two,⁵ and four rivers (wh^o last circumstance they copied, to be sure, from those of the garden of Eden),⁶ flowing with milk, wine, balsam, and honey.⁷ Their Behemoth and Leviathan, which they pretend will be slain for the entertainment of the blessed,⁸ are so apparently the Balām and Nūn of Mohammed that his followers themselves confess he is obliged to them for both.¹ The Rabbins likewise mention seven different degrees of felicity,² and say that the highest will be of those who perpetually contemplate the face of God.³ The Persian Magi had also an idea of the future happy estate of the good, very little different from that of Mohammed. Paradise they call Behisht, and Minu which signifies *crystal*, where they believe the righteous shall enjoy all manner of delights, and particularly the company of the Human behisht, or *black-eyed nymphs of paradise*,⁴ the care of whom they say is committed to the angel Zamiyād,⁵ and hence Mohammed seems to have taken the first hint of his paradisiacal ladies.

It is not improbable, however, but that he might have been obliged, in some respect, to the Christian accounts of the felicity of the good in the next life. As it is scarce possible to convey, especially to the apprehensions of the generality of mankind, an idea of spiritual pleasures without introducing sensible objects, the Scriptures have been obliged to represent the celestial enjoyments by corporeal images, and to describe the mansion of the blessed as a glorious and magnificent city, built of gold and precious stones, with twelve gates, through the streets of which there runs a river of water of life, and having on either side the tree of life, which bears twelve sorts of fruits, and leaves of a healing virtue.⁶ Our Saviour likewise speaks of the future state of the blessed as of a kingdom, where they shall eat and drink at his table.⁷ But then these descriptions have none of those uerile imaginations⁸ which reign throughout that of Mohammed, much less any the most distant intimation of sensual delights, which he was so fond of, on the contrary, we are expressly assured, that "in the resurrection they will neither marry nor be given in marriage, but will be as the angels of God in heaven."⁹ Mohammed, however, to enhance the value of paradise with his Arabians, chose rather to imitate the indecency of the Magians than the modesty of the Christians in this particular, and lest his beatified Moslems should complain that any thing was wanting, bestows on them wives, as well as the other comforts of life, judging, it is to be presumed, from his own inclinations, that, like Panurgus's ass,¹ they would

* Vide Gemar Tanith f 25 Beracoth, f 34 and Midrash sabbotl, f 37
⁴ Megillah Amkoth, p 78 ⁵ Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni ⁶ Genesis ii 10 &c
⁷ Midrash, Yalk Shem ⁸ Gemar Bava Bathra f 78 Rashi in Job i ¹ Vide Pœ. not. in port Mosis p 298 ² Nishmat hayim f 32 ³ Midrash, T ehillim, f 11 ⁴ Sadder, porta 5 ⁵ Hyde de Rel. Vet Pers p 265 ⁶ Rev xvi 10 &c and xxii 1, 2 ⁷ Luke xxii 29, 30, &c. ⁸ I would not, however, undertake to defend all the Christian writers in this particular, witness that one passage of Irenæus, wherein he introduces a tradition of St John, that our Lord should say *The days shall come in which there shall be vines, which shall have each ten thousand branches, and every of those branches shall have ten thousand lesser branches, and every of these branches shall have ten thousand twigs, and every one of these twigs shall have ten thousand clusters of grapes. and in every one of these clusters there shall be ten thousand grapes, and every one of these grapes being pressed shall yield two hundred and seventy five gallons of wine, and when a man shall take hold of one of these sacred bunches, another bunch shall cry out, I am a better bunch, take me, and bless the Lord by me, &c.* Iren lib 5 c 33 ⁹ Matt. xxii. 30 ¹ Vide Rabelais, Pantagru lib 5 c 7 A better authority than this might however be alleged in favour of Mohammed's judgment in this respect, I mean that of Plato, who is said to have

think all other enjoyments not worth their acceptance if they were to be debarred from this

Had Mohammed, after all, intimated to his followers that what he had told them of paradise was to be taken, not literally, but in a metaphorical sense (as it is said the Magians do the description of Zoroaster's),² this might, perhaps, make some atonement, but the contrary is so evident from the whole tenor of the Korân, that although some Mohammedans, whose understandings are too refined to admit such gross conceptions, look on their prophet's descriptions as parabolical, and are willing to receive them in an allegorical or spiritual acceptation,³ yet the general and orthodox doctrine is, that the whole is to be strictly believed in the obvious and literal acceptation, to prove which I need only urge the oath they exact from Christians (who they know abhor such fancies), when they would bind them in the most strong and sacred manner, for in such a case they make them swear that if they falsify their engagement they will affirm that there will be black eyed girls in the next world, and corporeal pleasures⁴

Before we quit this subject, it may not be improper to observe the falsehood of a vulgar imputation on the Mohammedans, who are by several writers⁵ reported to hold that women have no souls or, if they have, that they will perish, like those of brute beasts, and will not be rewarded in the next life. But whatever may be the opinion of some ignorant people among them, it is certain that Mohammed had too great a respect for the fair sex to teach such a doctrine, and there are several passages in the Koran which affirm that women, in the next life, will not only be punished for their evil actions, but will also receive the rewards of their good deeds, as well as the men, and that in this case God will make no distinction of sexes⁶. It is true, the general notion is, that they will not be admitted into the same abode as the men are, because their places will be supplied by the paradisiacal females (though some allow that a man will there also have the company of those who were his wives in this world, or at least such of them as he shall desire),⁷ but that good women will go into a separate place of happiness, where they will enjoy all sorts of delights,⁸ but whether one of those delights will be the enjoyment of agreeable paramours created for them, to complete the economy of the Mohammedan system, is what I have nowhere found decided. One circumstance relating to these beatified females, conformable to what he had asserted of the men, he acquainted his followers with in the answer he returned to an old woman, who desiring him to intercede with God that she might be admitted into paradise, he told her that no old woman would enter that place, which setting the poor old woman a crying he explained himself by saying, that God would then make her young again⁹.

The sixth great point of faith which the Mohammedans are taught by the Korân to believe, is God's absolute decree, and predestination both of good and evil. For the orthodox doctrine is, that whatever hath or shall come to pass in this world, whether it be good, or whether it be bad, pro-

proposed, in his ideal commonwealth as the reward of valiant men and consummate soldiers, the kisses of boys and beauteous damsels. Vide Gell Noct. Att. lib 18 c. 2. ² Vide Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p 266. ³ Vide Eund. in not. ad Bobov. Lit. Turcar. p 21. ⁴ Poc. ad Port. Mos. p 305. ⁵ Hornbek, Sum. Contr. p 16. Grelot, Voyage de Constant. p 275. Ricaut's Present State of the Ottoman Empire lib 2 c 21. ⁶ See Kor. c 3 p 58 c 4 p 75. And also c. 13, 16, 40, 48, 57 &c. Vide etiam Reland de Rel. Moh. lib 2 sect 18 and Hyde, in Not. ad Bobov. de Vist. Ægr. p 21. ⁷ See before, p 70. ⁸ Vide Chardin, Voy. tom. II. p 328, and Bayle Dict. Hist. Art. Moham. Rem. Q. ⁹ See Koran, c. 56, and notes there, and Gagnier not. in Abulfedæ Vit. Moh. p 145.

ceedeth entirely from the divine will, and is irrevocably fixed and recorded from all eternity in the *preserved table*,¹ God having secretly predetermined not only the adverse and prosperous fortune of every person in this world, in the most minute particulars, but also his faith or infidelity, his obedience or disobedience, and consequently his everlasting happiness or misery after death, which fate or predestination it is not possible, by any foresight or wisdom, to avoid.

Of this doctrine Mohammed makes great use in his Korân, for the advancement of his designs, encouraging his followers to fight without fear, and even desperately, for the propagation of their faith, by representing to them that all their caution could not avert their inevitable destiny, or prolong their lives for a moment,² and deterring them from disobeying or rejecting him as an impostor, by setting before them the danger they might thereby incur of being, by the judgment of God, abandoned to seduction, hardness of heart, and a reprobate mind, as a punishment for their obstinacy.³

As this doctrine of absolute election and reprobation has been thought by many of the Mohammedan divines to be derogatory to the goodness and justice of God, and to make God the author of evil, several subtle distinctions have been invented, and disputes raised, to explicate or soften it, and different sects have been formed, according to their several opinions, or methods of explaining this point. Some of them going so far as even to hold the direct contrary position—of absolute free will in man, as we shall see hereafter.⁴

Of the four fundamental points of religious practice required by the Koran, the first is *prayer*, under which, as has been said, are also comprehended those legal washings or purifications which are necessary preparations thereto.

Of these purifications there are two degrees, one called *Ghoss*, being a total immersion or bathing of the body in water, and the other called *Wodû* (by the Persians, *abdest*), which is the washing of their faces, hands, and feet, after a certain manner. The first is required in some extraordinary cases only, as after having lain with a woman, or been polluted by emission of seed, or by approaching a dead body, women also being obliged to it after their courses or childbirth. The latter is the ordinary ablution in common cases, and before prayer, and must necessarily be used by every person before he can enter upon that duty.⁵ It is performed with certain formal ceremonies, which have been described by some writers, but are much easier apprehended by seeing them done than by the best description.

These purifications were perhaps borrowed by Mohammed of the Jews, at least they agree in a great measure with those used by that nation,⁶ who in process of time burdened the precepts of Moses in this point with so many traditionary ceremonies, that whole books have been written about them, and who were so exact and superstitious therein even in our Saviour's time, that they are often reproved by him for it.⁷ But as it is certain that the pagan Arabs used lustrations of this kind,⁸ long before the time of Mohammed, as most nations did, and still do in the east, where the warmth of the climate requires a greater nicety and degree of cleanliness than these colder parts, perhaps Mohammed only recalled his countrymen to a more

¹ See before, p. 46. ² Kor c. 3, p. 51, note t, 53, and c. 4, p. 69, &c. ³ Kor. c. 4, p. 67 and 78, 79. And c. 2, p. 2, &c. passim. ⁴ Sect. viii. ⁵ Kor c. 4, p. 68, and c. 5, p. 82. ⁶ Vide Reland, de Rel. Moh lib. i. c. 8. ⁷ Poc. not. in Port. Mosia, v. 356. &c. ⁸ Mark vii. 3, &c. ⁸ Vide Herodot. lib. 3, c. 198.

strict observance of those purifying rites, which had been probably neglected by them, or at least performed in a careless and perfunctory manner. The Mohammedans, however, will have it that they are as ancient as Abraham,⁹ who, they say, was enjoined by God to observe them, and was showed the manner of making the ablution by the angel Gabriel, in the form of a beautiful youth.¹ Nay, some deduce the matter higher, and imagine that these ceremonies were taught our first parents by the angels.²

That his followers might be the more punctual in this duty, Mohammed is said to have declared, that *the practice of religion is founded on cleanliness*, which is the *one half of the faith, and the key of prayer*, without which it will not be heard by God.³ That these expressions may be the better understood, al Ghazali reckons four degrees of purification, of which the first is, the cleansing of the body from all pollution filth, and excrements, the second, the cleansing of the members of the body from all wickedness and unjust actions, the third, the cleansing of the heart from all blameable inclinations, and odious vices, and the fourth, the purging of a man's secret thoughts from all affections which may divert their attendance on God adding that the body is but as the outward shell in respect to the heart, which is as the kernel. And for this reason he highly complains of those who are superstitiously solicitous in exterior purifications, avoiding those persons as unclean who are not so scrupulously nice as themselves, and at the same time have their minds lying waste, and overrun with pride, ignorance, and hypocrisy.⁴ Whence it plainly appears with how little foundation the Mohammedans have been charged, by some writers,⁵ with teaching or imagining that these formal washings alone cleanse them from their sins.⁶

Lest so necessary a preparation to their devotions should be omitted, either where water cannot be had, or when it may be of prejudice to a person's health, they are allowed in such cases to make use of fine sand or dust in lieu of it,⁷ and then they perform this duty by clapping their open hands on the sand, and passing them over the parts, in the same manner as if they were dipped in water. But for this expedient Mohammed was not so much indebted to his own cunning,⁸ as to the example of the Jews, or perhaps that of the Persian Magi, almost as scrupulous as the Jews themselves in their lustrations, who both of them prescribe the same method in cases of necessity,⁹ and there is a famous instance, in ecclesiastical history, of sand being used, for the same reason, instead of water, in the administration of the Christian sacrament of baptism, many years before Mohammed's time.¹

Neither are the Mohammedans contented with bare washing, but think themselves obliged to several other necessary points of cleanliness, which

⁹ Al Jannabi in Vita Abrah Vide Poc Spec p 303 ¹ Herewith agrees the spurious Gospel of S Barnabas, the Spanish translation of which (chap 29) has these words — *Dixo Abraham Que haré yo para servir al Dios de los sanctos y prophetas? Respondió el angel, Ve a aquella fuente y lavate porque Dios quiere hablar contigo Dixo Abraham, Como tengo de lavarme? Luego el angel se le apareció como uno bello mancebo, y se lavó en la fuente, y le dixo, Abraham, haz como yo Y Abraham, se lavó &c.* ² Al Kessai, Vide Reland, de Rel Moham p 81 ³ Al Ghazali, Ebn al Athir ⁴ Vide Poc. Spec p 302 &c ⁵ Barthol Edessen Confut. Hagaren. p 360 G Sionita and J Hesronita, in Tract. de Urb et Morib Orient. ad Calcem. Geogr Nubiens c 15 Du Ryer, dans le Sommaire de la Rel des Turcs, mis à la Tete de sa Version de l'Alcor St. Olon, Descr du Royaume de Maroc, c. 2. Hyde, in Not ad Bobov de Prec Moh p 1 Smith, de Morib et Instit Turcar Ep 1 p 32. ⁶ Vide Reland, de Rel Moh lib 2 c. 11 ⁷ Korân c. 3 p 66. anu. 5 p 82. ⁸ Vide Smith ubi sup ⁹ Gemar Berachoth a 2 Vide Poc not. ad Port. Moiss, p 389 Sadder, porta 84 ¹ Cedren. p 250

they make also parts of their duty, such as combing the hair, cutting the beard, paring the nails, pulling out the hairs of their arm-pits, shaving their private parts, and circumcision,² of which last I will add a word or two, lest I should not find a more proper place.

Circumcision, though it be not so much as once mentioned in the Korân, is yet held by the Mohammedans to be an ancient divine institution, confirmed by the religion of Islam, and though not so absolutely necessary but that it might be dispensed with in some cases,³ yet highly proper and expedient. The Arabs used this rite for many ages before Mohammed, having probably learned it from Ismael, though not only his descendants, but the Hamyarites,⁴ and other tribes, practised the same. The Ismaelites, we are told,⁵ used to circumcise their children not on the eighth day, as is the custom of the Jews, but when about twelve or thirteen years old, at which age their father underwent that operation⁶ and the Mohammedans imitate them so far as not to circumcise children before they be able, at least, distinctly to pronounce that profession of their faith, *There is no God but God, Mohammed is the apostle of God*,⁷ but pitch on what age they please for the purpose between six and sixteen or thereabouts⁸ Though Moslem doctors are generally of opinion, conformably to the Scripture, that this precept was originally given to Abraham, yet some have imagined that Adam was taught it by the angel Gabriel, to satisfy an oath he had made to cut off that flesh which, after his fall, had rebelled against his spirit, whence an odd argument has been drawn for the universal obligation of circumcision⁹ Though I cannot say the Jews led the Mohammedans the way here, yet they seem so unwilling to believe any of the principal patriarchs or prophets before Abraham were really uncircumcised, that they pretend several of them, as well as some holy men who lived after his time, were born ready circumcised, or without a foreskin, and that Adam, in particular, was so created,¹ whence the Mohammedans affirm the same thing of their prophet²

Prayer was by Mohammed thought so necessary a duty, that he used to call it *the pillar of religion*, and *the key of paradise*, and when the Thakifites, who dwelt at Tâyef, sending in the ninth year of the Hejra to make their submission to that prophet, after the keeping of their favourite idol had been denied them,³ begged, at least, that they might be dispensed with as to their saying of the appointed prayers, he answered, *That there could be no good in that religion wherein was no prayer*.⁴

That so important a duty, therefore, might not be neglected, Mohammed obliged his followers to pray five times every twenty four hours, at certain stated times, viz 1 In the morning, before sunrise 2 When noon is past, and the sun begins to decline from the meridian 3 In the afternoon, before sunset 4 In the evening, after sunset, and before day be shut in

² Vide Poc Spec p 303 ³ Vide Bobov de Circumcis p 22 ⁴ Philostorg Hist Eccl lib 3 ⁵ Joseph. Ant. lib 1, c 23 ⁶ Gen xvii 25 ⁷ Vide Bobov ubi sup and Poc Spec. p 19 ⁸ Vide Reland, de Rel Moh lib 1, p 75 ⁹ This is the substance of the following passage of the Gospel of Barnabas (chap 23) viz *Entonces dixo Jesus, Adam el primer hombre avendo comido por engano del demonio la comida prohibida por Dios en el parayso, se le rebeló su carne à su espíritu, por lo qual juró dixiendo, Por Dios que yo te quiero cortar, y rompiendo una piedra tomó su carne para cortar la con el corte de la piedra Por loqual fue reprehendido del angel Gabriel y el le dixo, Yo he jurado por Dios que lo he de cortar, y mentiroso na le será jamas Ala hora el angel le enseno la superfluidad de su carne, y a quella cortó De manera que assi como todo hombre toma carne de Adam, assi esta obligado a cumplir aquella que Adam con juramento prometió* ¹ Shalsbel. hakkabala Vide Poc Spec p 320 ² Gagner Not in Abulfed. Vit Moh p 2. ³ Vide Poc Spec. p 304 ⁴ See before, p 13 ⁵ Abulfed Vit. Moh p 127

and, 5 After the day is shut in, and before the first watch of the night For this institution he pretended to have received the divine command from the throne of God himself, when he took his night journey to heaven and the observing of the stated times of prayer is frequently insisted on in the Korân, though they be not particularly prescribed therein Accordingly, at the aforesaid times, of which public notice is given by the Muedhdhins or Criers, from the steeples of their mosques (for they use no bell), every conscientious Moslem prepares himself for prayer, which he performs either in the mosque or any other place, provided it be clean, after a prescribed form, and with a certain number of phrases or ejaculations (which the more scrupulous count by a string of beads), and using certain postures of worship, all which have been particularly set down and described, though with some few mistakes by other writers,⁶ and though not to be abridged, unless in some special cases, as on a journey, on preparing for battle, &c

For the regular performance of the duty of prayer among the Mohammedans, besides the particulars above mentioned, it is also requisite that they turn their faces, while they pray, toward the temple of Mecca,⁷ the quarter where the same is situate being for that reason pointed out within their mosques by a niche, which they call al Mchab, and without, by the situation of the doors opening into the galleies of the steeples there are also tables calculated for the ready finding out their Keblah, or part to which they ought to pray, in places where they have no other direction⁸

But what is principally to be regarded in the discharge of this duty, say the Moslem doctors, is the inward disposition of the heart, which is the life and spirit of prayer,⁹ the most punctual observance of the external rites and ceremonies before mentioned being of little or no avail, if performed without due attention, reverence, devotion, and hope¹ so that we must not think the Mohammedans, or the considerate part of them at least, content themselves with the mere *opus operatum*, or imagine their whole religion to be placed therein²

I had like to have omitted two things which, in my mind, deserve mention on this head, and may, perhaps, be better defended than our contrary practice One is, that the Mohammedans never address themselves to God in sumptuous apparel, though they are obliged to be decently clothed, but lay aside their costly habits and pompous ornaments, if they wear any, when they approach the divine presence, lest they should seem proud and arrogant³ The other is, that they admit not their women to pray with them in public, that sex being obliged to perform their devotions at home, or if they visit the mosques, it must be at a time when the men are not there for the Moslems are of opinion that their presence inspires a different kind of devotion from that which is requisite in a place dedicated to the worship of God⁴

⁶ Vide Abulfed Vit Moh p 38 39 ⁶ Vide Hotting Hist. Eccles tom 8 p 470 —529 Bobov in Liturg Turcic. p 1 &c. Grelot Voyage de Constant p 253—264. Chardin, Voy de Perse, tom 11 p 388, &c and Smith de Moribus ac Ins't Turcar Ep 1 p 33, &c ⁷ Koran chap 2 p 17 See the notes there ⁸ Vide Hyde de Rel. Vet Pers p 8, 9, and 126 ⁹ Al Ghazali ¹ Vide Poc Spec. p 305 ² Vide Smith, ubi sup p 40 ³ Reland, de Rel. Moham p 96 See Kor chap 7

⁴ A Moor, named Ahmed Ebn Abdalla, in a Latin epistle by him written to Maurice prince of Orange, and Emanuel prince of Portugal, containing a censure of the Christian religion (a copy of which once belonging to Mr Selden, who has thence transcribed a considerable passage in his Treatise De Synedris Vet. Ebræor lib 1 c 12 is now in the Bodleian library), finds great fault with the unedifying manner in which mass is said among the Roman Catholics, for this very reason among others His words are *Ubiunque congregantur simul viri et fœminæ, ibi mens non est intenta et*

The greater part of the particulars comprised in the Mohammedan institution of prayer the prophet seems to have copied from others, and especially the Jews, exceeding their institutions only in the number of daily prayers.¹ The Jews are directed to pray three times a day,² in the morning, in the evening, and within night, in imitation of Abraham,³ Isaac,⁴ and Jacob⁵ and the practice was as early, at least, as the time of Daniel.⁶ The several postures used by the Mohammedans in their prayers are also the same with those prescribed by the Jewish Rabbins, and particularly the most solemn act of adoration by prostrating themselves so as to touch the ground with their forehead,⁷ notwithstanding the latter pretend the practice of the former, in this respect, to be a relic of their ancient manner of paying their devotions to Baal Peor.⁸ The Jews likewise constantly pray with their faces turned towards the temple of Jerusalem,⁹ which has been their Keblah from the time it was first dedicated by Solomon,¹⁰ for which reason Daniel, praying in Chaldea, had the windows of his chamber open towards that city,¹¹ and the same was the Keblah of Mohammed and his followers for six or seven months,¹² and till he found himself obliged to change it for the Caaba. The Jews moreover are obliged by the precepts of their religion to be careful that the place they pray in, and the garments they have on when they perform their duty be clean,¹³ the men and women also among them pray apart (in which particular they are imitated by the eastern Christians), and several other conformities might be remarked between the Jewish public worship and that of the Mohammedans.¹⁴

The next point of the Mohammedan religion is the giving of alms, which are of two sorts, *legal* and *voluntary*. The *legal alms* are of indispensable obligation, being commanded by the law, which directs and determines both the portion which is to be given, and of what things it ought to be given, but the *voluntary alms* are left to every one's liberty, to give more or less, as he shall see fit. The former kind of alms some think to be properly called *Zacât*, and the latter *Sadakât*, though this name be also frequently given to the legal alms. They are called *Zacât*, either because they *increase* a man's store, by drawing down a blessing thereon, and *produce* in his soul the virtue of liberality,¹ or because they *purify* the remaining part of one's substance from pollution, and the soul from the filth of avarice,² and *Sadakât*, because they are a proof of a man's *sincerity* in the worship of God. Some writers have called the legal alms *tythes*, but improperly, since in some cases they fall short, and in others exceed that proportion.

The giving of alms is frequently commanded in the Korân, and often recommended therein jointly with prayer, the former being held of great

devota nam inter celebrandum missam et sacrificia, faminas et viros mutuis aspectibus, signis, ac nutibus accendunt pravorum appetitum, et denderorum suorum ignes et quando hoc non fieret, saltem humana fragilitas delectatur mutuo et reciproco aspectu; et ita non potest esse mens quieta, attenta, et devota.

¹ The Sabians, according to some, exceed the Mohammedans in this point, praying seven times a day. See before, p 11. ² Gemar Berachoth. ³ Gen xix 27. ⁴ Gen. xxiv 63. ⁵ Gen xxviii 11, &c. ⁶ Dan. vi. 10. ⁷ Vide Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moham p 427, &c. and Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p 5, &c. ⁸ Maimonid. in Epist. ad Proselyt. Relig. Vide Poc. Spec. p 306. ⁹ Gemar Bava Bathra, and Berachoth. ¹⁰ 1 Kings viii 29, &c. ¹¹ Dan. vi 10. ¹² Some say eighteen months. Vide Abdulfed Vit. Moham p 54. ¹³ Maimon in Halachoth Tephilla, chap 9, sect 8. ¹⁴ Menura hammeor, fol 28 2. ¹⁵ Vide Millium, ubi supra, p 424, et seq. ¹⁶ Al Beidawi. See Kor chap 2. p 32—34. ¹⁷ Idem. Compare this with what our Saviour says, Luke xi. 41. "Gave alms of such things as ye have, and behold, all things are clean unto you."

efficacy in causing the latter to be heard of God for which reason the Khalif Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz used to say, "that prayer carries us half way to God, fasting brings us to the door of his palace, and alms procure us admission"³ The Mohammedans therefore esteem alms-deeds to be highly meritorious, and many of them have been illustrious for the exercise thereof Hasan the son of Ali, and grandson of Mohammed, in particular, is related to have thrice in his life divided his substance equally between himself and the poor, and twice to have given away all he had⁴ and the generality are so addicted to the doing of good, that they extend their charity even to brutes⁵

Alms, according to the prescriptions of the Mohammedan law, are to be given of five things, 1 Of cattle, that is to say, of camels, kine, and sheep 2 Of money 3 Of corn 4 Of fruits, *viz*, dates and raisins. And 5 Of wares sold Of each of these a certain portion is to be given in alms, being usually one part in forty, or two and a half *per cent* of the value But no alms are due for them, unless they amount to a certain quantity or number, nor until a man has been in possession of them eleven months, he not being obliged to give alms thereout before the twelfth month is begun nor are alms due for cattle employed in tilling the ground, or in carrying of burdens In some cases a much larger portion than the before mentioned is reckoned due for alms thus of what is gotten out of mines, or the sea, or by any art or profession over and above what is sufficient for the reasonable support of a man's family, and especially where there is a mixture or suspicion of unjust gain, a fifth part ought to be given in alms. Moreover, at the end of the fast of Ramadan, every Moslem is obliged to give in alms for himself and for every one of his family, if he has any, a measure⁶ of wheat, barley, dates, raisins, rice, or other provisions commonly eaten⁷

The legal alms were at first collected by Mohammed himself, who employed them as he thought fit, in the relief of his poor relations and followers, but chiefly applied them to the maintenance of those who served in his wars, and fought, as he termed it, in the way of God His successors continued to do the same, till, in process of time, other taxes and tributes being imposed for the support of the government, they seem to have been weary of acting as almoners to their subjects, and to have left the paying them to their consciences

In the foregoing rules concerning alms, we may observe also footsteps of what the Jews taught and practised in respect thereto Alms, which they also call *Sedaka*, i. e. *justice*, or *righteousness*⁸ are greatly recommended by their Rabbins, and preferred even to sacrifices,⁹ as a duty the frequent exercise whereof will effectually free a man from hell fire,¹ and merit everlasting life² wherefore, besides the corners of the field, and the gleanings of their harvest and vineyard, commanded to be left for the poor and the stranger by the law of Moses,³ a certain portion of their corn and fruits is directed to be set apart for their relief, which portion is called the tithes of the poor⁴ The Jews likewise were formerly very conspicuous for their charity Zaccheus gave the half of his goods to the poor, and we

³ D'Herbel Bibl. Orient p 5 ⁴ Idem. p 422 ⁵ Vide Busbeq Epist iii p 178. Smith, de Morib Turc. Epist i p 66, &c. Compare Eccles. xi 1, and Prov xii. 10.

⁶ This measure is a *Saa*, and contains about six or seven pounds weight ⁷ Vide Reland, de Rel. Mohammed lib i p 99, &c Chardin, Voy de Perse, tom ii p 415, &c.

⁸ Hence alms are in the New Testament termed *Almsgiving*. Matt. vi. 1 (Ed. Steph) and 2 Cor ix 10 ⁹ Gemar in Bava bathra. ¹ Ibid. in Gittin ² Ibid in Rosh hashana. ³ Lev xix 9, 10 Deut xxiv 19, &c ⁴ Vide Gemar Hierosol. in Peah, and Maimon in Halachoth matanoth Anyyym c. 6. Confer Pirke Avoth, v 8.

⁵ Luke xix. 8.

are told that some gave their whole substance so that their doctors, at length, decreed that no man should give above a fifth part of his goods in alms.⁶ There were also persons publicly appointed in every synagogue to collect and distribute the people's contributions.⁷

The third point of religious practice is fasting, a duty of so great moment, that Mohammed used to say it was "the gate of religion," and that "the odour of the mouth of him who fasteth is more grateful to God than that of musk," and al Ghazali reckons fasting "one fourth part of the faith." According to the Mohammedan divines, there are three degrees of fasting: 1 The restraining the belly and other parts of the body from satisfying their lusts, 2 The restraining the ears, eyes, tongue, hands, feet, and other members, from sin, and 3 The fasting of the heart from worldly cares, and restraining the thoughts from every thing besides God.⁸

The Mohammedans are obliged, by the express command of the Korân, to fast the whole month of Ramadân, from the time the new moon first appears, till the appearance of the next new moon, during which time they must abstain from eating, drinking, and women, from daybreak till night,⁹ or sunset. And this injunction they observe so strictly, that while they fast they suffer nothing to enter their mouths, or other parts of their body, esteeming the fast broken and null if they smell perfumes, take a clyster or injection, bathe, or even purposely swallow their spittle, some being so cautious that they will not open their mouths to speak, lest they should breathe the air too freely.¹ The fast is also deemed void if a man kiss or touch a woman, or if he vomit designedly. But after sunset they are allowed to refresh themselves, and to eat and drink, and enjoy the company of their wives till daybreak,² though the more rigid begin the fast again at midnight.³ This fast is extremely rigorous and mortifying when the month of Ramadân happens to fall in summer, (for the Arabian year being lunar,⁴ each month runs through all the different seasons in the course of thirty three years,) the length and heat of the days making the observance of it much more difficult and uneasy than in winter.

The reason given why the month of Ramadan was pitched on for this purpose is, that on that month the Koran was sent down from heaven.⁵ Some pretend that Abraham, Moses, and Jesus received their respective revelations in the same month.⁶

From the fast of Ramadan none are excused, except only travellers and sick persons (under which last denomination the doctors comprehend all whose health would manifestly be injured by their keeping the fast,

⁶ Vide Reland Ant Sacr Vet Hebr p 402. ⁷ Vide ibid p 138. ⁸ Al Ghazali, al Mostatraf. ⁹ Koran, chap 2 p 21 22. ¹ Hence we read that the Virgin Mary to avoid answering the reflections cast on her for bringing home a child was advised by the angel Gabriel to feign she had vowed a fast, and therefore ought not to speak. See Koran, chap 19. ² The words of the Koran (chap 2, p 22) are "Until ye can distinguish a white thread from a black thread by the daybreak" a form of speaking borrowed by Mohammed from the Jews, who determine the time when they are to begin their morning lesson to be so soon as a man can discern blue from white i. e. the blue threads from the white threads in the fringes of their garments. But this explication the commentators do not approve, pretending that by the "white thread and the black thread" are to be understood the light and dark streaks of the daybreak, and they say the passage was at first revealed without the words "of the daybreak" but Mohammed's followers taking the expression in the first sense, regulated their practice accordingly, and continued eating and drinking till they could distinguish a white thread from a black thread, as they lay before them, to prevent which for the future, the words "of the daybreak" were added as explanatory of the former. Al Beidawi. Vide Pocock, Not. in Carmen Tograi p 80 &c. Chardin, Voy de Perse, tom II p 423. ³ Vide Chardin ibid p 421, &c. Reland, de Rel Moham p 109, &c. ⁴ See hereafter, sect. vi. ⁵ Kor chap 2, p 22. See also chap. 97. ⁶ Al Beidawi, ex Trad Mohammedis.

as women with child, and giving suck, ancient people and young children), but then they are obliged, as soon as the impediment is removed, to fast an equal number of other days, and the breaking the fast is ordered to be expiated by giving alms to the poor⁷

Mohammed seems to have followed the guidance of the Jews in his ordinances concerning fasting, no less than in the former particulars. That nation, when they fast, abstain not only from eating and drinking, but from women, and from anointing themselves,⁸ from daybreak until sunset, and the stars begin to appear,⁹ spending the night in taking what refreshments they please¹ And they allow women with child and giving suck, old persons, and young children, to be exempted from keeping most of the public fasts²

Though my design here be briefly to treat of those points only which are of indispensable obligation on a Moslem, and expressly required by the Korân, without entering into their practice as to voluntary and supererogatory works, yet to show how closely Mohammed's institutions follow the Jewish, I shall add a word or two of the voluntary fasts of the Mohammedans. These are such as have been recommended either by the example or approbation of their prophet, and especially certain days of those months which they esteem sacred there being a tradition that he used to say, That a fast of one day in a sacred month was better than a fast of thirty days in another month and that the fast of one day in Ramadân was more meritorious than a fast of thirty days in a sacred month³ Among the more commendable days is that of Ashura, the tenth of Moharram, which, though some writers tell us it was observed by the Arabs, and particularly the tribe of Koreish, before Mohammed's time,⁴ yet as others assure us, that prophet borrowed both the name and the fast from the Jews, it being, with them, the tenth of the seventh month, or Tisri, and the great day of expiation commanded to be kept by the law of Moses⁵ Al Kazwini relates, that when Mohammed came to Medina and found the Jews there fasted on the day of Ashura, he asked them the reason of it, and they told him it was because on that day Pharaoh and his people were drowned, Moses, and those who were with him escaping whereupon he said, that he bore a nearer relation to Moses than they, and ordered his followers to fast on that day However, it seems, afterwards he was not so well pleased in having imitated the Jews herein, and therefore declared, that if he lived another year, he would alter the day, and fast on the ninth, abhorring so near an agreement with them.⁶

The pilgrimage to Mecca is so necessary a point of practice, that according to a tradition of Mohammed, he who dies without performing it may as well die a Jew or a Christian,⁷ and the same is expressly commanded in the Korân.⁸ Before I speak of the time and manner of performing this pilgrimage, it may be proper to give a short account of the temple of Mecca, the chief scene of the Mohammedan worship, in doing which I need be the less prolix, because that edifice has been already described by several writers,⁹ though they, following different relations, have been led into some

⁷ See Koran, chap 2 p 22 ⁸ Siphra, fol 252 2 ⁹ Tosephoth ad Gemar Yoma, f 34
¹ Vide Gemar Yoma, f 40, and Maimon in Halachoth Taniot, c 5 sect. v
² Vide Gemar Tanith, f 12, and Yoma, f 83, and Es Hayim, Taniith, c 1
³ Al Ghazali ⁴ Al Barezi, in comment. ad Orat Ebn Nobat.
⁵ Levit. xvi 29, and xxiii 27 ⁶ Ebn al Athir Vide Pocock, Spec. p. 309
⁷ Al Ghazali ⁸ Chap 3, p 47 See also chap 22 and chap 2, p 16, &c.
⁹ Chardin, Voy de Perse, t ii p 428 &c Bremond, Descriptioni dell Egitto, &c lib 1 c. 29 Pitts account of the Isel &c. of the Mohammedans, p 98 &c and Doulaunvilliers. V e de Mohammed, p 54, &c which last author is the most particular

mistakes, and agree not with one another in several particulars nor, indeed, do the Arab authors agree in all things, one great reason whereof is their speaking of different times.

The temple of Mecca stands in the midst of the city, and is honoured with the title of *Masjad al alharâm*, i. e. *the sacred or inviolable temple*. What is principally revered in this place, and gives sanctity to the whole, is a square stone building, called the Caaba, as some fancy from its *height*, which surpasses that of the other buildings at Mecca,¹ but more probably from its *quadrangular* form, and *Bait Allah*, i. e. *the house of God*, being peculiarly hallowed and set apart for his worship. The length of this edifice, from north to south, is twenty-four cubits, its breadth from east to west twenty-three cubits, and its height twenty seven cubits the door, which is on the east side, stands about four cubits from the ground, the floor being level with the bottom of the door² In the corner next this door is *the black stone*, of which I shall take notice by and by On the north side of the Caaba, within a semicircular enclosure fifty cubits long, lies the *white stone*, said to be the sepulchre of Ismael, which receives the rain water that falls off the Caaba by a spout, formerly of wood,³ but now of gold. The Caaba has a double roof, supported within by three octangular pillars of aloes wood between which, on a bar of iron, hang some silver lamps. The outside is covered with rich black damask, adorned with an embroidered band of gold, which is changed every year, and was formerly sent by the Khalifs, afterwards by the Sultâns of Egypt, and is now provided by the Turkish emperors. At a small distance from the Caaba, on the east side, is the station or place of Abraham, where is another stone much respected by the Mohammedans, of which something will be said hereafter

The Caaba, at some distance, is surrounded, but not entirely, by a circular enclosure of pillars joined towards the bottom by a low balustrade, and towards the top by bars of silver Just without this inner enclosure, on the south, north, and west sides of the Caaba, are three buildings, which are the oratories or places where three of the orthodox sects assemble to perform their devotions (the fourth sect, viz. that of al Shafei, making use of the station of Abraham for that purpose), and towards the south east stands the edifice which covers the well Zemzem, the treasury and the cupola of al Abbas.⁴

All these buildings are enclosed, at a considerable distance, by a magnificent piazza, or square colonnade, like that of the Royal Exchange in London, but much larger, covered with small domes or cupolas, from the four corners whereof rise as many minarets or steeples, with double galleries, and adorned with gilded spires and crescents, as are the cupolas which cover the piazza and the other buildings. Between the pillars of both enclosures hang a great number of lamps, which are constantly lighted at night. The first foundations of this outward enclosure were laid by Omar, the second Khalif, who built no more than a low wall, to prevent the court of the Caaba, which before lay open, from being encroached on by private buildings, but the structure has been since raised, by the liberality of many succeeding princes and great men, to its present lustre.⁵

Thus is properly all that is called the temple but the whole territory of Mecca being also Harâm or sacred, there is a third enclosure, distinguished at certain distances by small turrets, some five, some seven, and others ten

¹ Ahmed Ebn Yusef. ² Sharif al Edrisi, and ³ Kitab Masa'ic, apud Poc. Spec. p. 125. &c. ⁴ Sharif al Edrisi, *ibid.* ⁵ Idem *ibid.* ⁶ Poc. Spec. p. 116.

miles distant from the city * Within this compass of ground it is not lawful to attack an enemy, or even to hunt or fowl, or cut a branch from a tree, which is the true reason why the pigeons at Mecca are reckoned sacred, and not that they are supposed to be of the race of that imaginary pigeon which some authors, who should have known better, would persuade us Mohamammed made pass for the Holy Ghost †

The temple of Mecca was a place of worship, and in singular veneration with the Arabs from great antiquity, and many centuries before Mohammed. Though it was most probably dedicated at first to an idolatrous use, ‡ yet the Mohammedans are generally persuaded that the Caaba is almost coeval with the world, for they say that Adam, after his expulsion from paradise, begged of God that he might erect a building like that he had seen there, called Beit al Mamûr, or the frequented house, and al Dorâh towards which he might direct his prayers, and which he might compass, as the angels do the celestial one Whereupon God let down a representation of that house in curtains of light, § and set it in Mecca, perpendicularly under its original, ¶ ordering the patriarch to turn towards it when he prayed, and to compass it by way of devotion * After Adam's death, his son Seth built a house in the same form, of stones and clay, which being destroyed by the deluge, was rebuilt by Abraham and Ishmael, † at God's command, in the place where the former had stood, and after the same model, they being directed therein by revelation ‡

After this edifice had undergone several reparations, it was a few years after the birth of Mohammed rebuilt by the Koreish on the old foundation, § and afterwards repaired by Abdallah Ebn Zobeir, the Khalif of Mecca, and at length again rebuilt by Yusof, surnamed al Hc'aj Ebn Yûs'f, in the seventy fourth year of the Hejra, with some alterations, in the form wherein it now remains * Some years after, however, the Khalif Harûm al Rashid (or, as others write, his father al Mohdi, or his grandfather al Mansur,) intended again to change what had been altered by al Hc'aj, and to reduce the Caaba to the old form in which it was left by Abdallah, but was dissuaded from meddling with it, lest so holy a place should become the sport of princes, and being new modelled after every one's fancy, should lose that reverence which was justly paid it † But notwithstanding the antiquity and holiness of this building, they have a prophecy, by tradition from Mohammed, that in the last times the Ethiopians shall come and utterly demolish it ‡, after which it will not be rebuilt again for ever §

Before we leave the temple of Mecca, two or three particulars deserve further notice One is the celebrated black stone, which is set in silver,

* Gol Not in Alfrag p 99 † Gab Sionita, et Joh Hesronita de nonnullis Orient. Urbib ad Calc Geogr Nub p 21 Al Mogholtai, in his Life of Mohammed says the pigeons of the temple of Mecca are of the breed of those which laid their eggs at the mouth of the cave, where the prophet and Abu Beer hid themselves when they fled from that city See before p 36 ‡ See before, p 12. § Some say that the Beit al Mamur itself was the Caaba of Adam which, having been let down to him from heaven, was, at the flood taken up again into heaven and is there kept Al Zamakh in Kor c 2 ¶ Al Juzi ex Trad. Eben Abbas. It has been observed that the primitive Christian church held a parallel opinion as to the situation of the celestial Jerusalem with respect to the terrestrial for in the apocryphal book of the revelations of St Peter, (chap xxvii) after Jesus had mentioned unto Peter the creation of the seven heavens (whence by the way, it appears that this number of heavens was not devised by Mohammed), and of the angels, begins the description of the heavenly Jerusalem in these words: *We have created the upper Jerusalem above the waters which are above the third heaven, hanging directly over the lower Jerusalem &c* Vide Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p 28. * Al Shahrestani † Vide Kor chap 2, p 16 17 ‡ Al Jannabi, in Vita Abrah. § Vide Abulfed Vit. Moh p 13. ¶ Idem, in Hist. Gen. Al Jannabi. † Al Jannabi, &c ¶ Idem Ahmed Ebn Yusof. Vide Poc Spec. p 115, &c.

and fixed in the south east corner of the Caaba, being the which looks towards Basra, about two cubits and one third, or which is the same thing, seven spans from the ground. This stone is exceedingly respected by the Mohammedans, and is kissed by the pilgrims with great devotion, being called by some the *right hand of God on earth*. They fable that it is one of the precious stones of paradise, and fell down to the earth with Adam, and being taken up again, or otherwise preserved at the desire the angel Gabriel afterwards brought it back to Abraham when he was building the Caaba. It was at first whiter than milk, but grew black long since by the touch of a menstruous woman, or, as others tell us, by the sins of mankind,^a or rather by the touches and kisses of so many people, the superficies only being black, and the inside still remaining white.¹ When the Karmatians,² among other profanations by them offered to the temple of Mecca, took away this stone, they could not be prevailed on for love or money to restore it, though those of Mecca offered no less than five thousand pieces of gold for it.³ However, after they had kept it twenty two years, seeing they could not thereby draw the pilgrims from Mecca, they sent it back of their own accord, at the same time bantering its devotees by telling them it was not the true stone but, as it is said, it was proved to be no counterfeit by its peculiar quality of swimming on water.⁴

Another thing observable in this temple is the stone in Abraham's place, wherein they pretend to show his footsteps, telling us he stood on it when he built the Caaba,⁵ and that it served him for a scaffold, rising and falling of itself as he had occasion,⁶ though another tradition says he stood upon it while the wife of his son Ismael, whom he paid a visit to, washed his head.⁷ It is now enclosed in an iron chest, out of which the pilgrims drink the water of Zemzem,⁸ and are ordered to pray at it by the Korân.⁹ The officers of the temple took care to hide this stone when the Karmatians took the other.¹

The last thing I shall take notice of in the temple is the well Zemzem on the east side of the Caaba, and which is covered with a small building and cupola. The Mohammedans are persuaded it is the very spring which gushed out for the relief of Ismael, when Hagar his mother wandered with him in the desert,² and some pretend it was so named from her calling to him, when she spied it, in the Egyptian tongue, Zem, zem, that is, Stay, stay,³ though it seems rather to have had the name from the murmuring of its waters. The water of this well is reckoned holy and is highly revered, being not only drank with particular devotion by the pilgrims, but also sent in bottles, as a great rarity, to most parts of the Mohammedan dominions. Abd'allah, surnamed al Hâfedh, from his great memory particularly as to the traditions of Mohammed, gave out that he acquired that faculty by drinking large draughts of Zemzem water,⁴ to which I really believe it as efficacious as that of Helicon to the inspiring of a poet.

To this temple every Mohammedan, who has health and means sufficient,⁵ ought once at least in his life to go on pilgrimage, nor are women excused from the performance of this duty. The pilgrims meet at different places

^a Al Zamakh, &c. in Kor Ahmed Ebn Yusef. ¹ Poc. Spec. p 117, &c. ² These Karmatians were a sect which arose in the year of the Hejra 278, and whose opinions overturned the fundamental points of Mohammedism. See D Herbelot's Bibl. Orient. Art. Carmath, and hereafter, sect. viii. ³ D Herbel. p 40. ⁴ Ahmed Ebn Yusef Abulfeda. Vide Poc. Spec. p 119. ⁵ Abulfed. ⁶ Vide Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p 35. ⁷ Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Safi eddin. ⁸ Ahmed Ebn Yusef. ⁹ Chap 2, p 16. Vide Poc. Spec. p 120. ¹⁰ Gen. xxi. 19. ¹¹ G. Sionit. et J. Her. de nonnull Urb Orient. p 19. ¹² D Herbel. p 5. ¹³ See Kor chap 3, p 47, and the notes thereon.

near Mecca, according to the different parts from whence they come,⁶ during the months of Shawal and Dhu'lkaada, being obliged to be there by the beginning of Dhu'lhaja, which month, as its name imports, is peculiarly set apart for the celebration of this solemnity

At the places above mentioned the pilgrims properly commence such, when the men put on the Ihram or sacred habit, which consists only of two woollen wrappers, one wrapped about their middle to cover their privates, and the other thrown over their shoulders, having their heads bare, and a kind of slippers which cover neither heel nor the instep, and so enter the sacred territory in their way to Mecca. While they have this habit on they must neither hunt nor fowl,⁷ (though they are allowed to fish),⁸ which precept is so punctually observed, that they will not kill even a louse or a flea, if they find them on their bodies, there are some noxious animals, however, which they have permission to kill during the pilgrimage, as kites, ravens, scorpions, mice, and dogs given to bite.⁹ During the pilgrimage it behoves a man to have a constant guard over his words and actions, and to avoid all quarrelling, or ill language, and all converse with women, and obscene discourse, and to apply his whole intention to the good work he is engaged in

The pilgrims, being arrived at Mecca, immediately visit the temple, and then enter on the performance of the prescribed ceremonies, which consist chiefly in going in procession round the Caaba, in running between the mounts Safâ and Merwâ, in making the station on Mount Arafat, and slaying the victims, and shaving their heads in the valley of Mina. These ceremonies have been so particularly described by others,¹ that I may be excused if I but just mention the most material circumstances thereof

In compassing the Caaba, which they do seven times, beginning at the corner where the black stone is fixed, they use a short quick pace the three first times they go round it, and a grave ordinary pace the four last, which it is said was ordered by Mohammed, that his followers might show themselves strong and active, to cut off the hopes of the infidels, who gave out that the immoderate heats of Medina had rendered them weak.² But the aforesaid quick pace they are not obliged to use every time they perform this piece of devotion, but only at some particular times.³ So often as they pass by the black stone they either kiss it, or touch it with their hand, and kiss that

The running between Safâ and Merwâ⁴ is also performed seven times, partly with a slow pace, and partly running.⁵ for they walk gravely till they come to a place between two pillars, and there they run, and afterwards walk again, sometimes looking back, and sometimes stopping, like one who has lost something, to represent Hagar seeking water for her son.⁶ for the ceremony is said to be as ancient as her time.⁷

On the ninth of Dhul hajja, after morning prayer, the pilgrims leave the valley of Mina, whither they come the day before, and proceed in a tumultuous and rushing manner to mount Arafat,⁸ where they stay to perform their devotions till sunset then they go to Mozdalifa, an oratory between Arafat and Mina, and there spend the night in prayer and reading the Korân. The next morning by daybreak they visit al Mash'ar al naram, or

⁶ Vide Bobov de Peregr Mecc. p 12, &c. ⁷ Koran chap 5. ⁸ Ibid. ⁹ Al Beid. ¹ Bobov de Peregr Mecc p 11, &c. Chardin, Voy de Persu tom 2, p 440, &c. See also Pitt's account of the rel &c of Mohammedans, p 92, &c Gagnier, Vie de Moh. tom 2 p 258 &c. Abulfed Vit Moh p 130, &c. and Reland de Rel Moh p 113, &c. Fbnal Athr. ² Vide Pocock, Spec p. 314. ³ See before p. 15. ⁴ Al Ghazali. ⁵ Reland, de Rel. Moh p 121. ⁶ Ebn al Athr. ⁷ See L. 7 chap 2, p 23

the sacred monument,⁹ and departing thence before sunrise, naste by Batn Mohasser to the valley of Mina, where they throw seven stones¹ at three marks or pillars, in imitation of Abraham, who meeting the devil in that place, and being by him disturbed in his devotions, or tempted to disobedience, when he was going to sacrifice his son, was commanded by God to drive him away by throwing stones at him,² though others pretend this rite to be as old as Adam, who also put the devil to flight in the same place, and by the same means.³

This ceremony being over, on the same day, the tenth of Dhul hajja, the pilgrims slay their victims in the said valley of Mina, of which they and their friends eat part, and the rest is given to the poor. These victims must be either sheep, goats, kine, or camels, males, of either of the two former kinds, and females if of either of the latter, and of a fit age.⁴ The sacrifices being over, they shave their heads and cut their nails, burying them in the same place, after which the pilgrimage is looked on as completed,⁵ though they again visit the Caaba, to take their leave of that sacred building.

The above-mentioned ceremonies, by the confession of the Moham-medans themselves, were almost all of them observed by the Pagan Arabs many ages before their prophet's appearance, and particularly the compassing of the Caaba, the running between Safa and Merwâ, and the throwing of the stones in Mina, and were confirmed by Mohammed, with some alterations in such points as seemed most exceptionable: thus, for example, he ordered that when they compassed the Caaba, they should be *clothed*,⁶ whereas before his time they performed that piece of devotion *naked*, throwing off their clothes as a mark that they had cast off their sins,⁷ or as signs of their disobedience towards God.⁸

It is also acknowledged that the greater part of these rites are of no intrinsic worth, neither affecting the soul, nor agreeing with natural reason, but altogether arbitrary, and commanded merely to try the obedience of mankind, without any further view, and are therefore to be complied with, not that they are good in themselves, but because God has so appointed.⁹ Some, however, have endeavoured to find out some reasons for the arbitrary injunctions of this kind, and one writer,¹ supposing men ought to imitate the heavenly bodies, not only in their purity but in their circular motion, seems to argue the procession round the Caaba to be therefore a rational practice. Reland² has observed that the Romans had something like this in their worship, being ordered by Numa to use a circular motion in the adoration of the gods, either to represent the orbicular motion of the world, or the perfecting the whole office of prayer to that God who is maker of the universe, or else in allusion to the Egyptian wheels, which were hieroglyphics of the instability of human fortune.³

The pilgrimage to Mecca, and the ceremonies prescribed to those who perform it, are, perhaps, liable to greater exception than any other of

⁹ See Koran, chap. 2, p. 23. M. Gagner has been twice guilty of a mistake in confounding this monument with the sacred enclosure of the Caaba. Vide Gagn. Not. ad Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 131, et Vie de Moh. tom. 2, p. 262. ¹ Dr. Pocock from al Ghazali, says seventy, at different times and places. Spec. p. 315. ² Al Ghazali, Ahmed Ebn Yusef. ³ Ebn al Athir. ⁴ Vide Reland, ubi sup. p. 117. ⁵ See Kor. chap. 2, p. 23. ⁶ Idem chap. 7. ⁷ Al Faik, de Tempore Ignor. Arabum, apud Millium de Mohammedismo ante Moh. p. 322. Compare Isaiah lxiv. 6. ⁸ Jallal. al Bend. This notion comes very near, if it be not the same, with that of the Adamites. ⁹ Al Ghazali, vide Abulfar. Hist. Dyn. p. 171. ¹ Abu Jaafar Ebn Tofail, in Vita Hai Ebn Yokdhan, p. 151. See Mr. Ockley's English translation thereof, p. 117. ² De Rel. Moh. p. 123. ³ Plutarch, in Numa.

Mohammed's institutions, not only as silly and ridiculous in themselves, but as relics of idolatrous superstition.⁴ Yet whoever seriously considers how difficult it is to make people submit to the abolishing of ancient customs, how unreasonable soever, which they are fond of, especially where the interest of a considerable party is also concerned, and that a man may with less danger change many things than one great one,⁵ must excuse Mohammed's yielding some points of less moment, to gain the principal. The temple of Mecca was held in excessive veneration by all the Arabs in general (if we except only the tribes of Tay, and Khathâam, and some of the posterity of al Harath Ebn Caab,⁶ who used not to go in pilgrimage thereto), and especially by those of Mecca, who had a particular interest to support that veneration, and as the most silly and insignificant things are generally the objects of the greatest superstition, Mohammed found it much easier to abolish idolatry itself than to eradicate the superstitious bigotry with which they were addicted to that temple, and the rites performed there wherefore, after several fruitless trials to wean them therefrom,⁷ he thought it best to compromise the matter and, rather than to frustrate his whole design, to allow them to go on pilgrimage thither, and to direct their prayers thereto contenting himself with transferring the devotions there paid from their idols to the true God, and changing such circumstances therein as he judged might give scandal. And herein he followed the example of the most famous legislators, who instituted not such laws as were absolutely the best in themselves, but the best their people were capable of receiving and we find God himself had the same condescendence for the Jews, whose hardness of heart he humoured in many things giving them therefore *statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live.*⁸

SECTION V

OF CERTAIN NEGATIVE PRECEPTS IN THE KORAN

HAVING in the preceding section spoken of the fundamental points of the Mohammedan religion, relating both to faith and to practice, I shall in this and the two following discourses, speak in the same brief method of some other precepts and institutions of the Korân, which deserve peculiar notice, and first of certain things which are thereby prohibited

The drinking of wine, under which name all sorts of strong and inebriating liquors are comprehended, is forbidden in the Korân in more places than one.⁹ Some, indeed, have imagined that only excess therein is forbidden, and that the moderate use of wine is allowed by two passages in the same book.¹ but the more received opinion is, that to drink any strong liquors, either in a lesser quantity or in a greater, is absolutely unlawful, and though libertines indulge themselves in the contrary practice,² yet the more conscientious are so strict, especially if they have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca,³ that they hold it unlawful not only to taste wine, but to press

⁴ Maimonides (in Epist. ad Procel. Rel.) pretends that the worship of Mercury was performed by throwing of stones, and that of Chemosh by making bare the head, and putting on unsewn garments. ⁵ According to the maxim, *Tutus est multa mutare quam unum magnum.* ⁶ Al Shahrestani. ⁷ See Kor chap 2, p 17. ⁸ Ezek. xx 25. Vide Spencer de Urin et Thummim, cap 4 sect 7. ⁹ See chap 2, p 25, and chap 5. ¹ Chap 2, p 25 and chap 16. Vide D Herbel Bibl Orient p 696. ² Vide Smith, de Morib et Institut Turcar Ep 2, p 28, &c. ³ Vide Chardin, ubi supra, p 212.

grapes for the making of it, to buy or to sell it, or even to maintain themselves with the money arising by the sale of the liquor. The Persians, however, as well as the Turks, are very fond of wine, and if one asks them how it comes to pass that they venture to drink it, when it is so directly forbidden by their religion, they answer, that it is with them as with the Christians, whose religion prohibits drunkenness and whoredom as great sins, and who glory, notwithstanding some in debauching girls and married women, and others in drinking to excess.⁴

It has been a question whether coffee comes not under the above mentioned prohibition,⁵ because the fumes of it have some effect on the imagination. This drink, which was first publicly used at Aden, in Arabia Felix, about the middle of the ninth century of the Hejra, and thence gradually introduced into Mecca, Medina, Egypt, Syria, and other parts of the Levant, has been the occasion of great disputes and disorders, having been sometimes publicly condemned and forbidden, and again declared lawful and allowed.⁶ At present the use of coffee is generally tolerated, if not granted, as is that of tobacco, though the more religious make a scruple of taking the latter, not only because it inebriates, but also out of respect to a traditional saying of their prophet (which, if it could be made out to be his, would prove him a prophet indeed), *That in the latter days there should be men who should bear the name of Moslems, but should not be really such, and that they should smoke a certain weed, which should be called TOBACCO* however, the eastern nations are generally so addicted to both that they say, *a dish of coffee and a pipe of tobacco are a complete entertainment*, and the Persians have a proverb, *that coffee without tobacco is meat without salt*.⁷

Opium and beng (which latter is the leaves of hemp in pills or conserve) are also by the rigid Mohammedans esteemed unlawful, though not mentioned in the Koran, because they intoxicate and disturb the understanding as wine does, and in a more extraordinary manner yet these drugs are now commonly taken in the east, but they who are addicted to them are generally looked upon as debauchees.⁸

Several stories have been told as the occasion of Mohammed's prohibiting the drinking of wine⁹ but the true reasons are given in the Koran, viz., because the ill qualities of that liquor surpass its good ones, the common effects thereof being quarrels and disturbances in company, and neglect, or at least indecencies, in the performance of religious duties.¹ For these reasons it was, that the priests were, by the Levitical law, forbidden to drink wine or strong drink when they entered the tabernacle,² and that the Nazarites³ and Rechabites,⁴ and many pious persons among the Jews and primitive Christians, wholly abstained therefrom, nay, some of the latter went so far as to condemn the use of wine as sinful.⁵ But Mohammed is said to have had a nearer example than any of these, in the more devout persons of his own tribe.⁶

⁴ Chardin, ubi sup p 344 ⁵ Abd alkader Mohammed al Ansari has written a treatise concerning coffee, wherein he argues for its lawfulness Vide D Herbel Art. Caffeh ⁶ Vide Le Traité Historique de l Origine et du Progrès du Cafe à la fin du Voy de l Arabie Heure de la Roqua. ⁷ Reland Dissert. Miscell. tom 2, p 280 Vide Chardin Voy de Perse, tom 2, p. 14, and 66 ⁸ Vide Chardin, ibid. p 68, &c and D Herbel p 200 ⁹ Vide Frid Life of Moh p 82, &c. Busbeq Epist. 3, p 255, and Maundeville's Travels, p 170 ¹ Kor chap 2, p 25, chap 5, and chap 4, p 66 See Prov xxiii. 29 &c. ² Levit. x 9 ³ Num vi 2. ⁴ Jerom xxxv 5, &c. ⁵ This was the heresy of those called Encratites, and Aquary Khwa! a Magian heretic also declared wine unlawful, but this was after Mohammed's time Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p 800 ⁶ Vide Reland, de Rel. Moh p 271.

Gaming is prohibited by the Korân⁷ in the same passages, and for the same reasons, as wine. The word *al Mesar*, which is there used, signifies a particular manner of casting lots by arrows, much practised by the pagan Arabs, and performed in the following manner. A young camel being bought and killed, and divided into ten, or twenty-eight parts, the persons who cast lots for them, to the number of seven, met for that purpose, and eleven arrows were provided, without heads or feathers, seven of which were marked, the first with one notch, the second with two, and so on, and the other four had no mark at all,⁸ these arrows were put promiscuously into a bag, and then drawn by an indifferent person, who had another near him to receive them, and to see he acted fairly, those to whom the marked arrows fell won shares in proportion to their lot, and those to whom the blanks fell were entitled to no part of the camel at all, but were obliged to pay the full price of it. The winners, however, tasted not of the flesh, any more than the losers, but the whole was distributed among the poor, and this they did out of pride and ostentation, it being reckoned a shame for a man to stand out, and not venture his money on such an occasion.⁹ This custom, therefore, though it was of some use to the poor, and diversion to the rich, was forbidden by Mohammed,¹ as the source of greater inconveniences, by occasioning quarrels and heart-burnings, which arose from the winners' insulting of those who lost.

Under the name of *lots* the commentators agree that all other games whatsoever, which are subject to hazard or chance, are comprehended and forbidden, as dice, cards, tables, &c. And they are reckoned so ill in themselves, that the testimony of him who plays at them is, by the more rigid, judged to be of no validity in a court of justice. Chess is almost the only game which the Mohammedan doctors allow to be lawful (though it has been a doubt with some),² because it depends wholly on skill and management, and not at all on chance. but then it is allowed under certain restrictions, viz. that it be no hinderance to the regular performance of their devotions, and that no money or other thing be played for or betted, which last the Turks and Sunnites religiously observe, but the Persians and Moguls do not.³ But what Mohammed is supposed chiefly to have disliked in the game of chess, was the carved pieces, or men, with which the Pagan Arabs played, being little figures of men, elephants horses, and dromedaries,⁴ and these are thought, by some commentators to be truly meant by the *images* prohibited in one of the passages of the Korân⁵ quoted above. That the Arabs in Mohammed's time actually used such images for chessmen appears from what is related, in the Sonna, of Ali, who passing accidentally by some who were playing at chess, asked *What images they were which they were so intent upon?*⁶ for they were perfectly new to him, that game having been but very lately introduced into Arabia, and not long before into Persia, whither it was first brought from India, in the reign of Khosru Nushirwân.⁷ Hence the Mohammedan doctors infer that the game was disapproved only for the sake of the images. wherefore the Sunnites always play with plain pieces of wood or ivory, but the Persians and Indians, who are not so scrupulous, continue to make use of the carved ones.⁸

⁷ Chap 2, p 25 chap 5. ⁸ Some writers, as al Zamakh and al Shirazi, mention but three blank arrows. ⁹ Auctores Nodham al dorr, and Nothr al dorr, al Zamakh, al Firaouzabadi, al Shirazi in Orat al Hariri, al Beidawi, &c. Vide Poc. Spec. p 324, &c. ¹ Koran chap 5 p 81. ² Vide Hyde, de Ludis Oriental, in Proleg au Shahjádium. ³ Vide Fund ibid. ⁴ Vide Fundem, ibid and in Hist Shahjádij p 135, &c. ⁵ Chap 5. ⁶ Sokeiker al Dimishki, and Auctor libri al Mostaraf, apud Hyde, ubi sup p 8. ⁷ Khondemir, apud eund ibid p 41. ⁸ Vide Hyde, ubi sup p 8.

The Mohammedans comply with the prohibition of gaming much better than they do with that of wine, for though the common people, among the Turks more frequently, and the Persians more rarely, are addicted to play, yet the better sort are seldom guilty of it.^o

Gaming, at least to excess, has been forbidden in all well-ordered states. Gaming houses were reckoned scandalous places among the Greeks, and a gamester is declared by Aristotle¹ to be no better than a *thief* the Roman senate made very severe laws against playing at games of hazard,² except only during the *Saturnalia*, though the people played often at other times, notwithstanding the prohibition the civil law forbade all pernicious games³ and though the laity were, in some cases, permitted to play for money provided they kept within reasonable bounds, yet the clergy were forbidden to play at *tables* (which is a game of hazard), or even to look on while others played.⁴ Accursius, indeed, is of opinion they may play at chess, notwithstanding that law, because it is a game not subject to chance,⁵ and being but newly invented in the time of Justinian, was not then known in the western parts. However the monks for some time were not allowed even chess.⁶

As to the Jews, Mohammed's chief guides, they also highly disapprove gaming gamesters being severely censured in the Salmud, and their testimony declared invalid.⁷

Another practice of the idolatrous Arabs, forbidden also in one of the above-mentioned passages,⁸ was that of *divining* by *arrows*. The arrows used by them for this purpose were like those with which they cast lots, being without heads or feathers, and were kept in the temple of some idol in whose presence they were consulted. Seven such arrows were kept at the temple of Mecca,⁹ but generally in divination they made use of three only, on one of which was written, *My Lord hath commanded me* on another *My Lord hath forbidden me*, and the third was blank. If the first was drawn, they looked on it as an approbation of the enterprise in question, if the second they made a contrary conclusion, but if the third happened to be drawn, they mixed them and drew over again, till a decisive answer was given by one of the others. These divining arrows were generally consulted before any thing of moment was undertaken, as when a man was about to marry, or about to go a journey, or the like.¹ This superstitious practice of divining by arrows was used by the ancient Greeks,² and other nations, and is particularly mentioned in Scripture,³ where it is said, that

the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination, he made his arrows bright" (or, according to the version of the vulgate, which seems preferable in this place, *he mixed together* or shook the arrows), *he consulted with images* &c. the commentary of St Jerome on which passage wonderfully agrees with what we are told of the aforesaid custom of the old Arabs "He shall stand," says he, "in the highway, and consult the oracle after the manner of his nation, that he may cast arrows into a quiver, and mix them together, being written

^o Vide Lundem in Proleg and Chardin Voy de Perse, tom 2, p 46 ¹ Lib 4 ad Nicom ² Vide Horat lib 3 Carm Od 24 ³ De Aleatoribus Novell Just 123 &c Vide Hyde, ubi sup in Hist Alea, p 119 ⁴ Authent. interdicimus, c de episcopis ⁵ In Com ad Legem Præd. ⁶ Du Fresne, in Gloss ⁷ Bava Messia, 84 1 Rosh hashana, and Sanhedr 24 2. Vide etiam Maimon in Tract Gezila. Among the modern civilians, Mascardus thought common gamesters were not to be admitted as witnesses, being infamous persons Vide Hyde ubi sup in Proleg et in Hist. Alea sect iii ⁸ Kor chap 5 ⁹ See before, p 14. Ebn al Athir, al Zamakh and al Beid in Kor c 5 Al Mostatrafi, &c. Vide Poc. Spec. p 327, &c. and D Herbel. Bibl Orient. Art Acdah ¹ Vide Potter, Antiq of Greece, vol. 1 p 334 ² Esch xxi. 21

upon or marked with the names of each people, that he may see whose arrow will come forth, and which city he ought first to attack."⁴

A distinction of meats was so generally used by the eastern nations, that it is no wonder that Mohammed made some regulations in that matter. The Korân, therefore, prohibits the eating of blood, and swine's flesh, and whatever dies of itself, or is slain in the name or in honour of any idol, or is strangled, or killed by a blow, or a fall, or by any other beast.⁵ In which particulars Mohammed seems chiefly to have imitated the Jews, by whose law, as is well known, all those things are forbidden, but he allowed some things to be eaten which Moses did not,⁶ as camels' flesh⁷ in particular. In cases of necessity, however, where a man may be in danger of starving, he is allowed by the Mohammedan law to eat any of the said prohibited kinds of food,⁸ and the Jewish doctors grant the same liberty in the like case.⁹ Though the aversion to blood and what dies of itself may seem natural, yet some of the pagan Arabs used to eat both, of their eating of the latter some instances will be given hereafter and as to the former, it is said they used to pour blood, which they sometimes drew from a live camel, into a gut, and then broiled it on the fire, or boiled it, and ate it.¹ this food they called *moswadu*, from *aswad*, which signifies *black*, the same newly resembling our *black puddings* in name as well as composition.²

The eating of meat offered to idols I take to be commonly practised by all idolaters, being looked on as a sort of communion in their worship, and for that reason esteemed by Christians, if not absolutely unlawful, yet as what may be the occasion of great scandal.³ but the Arabs were particularly superstitious in this matter, killing what they ate on stones erected on purpose round the Caaba, or near their own houses, and calling, at the same time, on the name of some idol.⁴ Swine's flesh, indeed, the old Arabs seem not to have eaten, and their prophet, in prohibiting the same, appears to have only confirmed the common aversion of the nation. Foreign writers tell us that the Arabs wholly abstained from swine's flesh,⁵ thinking it unlawful to feed thereon,⁶ and that very few, if any, of those animals are found in their country, because it produces not proper food for them,⁷ which has made one writer imagine that if a hog were carried thither, it would immediately die.⁸

In the prohibition of usury⁹ I presume Mohammed also followed the Jews, who are strictly forbidden by their law to exercise it among one another, though they are so infamously guilty of it in their dealing with those of a different religion but I do not find the prophet of the Arabs has made any distinction in this matter.

Several superstitious customs relating to cattle, which seem to have been peculiar to the pagan Arabs, were also abolished by Mohammed. The Koran¹⁰ mentions four names by them given to certain camels or sheep, which for some particular reasons were left at free liberty, and were not made use of as other cattle of the same kind. These names are Bahira, Saiba, Wasila, and Hami of each whereof in their order.

As to the first it is said that when a she camel, or a sheep, had borne young ten times, they used to slit her ear, and turn her loose to feed at full

⁴ Vide Poc Spec p 329 &c ⁵ Chap 2, p 20 chap 5 p 81, chap 6, and chap 16 ⁶ Lev xi 4 ⁷ See Kor chap 3 pp 42, 47, and chap 6 ⁸ Kor chap 5 p 81 and in the other passages last quoted ⁹ Vide Maimon in Halachoth Melachim chap 8, sect 1, &c. ¹ Nothr al dorr, al Firanz., al Zamakh and al Beid ² Poc. Spec p 320 ³ Compare Acts xv 29 with 1 Cor viii 40, &c. ⁴ See the fifth chap of the Kor p 81, and the notes there ⁵ Solin de Arab cap 33 ⁶ Hieronym in Jovin lib 2, c 6. ⁷ Idem, ibid ⁸ Solinus, ubi supra. ⁹ Kor chap 2, p 33, 34 ¹⁰ Chap 5

liberty, and when she died, her flesh was eaten by the men only, the women being forbidden to eat thereof and such a camel or sheep, from the *slitting of her ear*, they called Bahira. Or the Bahira was a she-camel, which was turned loose to feed, and whose fifth young one, if it proved a male, was killed and eaten by men and women promiscuously but if it proved a female, had its ear slit, and was dismissed to free pasture, none being permitted to make use of its flesh or milk, or to ride on it, though the women were allowed to eat the flesh of it, when it died or it was the female young of the Saiba, which was used in the same manner as its dam, or else an ewe, which had yeaned five times.¹ These, however, are not all the opinions concerning the Bahira for some suppose that name was given to a she-camel, which, after having brought forth young five times (if the last was a male), had her ear slit as a mark thereof, and was let go loose to feed, none driving her from pasture or water, nor using her for carriage,² and others tell us, that when a camel had newly brought forth, they used to slit the ear of her young one, saying, "O God, if it live, it shall be for our use, but if it die it shall be deemed rightly slain," and when it died, they ate it.³

Saiba signifies a she camel turned loose to go where she will. And this was done on various accounts as when she had brought forth females ten times together, or in satisfaction of a vow, or when a man had recovered from sickness, or returned safe from a journey, or his camel had escaped some signal danger either in battle or otherwise. A camel so turned loose was declared to be Saiba, and, as a mark of it, one of the *vertebræ* or bones was taken out of her back, after which none might drive her from pasture or water, or ride on her.⁴ Some say that the Saiba, when she had ten times together brought forth females, was suffered to go at liberty, none being allowed to ride on her, and that her milk was not to be drunk by any but her young one, or a guest, till she died, and then her flesh was eaten by men as well as women, and her last female young one had her ear slit, and was called Bahira, and turned loose as her dam had been.⁵

This appellation, however, was not so strictly proper to female camels, but that it was given to the male when his young one had begotten another young one.⁶ nay a servant set at liberty and dismissed by his master was also called Saiba.⁷ and some are of opinion that the word denotes any animal which the Araos used to turn loose in honour of their idols, allowing none to make use of them thereafter, except women only.⁸

Wasila is, by one author,⁹ explained to signify a she camel which had brought forth ten times, or an ewe which had yeaned seven times, and every time twins, and if the seventh time she brought forth a male and a female, they said, *Wosilat akhaha*, i. e. *She is joined or was brought forth with her brother*, after which none might drink the dam's milk, except men only, and she was used as the Saiba. Or Wasila was particularly meant of sheep, as when an ewe brought forth a female, they took it to them selves, but when she brought forth a male, they consecrated it to their gods, but if both a male and a female, they said, *She is joined to her brother*, and did not sacrifice that male to their gods or Wasila was an ewe which brought forth first a male, and then a female, on which account, or because she followed her brother, the male was not killed, but if she brought forth a male only, they said, *Let this be an offering to our gods*.¹ Another² writes,

¹ Al Firauszabadī ² Al Zamakhsharī, al Beidawī al Mostatraf ³ Ebn al Athir

⁴ Al Firauszab, al Zamakhsharī ⁵ Al Jawhārī. Ebn al Athir ⁶ Al Firausz ⁷ Idem al Jawhārī, &c. ⁸ Noth al dorr, and Nodhm al dorr ⁹ Al Firausz. ¹ Idem, al Zamakhsharī. ² Al Jawhārī.

that an ewe brought forth twins seven times together, and the eighth time a male, they sacrificed that male to their gods, but if the eighth time she brought forth a male and a female, they used to say, *She is joined to her brother*, and for the female's sake they spared the male, and permitted not the dam's milk to be drank by women. A third writer tells us that Wasila was an ewe, which having yeaned seven times, if that which she brought forth the seventh time was a male, they sacrificed it, but if a female, it was suffered to go loose, and was made use of by women only, and if the seventh time she brought forth both a male and a female, they held them both to be sacred, so that men only were allowed to make any use of them, or to drink the milk of the female and a fourth⁴ describes it to be an ewe which brought forth ten females at five births one after another, i.e. every time twins, and whatever she brought forth afterwards was allowed to men, and not to women, &c

Hâmi was a male camel used for a stallion, which, if the females had conceived ten times by him, was afterwards *freed from labour*, and let go loose, none driving him from pasture or from water, nor was any allowed to receive the least benefit from him, not even to shear his hair⁴

These things were observed by the old Arabs in honour of their false gods⁵ and as part of the worship which they paid them, and were ascribed to the divine institution, but are all condemned in the Koran, and declared to be impious superstitions⁶

The law of Mohammed also put a stop to the inhuman custom, which had been long practised by the pagan Arabs, of burying their daughters alive, lest they should be reduced to poverty by providing for them, or else to avoid the disgrace which would follow, if they should happen to be made captives, or to become scandalous by their behaviour,⁷ the birth of a daughter being, for these reasons, reckoned a great misfortune,⁸ and the death of one as great a happiness⁹. The manner of their doing this is differently related, some say that when an Arab had a daughter born, if he intended to bring her up, he sent her, clothed in a garment of wool or hair, to keep camels or sheep in the desert, but if he designed to put her to death, he let her live till she became six years old, and then said to her mother, "Perfume her and adorn her, that I may carry her to her mothers, which being done, the father led her to a well or pit dug for that purpose, and having bid her to look down into it, pushed her in headlong, as he stood behind her, and then filling up the pit, levelled it with the rest of the ground but others say, that when a woman was ready to fall in labour, they dug a pit on the brink whereof she was to be delivered, and if the child happened to be a daughter, they threw it into the pit, but if a son, they saved it alive¹. This custom, though not observed by all the Arabs in general, was yet very common among several of their tribes, and particularly those of Koreish and Kendah, the former using to bury their daughters alive in mount Abu Dalâma, near Mecca². In the time of ignorance, while they used this method to get rid of their daughters, Sâsâ, grandfather to the celebrated poet al Farazdak, frequently redeemed female children from death, giving for every one two she camels big with young, and a he-camel, and hereto al Farazdak alluded when, vaunting himself before one of the Khalifs of the family of Omeyya, he said, "I am the son of the giver of life to the dead, for which expression being censured, he excused himself by

¹ Al Motarrezî. ² Al Firauz al Jawhari. ³ Jallal. in Kor. ⁴ Kor chap 5 p 95, and chap 6. Vide Poc. Spec. p 330 334. ⁵ Al Beidâwi, al Zamakh al Mostatraf. ⁶ See Koran, chap 16. ⁷ Al Meldâni. ⁸ Al Zamakh. ⁹ Al Mostatraf.

alleging the following words of the Korân,³ "He who saveth a soul alive shall be as if he had saved the lives of all mankind"⁴ The Arabs, in thus murdering of their children, were far from being singular, the practice of exposing infants and putting them to death being so common among the ancients, that it is remarked as a thing very extraordinary in the Egyptians, that they brought up *all* their children,⁵ and by the laws of Lycurgus⁶ no child was allowed to be brought up, without the approbation of public officers. At this day, it is said, in China, the poorer sort of people frequently put their children, the females especially, to death, with impunity.⁷

This wicked practice is condemned by the Korân in several passages,⁸ one of which, as some commentators⁹ judge, may also condemn another custom of the Arabians, altogether as wicked, and as common among other nations of old, viz, the sacrificing of their children to their idols, as was frequently done, in particular, in satisfaction of a vow they used to make, that if they had a certain number of sons born, they would offer one of them in sacrifice.

Several other superstitious customs were likewise abrogated by Mohammed, but the same being of less moment, and not particularly mentioned in the Korân, or having been occasionally taken notice of elsewhere, I shall say nothing of them in this place.

SECTION VI.

OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE KORAN IN CIVIL AFFAIRS.

THE Mohammedan civil law is founded on the precepts and determinations of the Korân, as the civil laws of the Jews were on those of the Pentateuch, yet being variously interpreted according to the different decisions of their civilians, and especially of their four great doctors, Abu Hanîfa, Malec, al Shâfeî, and Ebn Hanbal,¹ to treat thereof fully and distinctly, in the manner the curiosity and usefulness of the subject deserves, would require a large volume wherefore the most that can be expected here is a summary view of the principal institutions, without minutely entering into a detail of particulars. We shall begin with those relating to marriage and divorce.

That *polygamy*, for the moral lawfulness of which the Mohammedan doctors advance several arguments,² is allowed by the Korân, every one knows, though few are acquainted with the limitations with which it is allowed. Several learned men have fallen into the vulgar mistake, that

³ Koran chap. 5, p. 86. ⁴ Al Mostatraf Vide Ebn Khalekan in Vita al Farazdak, and Poc. Spec p. 334. ⁵ Strabo, lib. 17 Vide Diodor Sic. lib. 1 c. 80. ⁶ Vide Plutarch in Lycurgo. ⁷ Vide Pufendorf de Jure Nat. et Gent lib. 6, c. 7 sect. 6. The Grecians also treated daughters especially in this manner, whence that saying of Posidippus,

Τὸν τρεῖσι τι καὶ πέντε ἐν τέλει

"A man though poor will not expose his son,
But if he is rich will scarce preserve his daughter."

See Potter's Antiquities of Greece, vol. 2, p. 333.

⁸ Chap. 6, chap. 16, and chap. 17.

See also chap. 81.

⁹ Al Zamakh al Beid.

¹ See. sect. 8.

² See before, sect. 2, p. 23.

Mohammed granted to his followers an unbounded plurality, some pretending that a man may have as many wives,³ and others as many concubines,⁴ as he can maintain whereas, according to the express words of the Korân,⁵ no man can have more than four, whether wives or concubines,⁶ and if a man apprehend any inconvenience from even that number of ingenuous wives, it is added, as an advice (which is generally followed by the middling and inferior people),⁷ that he marry one only, or if he cannot be contented with one, that he may take up with his she-slaves, not exceeding, however, the limited number,⁸ and this is certainly the utmost Mohammed allowed his followers nor can we urge, as an argument against so plain a precept, the corrupt manners of his followers, many of whom, especially men of quality and fortune, indulge themselves in criminal excesses,⁹ nor yet the example of the prophet himself, who had peculiar privileges in this and other points, as will be observed hereafter. In making the above-mentioned limitation, Mohammed was directed by the decision of the Jewish doctors, who, by way of counsel, limit the number of wives to four,¹ though their law confines them not to any certain number.²

Divorce is also well known to be allowed by the Mohammedan law, as it was by the Mosaic, with this difference only that according to the latter a man could not take again a woman whom he had divorced, and who had been married or betrothed to another,³ whereas Mohammed, to prevent his followers from divorcing their wives on every light occasion, or out of an inconstant humour, ordained that if a man divorced his wife the third time (for he might divorce her twice without being obliged to part with her, if he repented of what he had done), it should not be lawful for him to take her again, until she had been first married and bedded by another, and divorced by such second husband.⁴ And this precaution has had so good an effect that the Mohammedans are seldom known to proceed to the extremity of divorce, notwithstanding the liberty given them, it being reckoned a great disgrace so to do and there are but few, besides those who have little or no sense of honour, that will take a wife again, on the condition enjoined.⁵ It must be observed that though a man is allowed by the Mohammedan, as by the Jewish law,⁶ to repudiate his wife even on the slightest disgust, yet the women are not allowed to separate themselves from their husbands, unless it be for ill usage, want of proper maintenance, neglect of conjugal duty, impotency, or some cause of equal import, but then she generally loses her dowry,⁷ which she does not,

³ Nic Cusanus in Cribat Alcor lib 2, cap 19 Olearius in Itinerar P Greg Tholosanus in Synt Juris lib 9 c. 2, sect 22 Septemcastrensis (de Morib Turc. p 24) says the Mohammedans may have tw lve lawful wives and no more Ricaut falsely asserts the restraint of the number of their wives to be no precept of their religion but a rule superinduced on a politic consideration Pres State of the Ottoman empire book 3 chap 21. ⁴ Marracc in Prodr ad Refut Alcor part 4, p 52, & 71 Prideaux Life of Moh p 114 Chardin, Voy de Perse tom 1 p 166. Du Ryer Sommaire de la Rel des Turcs, mis à la tete de sa version de l Alcor Ricaut ubi supra Pufendorf, de Jure Nat et Gent lib 6, c 1, sect 18. ⁵ Chap 4, p. 59 ⁶ Vide Gagner in notis ad Abulfedæ Vit Moh p 150 Reland, de Rel. Moh p 243 &c and Selden Ux Hebr lib 1 cap 9 ⁷ Vide Reland, ubi sup p 244. ⁸ Kor chap 4 p 59 ⁹ Sir J Maundeville (who, excepting a few silly stories he tells from hearsay, deserves more credit than some travellers of better reputation), speaking of the Koran observes, among several other truths, that Mohammed therein commanded a man should have two wives, or three, or four though the Mohammedans then took nine wives, and lemans as many as they might sustain Maundev Travels, p 164. ¹ Maimon in Halachoth Ishoth, c 14 ² Idem ibid. Vide Selden Uxor Hebr lib 1 c. 9 ³ Deut xxiv 3 4 Jer iii 1 Vide Selden. ubi sup lib 1 c. 11 ⁴ Koran, chap 2, p 27 ⁵ Vide Selden. ubi sup lib 3, cap 21, and Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, book 2, chap 21 ⁶ Deut. xxiv 1. Leo Moena, Hist degl Ritu Hebr part 1, c. 6. Vide Selden. ubi sup. ⁷ Vide

if divorced by her husband, unless she has been guilty of impudicity, or notorious disobedience ⁶

When a woman is divorced, she is obliged, by the direction of the Korân, to wait till she hath had her courses thrice, or, if there be a doubt whether she be subjected to them or not, by reason of her age, three months, before she marry another, after which time expired, in case she be found not with child, she is at full liberty to dispose of herself as she pleases, but if she prove with child, she must wait till she be delivered and during her whole term of waiting, she may continue in the husband's house, and is to be maintained at his expense, it being forbidden to turn a woman out before the expiration of the term, unless she be guilty of dishonesty ¹ Where a man divorces a woman before consummation, she is not obliged to wait any particular time, ² nor is he obliged to give her more than one half of her dower ³ If the divorced woman have a young child, she is to suckle it till it be two years old, the father, in the mean time, maintaining her in all respects a widow is also obliged to do the same, and to wait four months and ten days before she marry again ⁴

These rules are also copied from those of the Jews, according to whom a divorced woman, or a widow, cannot marry another man till ninety days be past, after the divorce or death of the husband ⁵ and she who gives suck is to be maintained for two years, to be computed from the birth of the child, within which time she must not marry, unless the child die, or her milk be dried up ⁶

Whoredom, in single women as well as married, was, in the beginning of Mohammedism very severely punished, such being ordered to be shut up in prison till they died but afterwards it was ordained by the Sonna, that an adulteress should be stoned, ⁷ and an unmarried woman guilty of fornication scourged with an hundred stripes, and banished for a year ⁸ A slave, if convicted of adultery, is to suffer but half the punishment of a free woman, ⁹ viz. fifty stripes, and banishment for six months, but is not to be put to death To convict a woman of adultery, so as to make it capital, four witnesses are expressly required, ¹ and those, as the commentators say, ought to be men and if a man falsely accuse a woman of reputation of whoredom of any kind, and is not able to support the charge by that number of witnesses, he is to receive fourscore stripes, and his testimony is to be held invalid for the future. ² Fornication, in either sex, is by the sentence of the Korân to be punished with an hundred stripes. ³

If a man accuse his wife of infidelity, and is not able to prove it by sufficient evidence, and will swear four times that it is true, and the fifth time imprecate God's vengeance on him if it be false, she is to be looked on as convicted, unless she will take the like oaths, and make the like imprecation, in testimony of her innocency, which if she do, she is free from punishment, though the marriage ought to be dissolved. ⁴

Busbeq Ep 3, p 184 Smith, de Morib ac Instit Turcar Ep 2, p 52, and Chardin, Voy de Perse, tom 1, p 169 ⁵ Koran chap 4, p 62, 63 ¹ Idem, chap 2, p 26, and 27, and chap 65 ² Ibid chap 33 ³ Ibid. chap 2, p 27 ⁴ Ibid chap 2, p 27, and chap 65 ⁵ Mishna, tit Yabimoth, c 4 Gemar Babyl ad eund tit Maimon in Halach Girushin, Shylhan Aruch, part 3 ⁶ Mishna, and Gemara, and Maimon ubi supra Gem Babyl. ad tit Cetuboth, c 5 and Jos Karo in Shylhan Aruch c 50, sect 2. Vide Seldeni Ux Hebr lib 2 c 11, and lib 3, c. 10 in fin ⁷ And the adulterer also, according to a passage once extant in the Korân and still in force as some suppose. See the notes to Kor chap 3 p 37, and the Prel. Disc p 48 ⁸ Kor chap 4 p 61, 62 See the notes there ⁹ Ibid. p 63 ¹ Kor chap 4 p 61 62. See notes there ² Kor chap 24 ³ Ibid. This law relates not to married people, as Selden supposes, Ux. Heb lib 3, c. 12. See the notes there

In most of the last-mentioned particulars, the decisions of the Korân also agree with those of the Jews. By the law of Moses, adultery, whether in a married woman or a virgin betrothed, was punished with death, and the man who debauched them was to suffer the same punishment.⁵ The penalty of simple fornication was scourging, the general punishment in cases where none is particularly appointed and a betrothed bond-maid, if convicted of adultery, underwent the same punishment, being exempted from death, *because she was not free*.⁶ By the same law, no person was to be put to death on the oath of one witness⁷ and a man who slandered his wife was also to be *chastised*, that is, scourged and fined one hundred shekels of silver.⁸ The method of trying a woman suspected of adultery, where evidence was wanting, by forcing her to drink the bitter water of jealousy,⁹ though disused by the Jews long before the time of Mohammed,¹ yet, by reason of the oath of cursing with which the woman was charged, and to which she was obliged to say *Amen*, bears great resemblance to the expedient devised by that prophet on the like occasion.

The institutions of Mohammed relating to the pollution of women during their courses,² the taking of slaves to wife,³ and the prohibiting of marriage within certain degrees,⁴ have likewise no small affinity with the institutions of Moses,⁵ and the parallel might be carried farther in several other particulars.

As to the prohibited degrees, it may be observed, that the Pagan Arabs abstained from marrying their mothers, daughters, and aunts, both on the father's side and on the mother's, and held it a most scandalous thing to marry two sisters, or for a man to take his father's wife,⁶ which last was notwithstanding too frequently practised,⁷ and is expressly forbidden in the Koran.⁸

Before I leave the subject of marriages, it may be proper to take notice of peculiar privileges in relation thereto, which were granted by God to Mohammed, as he gave out, exclusive of all other Moslems. One of them was, that he might lawfully marry as many wives, and have as many concubines as he pleased, without being confined to any particular number,⁹ and thus he pretended to have been the privilege of the prophets before him. Another was, that he might alter the turns of his wives, and take such of them to his bed as he thought fit, without being tied to that order and equality which others are obliged to observe.¹ A third privilege was, that no man might marry any of his wives,² either such as he should divorce during his lifetime, or such as he should leave widows at his death which last particular exactly agrees with what the Jewish doctors have determined concerning the wives of their princes, it being judged by them to be a thing very indecent, and for that reason un-

⁵ Lev xx 10 Deut xxii 22 The kind of death to be inflicted on adulterers in common cases being not expressed, the Talmudists generally suppose it to be *strangling* which they think is designed wherever the phrase *shall be put to death, or shall die the death*, is used, as they imagine *stoning* is by the expression *his blood shall be upon him* and hence it has been concluded by some that the woman taken in adultery mentioned in the gospel (John viii) was a *betrothed maiden* because such a one and her accomplice were plainly ordered to be stoned (Deut xxii 23, 24) But the ancients seem to be of a different opinion, and to have understood stoning to be the punishment of adulterers in general Vide Selden Ux Hebr lib 3, c 11 and 12 ⁶ Levit xix 20 ⁷ Deut xix 15 xvii 6 and Num xxxv 30

⁸ Deut xxii 13-19 ⁹ Num v 11, &c. ¹ Vide Selden ubi supr lib 3 c 15 and Leon Modena, de Riti Hebraici, parte 4 c 6. ² Kor chap 2, p 26 ³ Ibid chap 4, p 60 and 63, &c. ⁴ Chap 4, p 62 ⁵ See Lev xv 24, xviii 19, and xx 18 Exod xxi 8-11 Deut xxi 10-14 Lev xviii and xx ⁶ Abulfed Hist Gen. al Shahrestani apud Poc Spec p 321 and 338 ⁷ Vide Poc Ibid p 337, &c ⁸ Chap 4, p 62 ⁹ Kor chap 33 See also chap 66, and the notes there ¹ Kor chap 33 See the notes there ² Kor chap 33

lawful, for another to marry either the divorced wife or the widow of a king,³ and Mohammed, it seems, thought an equal respect, at least, due to the *prophetic* as to the *regal* dignity, and therefore ordered that his relicts should pass the remainder of their lives in perpetual widowhood.

The laws of the Koran concerning inheritances are also in several respects conformable to those of the Jews, though principally designed to abolish certain practices of the pagan Arabs, who used to treat widows and orphan children with great injustice, frequently denying them any share in the inheritance of their fathers or their husbands, on pretence that the same ought to be distributed among those only who were able to bear arms, and disposing of the widows, even against their consent, as part of their husband's possessions.⁴ To prevent such injuries for the future, Mohammed ordered that women should be respected, and orphans have no wrong done them, and in particular that women should not be taken against their wills, as by right of inheritance, but should themselves be entitled to a distributive part of what their parents, husbands, and near relations, should leave behind them, in a certain proportion.⁵

The general rule to be observed in the distribution of the deceased's estate is, that a male shall have twice as much as a female⁶ but to this rule there are some few exceptions a man's parents, for example, and also his brothers and sisters, where they are entitled not to the whole, but a small part of the inheritance, being to have equal shares with one another in the distribution thereof, without making any difference on account of sex.⁷ The particular proportions, in several cases, distinctly and sufficiently declare the intention of Mohammed, whose decisions expressed in the Koran⁸ seem to be pretty equitable, preferring a man's children first, and then his nearest relations.

If a man dispose of any part of his estate by will, two witnesses, at the least, are required to render the same valid, and such witnesses ought to be of his own tribe, and of the Mohammedan religion, if such can be had.⁹ Though there be no express law to the contrary, yet the Mohammedan doctors reckon it very wrong for a man to give away any part of his substance from his family, unless it be in legacies for pious uses, and even in that case a man ought not to give all that he has in charity, but only a reasonable part in proportion to his substance. On the other hand, though a man make no will, and bequeath nothing for charitable uses, yet the heirs are directed, on the distribution of the estate, if the value will permit, to bestow something on the poor, especially such as are of kin to the deceased, and to the orphans.¹⁰

The first law, however, laid down by Mohammed touching inheritances was not very equitable, for he declared that those who had fled with him from Mecca, and those who had received and assisted him at Medina, should be deemed the nearest of kin, and consequently heirs to one another, preferably to and in exclusion of their relations by blood, nay, though a man were a true believer, yet if he had not fled his country for the sake of religion and joined the prophet, he was to be looked on as a stranger¹¹ but this law continued not long in force, being quickly abrogated.¹²

It must be observed that among the Mohammedans the children of their

³ Mishna, ut Sanhedr c 2 and Gemar in eund tit Maimon Halachoth Me-lachim, c. 2. Vide Selden. Ux. Hebr lib 1 c. 10 Frid Life of Moham. p 118
⁴ See c. 4. p. 59—62, and the notes there. Vide etiam Poc Spec. p 337 ⁵ Kor c. 4. ubi sup. ⁶ Ibid. p 60 and 80 Vide Chardin, Voy de Perse, t. ii p 293.
⁷ Kor Ibid. p 60, 61 Ibid and p 80 ⁸ Kor c. 5, p. 96. ⁹ Ibid s 4, p. 60 ¹⁰ Ibid c. 8 ¹¹ Ibid and c 33.

concubines or slaves are esteemed as equally legitimate with those of their legal and ingenuous wives, none being accounted bastards, except such only as are born of common women, and whose fathers are unknown.

As to private contracts between man and man, the conscientious performance of them is frequently recommended in the Korân.³ For the preventing of disputes, all contracts are directed to be made before witnesses,⁴ and in case such contracts are not immediately executed, the same ought to be reduced into writing in the presence of two witnesses⁵ at least, who ought to be Moslems and of the male sex, but if two men cannot be conveniently had, then one man and two women may suffice the same method is also directed to be taken for the security of debts to be paid at a future day, and where a writer is not to be found, pledges are to be taken.⁶ Hence, if people trust one another without writing, witnesses, or pledge, the party on whom the demand is made is always acquitted if he denies the charge on oath, and swears that he owes the plaintiff nothing, unless the contrary be proved by very convincing circumstances.⁷

Wilful murder, though forbidden by the Koran under the severest penalties to be inflicted in the next life,⁸ is yet by the same book allowed to be compounded for on payment of a fine to the family of the deceased, and freeing a Moslem from captivity but it is in the election of the next of kin, or the *revenger of blood*, as he is called in the Pentateuch, either to accept of such satisfaction, or to refuse it, for he may, if he pleases, insist on having the murderer delivered into his hands to put to death in such a manner as he shall think fit.⁹ In this particular Mohammed has gone against the express letter of the Mosaic law, which declares that no satisfaction shall be taken for the life of a murderer,¹ and he seems, in so doing, to have had respect to the customs of the Arabs in his time, who, being of a vindictive temper used to revenge murder in too unmerciful a manner,² whole tribes frequently engaging in bloody wars on such occasions, the natural consequence of their independency, and having no common judge or superior.

If the Mohammedan laws seem light in case of murder, they may perhaps be deemed too rigorous in case of manslaughter, or the killing of a man undesignedly, which must be redeemed by fine (unless the next of kin shall think fit to remit it out of charity), and the freeing of a captive but if a man be not able to do this he is to fast two months together, by way of penance.³ The fine for a man's blood is set in the 'onna at a hundred camels,⁴ and is to be distributed among the relations of the deceased, according to the laws of inheritances, but it must be observed, that though the person slain be a Moslem, yet if he be of a nation or party at enmity, or not in confederacy with those to whom the slayer belongs, he is not then bound to pay any fine at all, the redeeming a captive being, in such case, declared a sufficient penalty.⁵ I imagine that Mohammed, by these regulations, had so heavy a punishment on involuntary manslaughter, not only to make people beware incurring the same, but also to humour, in some degree the revengeful temper of his countrymen, which might be with difficulty, if at all, prevailed on to accept a lighter satisfaction. Among the

³ Kor c 5, p 81 c 17 c 2 p 34, &c ⁴ Chap 2, p 34. ⁵ The same seems to have been required by the Jewish law, even in cases where life was not concerned See Deut xix 15 Matt. xviii 16 John viii 17 2 Cor xiii. 1 ⁶ Kor c. 2, p 34
Vide Chardin Voy de Perse, t ii p 294, &c and the notes to Kor c 5, p 90
Kor c 4, p 72. ⁷ Ibid c 2, p 20, 21 c 17 Vide Chardin, ubi sup p 229.
&c. ⁸ Numb xxxv 31 ⁹ This is particularly forbidden in the Koran, c. 17
¹ Kor c. 4, p 72. ² See the notes to c. 37 ³ Kor c. 4, p 72.

Jews, who seem to have been no less addicted to revenge than their neighbours, the manslayer who had escaped to a city of refuge was obliged to keep himself within that city, and to abide there till the death of the person who was high priest at the time the fact was committed, that his absence and time might cool the passion and mitigate the resentment of the friends of the deceased, but if he quitted his asylum before that time, the revenger of blood, if he found him, might kill him without guilt,⁶ nor could any satisfaction be made for the slayer to return home before the prescribed time.⁷

Theft is ordered to be punished by cutting off the offending part, the hand,⁸ which at first sight, seems just enough but the law of Justinian, forbidding a thief to be maimed,⁹ is more reasonable, because stealing being generally the effect of indigence, to cut off that limb would be to deprive him of the means of getting his livelihood in an honest manner.¹ The Sonna forbids the inflicting of this punishment, unless the thing stolen be of a certain value. I have mentioned in another place the further penalties which those incur who continue to steal, and of those who rob or assault people on the road.²

As to injuries done to men in their persons, the law of retaliation which was ordained by the law of Moses,³ is also proved by the Koran⁴ but this law, which seems to have been allowed by Mohammed to his Arabians for the same reason as it was to the Jews, viz to prevent particular revenges, to which both nations were extremely addicted,⁵ being neither strictly just, nor practicable in many cases, is seldom put in execution, the punishment being generally turned into a mulct or fine, which is paid to the party injured.⁶ Or rather Mohammed designed the works of the Koran relating thereto should be understood in the same manner as those of the Pentateuch most probably ought to be, that is, not of an actual retaliation, according to the strict literal meaning, but of a retribution proportionable to the injury for a criminal had not his eyes put out, nor was a man mutilated according to the law of Moses, which, besides condemned those who had wounded any person, where death did not ensue to pay a fine only,⁷ the expression *eye for eye, and tooth for tooth*, being only a proverbial manner of speaking, the sense whereof amounts to this, *That every one shall be punished by the judges, according to the heinousness of the fact*.⁸

In injuries and crimes of an inferior nature, where no particular punishment is provided by the Koran, and where a pecuniary compensation will not do, the Mohammedans according to the practice of the Jews in the like case, have recourse to *stripes* or *drubbing*,⁹ the most common chastisement used in the east at this day, as we have formerly, the cudgel, which, for its virtue and efficacy in keeping the people in good order, and within the bounds of duty, they say came down from heaven, being the instrument wherewith the judge's sentence is generally executed.¹

Notwithstanding the Koran is by the Mohammedans in general regarded as the fundamental part of their civil law, and the decisions of the Sonna,

⁶ See Numb xxxv 26 27 28. ⁷ Ibid ver 32. ⁸ Kor c 5 p 86. ⁹ Novell 134 c 13.

¹ Vide Puffendorf de Jure Nat et Gent lib viii c 3 sect 26. ² See the notes to c 5 p 86. ³ Exod xxi 24, &c. Lev xxiv 20 Deut xix 21.

⁴ Chap 5 p 88. ⁵ Vide Grotium, de Jure Belli et Pacis, lib 1 c 2 sect. 3. ⁶ Vide Chardin t. ii p 299. The *tatio*, likewise established among the old Romans by the laws of the twelve tables, was not to be inflicted unless the delinquent could not agree with the person injured. Vide A Gell Noct Attic lib xx c. 1 and Festum in voce *tatio*. ⁷ See Exod xxi 18, 19 and 22. ⁸ Barbeyrac, in Grot ubi sup. Vide Cleric in Exod xxi 24, and Deut xix 21. ⁹ See Deut xxv 2, 3. ¹ Vide Grelot, Voy de Constant p 220, and Chardin, ubi sup p 302.

among the Turks, and of the Imâms, among those of the Persian sect, with the expiations of their several doctors, are usually followed in judicial determinations, yet the secular tribunals do not think themselves bound to observe the same in all cases, but frequently give judgment against those decisions, which are not always consonant to equity and reason, and therefore distinction is to be made between the written civil law, as administered in the ecclesiastical courts, and the law of nature or common law, (if I may so call it,) which takes place in the secular courts, and has the executive power on its side.³

Under the head of civil laws may be comprehended the injunction of warring against the infidels, which is repeated in several passages of the Koran,⁴ and declared to be of high importance in the sight of God, those who are slain fighting in defence of the faith being reckoned *martyrs*, and promised immediate admission into paradise.⁵ Hence this duty is greatly magnified by the Mohammedan divines, who call the sword the *key of heaven and hell*, and persuade their people that the least drop of blood spilt *in the way of God*, as it is called, is most acceptable unto him, and that the defending the territories of the Moslems for one night is more meritorious than a fast of two months.⁶ On the other hand, desertion, or refusing to serve in these holy wars, or to contribute towards the carrying them on, if a man has ability, is accounted a most heinous crime being frequently declaimed against in the Koran.⁷ Such a doctrine, which Mohammed ventured not to teach till his circumstances enabled him to put it in practice,⁸ it must be allowed, was well calculated for his purpose, and stood him and his successors in great stead for what dangers and difficulties may not be despised and overcome by the courage and constancy which these sentiments necessarily inspire? Nor have the Jews and Christians, how much soever they detest such principles in others, been ignorant of the force of enthusiastic heroism, or omitted to spirit up their respective partizans, by the like arguments and promises. "Let him who has listed himself *in defence of the law*," says Maimonides,⁹ "rely on him who is the hope of Israel, and the saviour thereof in the time of trouble,"¹⁰ and let him know that he fights for the profession of the divine unity wherefore let him put his life in his hand,¹¹ and think neither of wife nor children, but banish the memory of them from his heart, having his mind wholly fixed on the war. For if he should begin to waver in his thoughts, he would not only confound himself, but sin against the law, nay, the blood of the whole people hangeth on his neck, for if they are discomfited, and he has not fought stoutly with all his might, it is equally the same as if he had shed the blood of them all, according to that saying, let him return, lest his brethren's heart fail as his own.¹² To the same purpose doth the Kabala accommodate that other passage, "Cursed be he who doth the work of the Lord negligently, and cursed be he who keepeth back his sword from blood."¹³ On the contrary, he who behaveth bravely in battle, to the utmost of his endeavour, without trembling, with intent to glorify God's name, he ought to expect the victory with confidence, and to apprehend no danger or misfortune, but may be assured that he will have a house built him in Israel, appropriated to him and his children for ever, as it is said, God shall certainly make my lord a sure house, because he hath fought the battles of the Lord, and his life

³ Vide Chardin, ubi sup p 290 &c. ⁴ Chap 22, c. 2, p 22, c. 4, p 69, &c. c. 3 c. 9 c. 47 and c. 61, &c. ⁵ Chap 2, p 18, c. 3, p 51, 55 c. 47, and c. 61. ⁶ Roland, de Jure Milit. Moham p 5, &c. ⁷ Vide c. 9, and c. 3 p 52, &c. ⁸ See before p 34. ⁹ Halach. Melachum, c. 7. ¹⁰ Jer xiv 8. ¹¹ Job xiii 14. ¹² Dent. xx 8. ¹³ Jer xlviii. 10.

shall be bound up in the bundle of life with the Lord his God”⁴ More passages of this kind might be produced from the Jewish writers, and the Christians come not far behind them “We are desirous of knowing,” says one,⁵ writing to the Franks engaged in the holy war, “the charity of you all, for that every one (which we speak not because we wish it) who shall faithfully lose his life in this warfare shall be by no means denied the kingdom of heaven” And another⁶ gives the following exhortation, “Laying aside all fear and dread, endeavour to act effectually against the enemies of the holy faith, and the adversaries of all religions for the Almighty knoweth, if any of you die, that he dieth for the truth of the faith, and the salvation of his country, and the defence of Christians and therefore he shall obtain of him a celestial reward” The Jews, in deed, had a divine commission, extensive and explicit enough, to attack, subdue, and destroy the enemies of their religion and Mohammed pretended to have received one in favour of himself and his Moslems, in terms equally plain and full, and therefore it is no wonder that they should act consistently with their avowed principles but that Christians should teach and practise a doctrine so opposite to the temper and whole tenor of the gospel, seems very strange, and yet the latter have carried matters farther, and shown a more violent spirit of intolerance than either of the former

The laws of war according to the Mohammedans have been already so exactly set down by the learned Reland,⁷ that I need say very little of them I shall therefore only observe some conformity between their military laws and those of the Jews

While Mohammedism was in its infancy, the opposers thereof taken in battle were doomed to death without mercy, but this was judged too severe to be put into practice when that religion came to be sufficiently established, and past the danger of being subverted by its enemies⁸ The same sentence was pronounced not only against the seven Canaanitish nations,⁹ whose possessions were given to the Israelites and without whose destruction, in a manner, they could not have settled themselves in the country designed them, but against the Amalekites¹ and Midianites,² who had done their utmost to cut them off in their passage thither When the Mohammedans declare war against people of a different faith, they give them their choice of three offers, viz either to embrace Mohammedism, in which case they become not only secure in their persons, families, and fortunes, but entitled to all the privileges of other Moslems, or to submit and pay tribute,³ by doing which they are allowed to profess their own religion, provided it be not gross idolatry, or against the moral law, or else to decide the quarrel by the sword, in which last case, if the Moslems prevail, the women and children which are made captives become absolute slaves, and the men taken in the battle may either be slain, unless they turn Mohammedans, or otherwise disposed of at the pleasure of the prince⁴ Herewith agree the laws of war given to the Jews, which relate to the nations not devoted to destruction,⁵ and Joshua is said to have sent even to the inhabitants of Canaan, before he entered the land, three schedules, in one of which was written, *Let him fly, who will*, in the second, *Let him surrender, who will*, and in the third, *Let him fight, who will*,⁶ though

⁴ 1 Sam. xxv 28 29 ⁵ Nicolaus, in Jure Canon c Omnium, 23 quæst. 5 ⁶ Leo IV ib quæst 8 ⁷ In his treatise De Jure Militari Mohammedanor in the third vol. of his Dissertationes Miscellanæ. ⁸ See Kor c. 47, and the notes there and c 4, p 71, c. 5. p 86. ⁹ Deut. xx 16—18 ¹ Ib. c. xxv 17—19 ² Numb xxxi 17 ³ See 9, and the notes there ⁴ See the notes to c. 47 ⁵ Deut xx. 10—15 ⁶

none of those nations made peace with the Israelites (except only the Gibeonites, who obtained terms of security by stratagem, after they had refused those offered by Joshua), *it being of the Lord to harden their hearts, that he might destroy them utterly* ¹

On the first considerable success of Mohammed in war, the dispute which happened among his followers, in relation to the dividing of the spoil, rendered it necessary for him to make some regulation therein he therefore pretended to have received the divine commission to distribute the spoil among the soldiers at his own discretion,² reserving thereout, in the first place, one fifth part³ for the uses after mentioned, and in consequence hereof, he took himself to be authorized on extraordinary occasions to distribute it as he thought fit, without observing an equality Thus he did, for example, with the spoil of the tribe of Hawazen taken at the battle of Honein, which he bestowed by way of presents on the Meccans only, passing by those of Medina, and highly distinguishing the principal Korashites, that he might ingratiate himself with them, after he had become master of their city ¹⁰ He was also allowed in the expedition against those of al Nadir to take the whole booty to himself, and to dispose thereof as he pleased, because no horses or camels were made use of in that expedition,¹ but the whole army went on foot, and this became thenceforward a law ² the reason of which seems to be, that the spoil taken by a party consisting of infantry only should be considered as the more immediate gift of God,³ and therefore property left to the disposition of his Apostle According to the Jews, the spoil ought to be divided into two equal parts, one to be shared among the captors, and the other to be taken by the prince,⁴ and by him employed for his own support and the use of the public. Moses, it is true, divided one-half of the plunder of the Midianites among those who went to battle, and the other half among all the congregation ⁵ but this, they say, being a peculiar case, and done by the express order of God himself, must not be looked on as a precedent ⁶ It should seem, however, from the words of Joshua to the two tribes and a half, when he sent them home into Gilead after the conquest and division of the land of Canaan, that they were to divide the spoil of their enemies with their brethren, after their return ⁷ and the half which was in succeeding times taken by the king was in all probability taken by him as head of the community, and representing the whole body It is remarkable, that the dispute among Mohammed's men about sharing the booty at Bedr,⁸ arose on the same occasion as did that among David's soldiers in relation to the spoils recovered from the Amalekites,⁹ those who had been in the action insisting that they who tarried by the stuff should have no part of the spoil, and that the

Hierosol apud Maimonid Halach Melachim c 6 sect v R Bechai ex lib Siphre Vide Selden de Jure Nat et Gent sec Hebr lib 6 c. 13 14, and Schickard Jus Regum Hebr c 5 Theor 16 ¹ Josh xi 20 The Jews however say that the Girgashites, believing they could not escape the destruction with which they were threatened by God if they persisted to defend themselves, fled into Africa in great numbers (vide Talm Hieras ubi sup) And this is assigned as the reason why the Girgashites are not mentioned among the other Canaanitish nations who assembled to fight against Joshua (Josh ix 1) and who were doomed to utter extirpation (Deut xx. 17) But it is observable, that the Girgashtes are not omitted by the Septuagint in either of those texts and that their name appears in the latter of them in the Samaritan Pentateuch they are also joined with the other Canaanites as having fought against Israel, in Josh xxiv 11 ² Kor c. 8 ³ Ibid ⁴ Abulfed in Vit. Moh p. 118, &c. Vide Kor c 9, and the notes there ⁵ Kor c. 59, and the notes there ⁶ Vide Abulfed ubi sup p 91 ⁷ Vide Kor c 59, ubi sup ⁸ Gemar Babyl ad tit. Sanhedr c. 2. Vide Selden de Jure Nat et Gent sec Hebr lib 6 c 16 ⁹ Num xxxi 27 ¹⁰ Vide Maim Halach Melach c 4 ¹ Josh xxii. 8. ² See Kor c 8, and the notes there. ³ 1 Sam xxx 21—22

same decision was given in both cases, which became a law for the future, to wit, that they should part alike.

The fifth part, directed by the Korân to be taken out of the spoil before it be divided among the captors, is declared to belong to God, and to the apostle and his kindred, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller¹ which words are variously understood. Al Shâfeî was of opinion that the whole ought to be divided into five parts, the first, which he called God's part, to go to the treasury, and be employed in building and repairing fortresses, bridges, and other public works, and in paying salaries to magistrates, civil officers, professors of learning, ministers of public worship, &c. the second part to be distributed among the kindred of Mohammed, that is, the descendants of his grandfather Hashem, and of his great uncle al Motaleb,² as well the rich as the poor, the children as the adult, the women as the men, observing only to give a female but half the share of a male the third part to go to the orphans the fourth part to the poor, who have not wherewithal to maintain themselves the year round, and are not able to get their livelihood and the fifth part to travellers who are in want on the road, notwithstanding they may be rich men in their own country³ According to Malac Ebn Ans, the whole is at the disposition of the Imam or prince, who may distribute the same at his own discretion where he sees most need.⁴ Abul Aliya went according to the letter of the Koran, and declared his opinion to be that the whole should be divided into six parts, and that God's part should be applied to the service of the Caaba while others suppose God's part and the apostle's to be one and the same⁵ Abu Hanifa thought that the share of Mohammed and his kindred sank at that prophet's death, since which the whole ought to be divided among the orphans, the poor, and the traveller⁶ Some insist that the kindred of Mohammed entitled to a share of the spoils are the posterity of Hashem only, but those who think the descendants of his brother al Motaleb have also a right to a distributive part allege a tradition in their favour, purporting that Mohammed himself divided the share belonging to his relations among both families, and when Othmân Ebn Assân and Jobeir Ebn Matâm (who were descended from Abdshams and Nowfal, the other brothers of Hashem) told him, that, though they disputed not the preference of the Hashemites, they could not help taking it ill to see such difference made between the family of al Motaleb and themselves, who were related to him in an equal degree, and yet had no part in the distribution—the prophet replied, that the descendants of al Motaleb had forsaken him neither in the time of ignorance, nor since the revelation of Islam, and joined his fingers together in token of the strict union between them and the Hashemites.⁷ Some exclude none of the tribe of Koreish from receiving a part in the division of the spoil, and make no distinction between the poor and the rich, though, according to the more reasonable opinion, such of them as are poor only are intended by the text of the Korân, as is agreed in the case of the stranger and others go so far as to assert that the whole fifth commanded to be reserved belongs to them only, and that the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller, are to be understood of such as are of that tribe⁸ It must be observed, that immoveable possessions, as lands, &c., taken in war, are subject to the same laws as the moveable, excepting only, that the fifth part of the former is not actually divided, but the income and profits thereof, or of the price thereof, if sold, are applied to public and

¹ Korân c. 8. ² Note, al Shâfeî himself was descended from this latter ³ Al Beid Vide Reland de Jure Milit Moham p 42. &c. ⁴ Idem. ⁵ Idem. ⁶ Idem. ⁷ Idem. ⁸ Idem.

pious uses, and distributed once a year, and that the prince may either take the fifth part of the land itself, or of the fifth part of the income and produce of the whole, as he shall make his election.

SECTION VII.

OF THE MONTHS COMMANDED BY THE KORAN TO BE KEPT SACRED, AND OF THE SETTING APART OF FRIDAY FOR THE ESPECIAL SERVICE OF GOD

It was a custom among the ancient Arabs to observe four months in the year as sacred, during which they held it unlawful to wage war, and took off the heads from their spears, ceasing from incursions and other hostilities. During those months, whoever was in fear of his enemy lived in full security, so that if a man met the murderer of his father or his brother, he durst not offer him any violence.¹ a great argument, says a learned writer, of a humane disposition in that nation, who being, by reason of the independent governments of their several tribes, and for the preservation of their just rights, exposed to frequent quarrels with one another, had yet learned to cool their inflamed breasts with moderation, and restrain the rage of war by stated times of truce.²

This institution obtained among all the Arabian tribes, except only those of Tay and Khathâam, and some of the descendants of al Harith Ebn Caab (who distinguished no time or place as sacred,³) and was so religiously observed, that there are but few instances in history (four, say some, six, say others⁴) of its being transgressed, the wars which were carried on without regard thereto being therefore termed impious. One of those instances was in the war between the tribes of Koreish and Kais Ailân wherein Mohammed himself served under his uncles, being then fourteen,⁵ or, as others say, twenty⁶ years old.

The months which the Arabs held sacred were al Moharram, Rajeb, Dhu lkaada, and Dhu lhajja, the first, the seventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth in the year.⁷ Dhu lhajja being the month wherein they performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, not only that month, but also the preceding and the following were for that reason kept inviolable, that every one might safely and without interruption pass and repass to and from the festival.⁸ Rajeb is said to have been more strictly observed than any of the other three,⁹ probably because in that month the pagan Arabs used to fast,¹ Ramadan, which was afterwards set apart by Mohammed for that purpose,

¹ Al Kaswini, apud Golius in notis ad Alfrag p 4 &c Al Shahrestani apud Poc Spec. p 311 Al Jawhari al Firauzab ² Golius, ubi sup p 5 ³ Al Shahrestani, ubi sup See before, p 87 ⁴ Al Mogholta. ⁵ Abulfeda, Vit. Moh p 11 ⁶ Al Kodai al Firauz apud Poc Spec p 174 Al Mogholta mentions both opinions ⁷ Mr Bayle (Dict. Hist et Crit Art la Mecque, Rem F) accuses Dr Prideaux of an inconsistency, for saying in one place (Life of Moh. p 64) that these sacred months were the first, the seventh the eleventh, and the twelfth, and intimating in another place (ib p 89) that three of them were contiguous. But this must be mere absence of mind in Mr Bayle for are not the eleventh, the twelfth, and the first months contiguous? The two learned professors, Golius and Reland, have also made a small slip in speaking of these sacred months, which, they tell us, are the two first and the two last in the year Vide Golii and Lex Arab col 601, et Reland, de Jure Milit Mohammedanor p 5 ⁸ Vide Gol in Alfiaq p 9 ⁹ Vide ibid. p 6. ¹ Al Makrizi, apud Poc. ubi sup

being in the time of ignorance dedicated to drinking in excess.³ By reason of the profound peace and security enjoyed in this month, one part of the provisions brought by the caravans of purveyors annually set out by the Koreish for the supply of Mecca⁴ was distributed among the people, the other part being, for the like reason, distributed at the pilgrimage⁵.

The observance of the aforesaid months seemed so reasonable to Mohammed, that it met with his approbation, and the same is accordingly confirmed and enforced by several passages of the Koran,⁶ which forbid war to be waged during those months against such as acknowledge them to be sacred, but grant, at the same time, full permission to attack those who make no such distinction, in the sacred months as well as in the profane.⁶

One practice, however, of the Arabs, in relation to these sacred months, Mohammed thought proper to reform for some of them, weary of sitting quiet for three months together, and eager to make their accustomed incursions for plunder, used, by way of expedient, whenever it suited their inclinations or conveniency, to put off the observing of al Moharran to the following month, Safar,⁷ thereby avoiding to keep the former, which they supposed it lawful for them to profane, provided they sanctified another month in lieu of it, and gave public notice thereof at the preceding pilgrimage. This transferring the observation of a sacred month to a profane month is what is truly meant by the Arabic word al Nasi, and is absolutely condemned, and declared to be an impious innovation, in a passage of the Koran⁸ which Dr Prideaux,⁹ misled by Golius,¹ imagines to relate to the prolonging of the year, by adding an intercalary month thereto. It is true, the Arabs, who imitated the Jews in their manner of computing by lunar years, had also learned their method of reducing them to solar years, by intercalating a month sometimes in the third, and sometimes in the second year,² by which means they fixed the pilgrimage of Mecca (contrary to the original institution) to a certain season of the year, viz to autumn, as most convenient for the pilgrims, by reason of the temperateness of the weather, and the plenty of provisions,³ and it is also true that Mohammed forbade such intercalation by a passage in the same chapter of the Koran but then it is not the passage above mentioned, which prohibits a different thing, but one a little before it, wherein the number of months in the year, according to the ordinance of God, is declared to be twelve,⁴ whereas if the intercalation of a month were allowed, every third or second year would consist of thirteen, contrary to God's appointment.

The setting apart of one day in the week for the more peculiar attendance on God's worship, so strictly required by the Jewish and Christian religions, appeared to Mohammed to be so proper an institution, that he could not but imitate the professors thereof in that particular, though for the sake of distinction, he might think himself obliged to order his followers to observe a different day from either. Several reasons are given why the sixth day of the week was pitched on for this purpose⁵ but Mohammed seems to have preferred that day, chiefly because it was the day on which the people used to be assembled long before his time,⁶ though such assemblies were had, perhaps, rather on a civil than a religious account. However it

³ Al Makrizi apud Poc ubi sup et Auctor Neshk al Azhar, ibid. ⁴ See Koran, c. 106. ⁵ Al Edrisi apud Poc. Specim p 127. ⁶ Chap 9, c. 2, p 23 c 4, p 81, c. 5 p 95, &c. ⁷ Chap 9, c. 2, p 23. ⁸ See the notes to c. 9, ubi sup. ⁹ Chap 9 ibid. ¹ Life of Moham p 66. ² In Alfrag p 12. ³ See Frid. Preface to the first vol of his Connect. p vi. &c. ⁴ Vide Gol. ubi sup. ⁵ Kor c. 9. See also c. 2 p 23. ⁶ See c. 63, and the notes there. ⁷ Al Beidawi.

be, the Mohammedan writers bestow very extraordinary encomiums on this day, calling it the prince of days, and the most excellent day on which the sun rises,⁷ pretending also that it will be the day whereon the last judgment will be solemnized⁸ and they esteem it a peculiar honour to Islam, that God has been pleased to appoint this day to be the feast day of the Moslems, and granted them the advantage of having first observed it⁹.

Though the Mohammedans do not think themselves bound to keep their day of public worship so holy as the Jews and Christians are certainly obliged to keep theirs, there being a permission, as is generally supposed, in the Koran,¹⁰ allowing them to return to their employments or diversion after divine service is over, yet the most devout disapprove the applying of any part of that day to worldly affairs, and require it to be wholly dedicated to the business of the life to come¹.

Since I have mentioned the Mohammedan weekly feast, I beg leave just to take notice of their two Beirams,² or principal annual feasts. The first of them is called, in Arabic, *Id al feti*, i. e. The feast of breaking the fast, and begins the first of Shawal immediately succeeding the fast of Ramadan, and the other is called *Id al korbân*, or *Id al adhâ*, i. e. The feast of the sacrifice, and begins on the tenth of Dhu l-hajja, when the victims are slain at the pilgrimage of Mecca³. The former of these feasts is properly the lesser Beiram, and the latter the greater Beiram⁴ but the vulgar, and most authors who have written of the Mohammedan affairs, exchange the epithets, and call that which follows Ramadan the greater Beiram, because it is observed in an extraordinary manner, and kept for three days together at Constantinople and in other parts of Turkey, and in Persia for five or six days, by the common people at least, with great demonstrations of public joy to make themselves amends, as it were, for the mortification of the preceding month,⁵ whereas the feast of sacrifices, though it be also kept for three days, and the first of them be the most solemn day of the pilgrimage, the principal act of devotion among the Mohammedans, is taken much less notice of by the generality of people, who are not struck therewith, because the ceremonies with which the same is observed are performed at Mecca, the only scene of that solemnity.

SECTION VIII.

OF THE PRINCIPAL SECTS AMONG THE MOHAMMEDANS, AND OF THOSE WHO HAVE PRETENDED TO PROPHECY AMONG THE ARABS, IN OR SINCE THE TIME OF MOHAMMED

BEFORE we take a view of the sects of the Mohammedans, it will be necessary to say something of the two sciences by which all disputed questions among them are determined, viz. then Scholastic and Practical Divinity.

Then scholastic divinity is a mongrel science, consisting of logical, metaphysical, theological and philosophical disquisitions, and built on principles and methods of reasoning very different from what are used by those

⁷ Ebn al Athir, et al Ghazali apud Poc. Spec p 317. ⁸ Idem. ⁹ Al ——— Ibid. ¹⁰ Chap 63, ubi sup. ¹ Al Ghazali, ubi sup p 318. ² The word Beiram is Turkish, and properly signifies a feast day or holiday. ³ See chap 9, and before, sect. iv p 86. ⁴ Vide Reland, de Rel Moham. p 109, et D'Herbel, Bibl Orient Art. Beiram. ⁵ Hyde, in notis ad Bobov p 16. Chardin, Voy de Perse, tom ii. p 450. Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, lib ii c 24 &c. ⁶ Vide Chardin, et Ricaut, ubi sup.

who pass among the Mohammedans themselves for the sounder divines or more able philosophers,⁷ and therefore in the partition of the sciences this is generally left out, as unworthy a place among them.⁸ The learned Maimonides⁹ has laboured to expose the principles and systems of the scholastic divines, as frequently repugnant to the nature of the world and the order of the creation, and intolerably absurd.

This art of handling religious disputes was not known in the infancy of Mohammedism, but was brought in when sects sprang up, and articles of religion began to be called in question, and was at first made use of to defend the truth of those articles against innovators,¹ and while it keeps within those bounds is allowed to be a commendable study, being necessary for the defence of the faith but when it proceeds farther, out of an itch of disputation, it is judged worthy of censure.

This is the opinion of al Ghazali,² who observes a medium between those who have too high a value for this science, and those who absolutely reject it. Among the latter was al Shafei, who declared that, in his judgment, if any man employed his time that way, he deserved to be fixed to a stake, and carried about through all the Arab tribes, with the following proclamation to be made before him. This is the reward of him who, leaving the Koran and the Sonna, applied himself to the study of scholastic divinity.³ Al Ghazali, on the other hand, thinks that it was introduced by the invasion of heresies, it is necessary to be retained in order to quell them but then in the person who studies this science he requires three things, diligence acuteness of judgment, and probity of manners, and is by no means for suffering the same to be publicly explained.⁴ This science, therefore, among the Mohammedans, is the art of controversy, by which they discuss points of faith, concerning the essence and attributes of God, and the conditions of all possible things, either in respect to their creation, or final restoration, according to the rules of the religion of Islam.⁵

The other science is practical divinity or jurisprudence, and is the knowledge of the decisions of the law which regard practice, gathered from distinct proofs.

Al Ghazali declares that he had much the same opinion of this science as of the former, its original being owing to the corruption of religion and morality, and therefore judged both sciences to be necessary not in themselves, but by accident only, to curb the irregular imaginations and passions of mankind (as guards become necessary in the highways by reason of robbers), the end of the first being the suppressing of heresies, and of the other the decision of legal controversies, for the quiet and peaceable living of mankind in this world, and for the preserving the rule by which the magistrate may prevent one man from injuring another, by declaring what is lawful and what is unlawful, by determining the satisfaction to be given, or punishment to be inflicted and by regulating other outward actions, and not only so, but to decide of religion itself and its conditions, so far as relates to the profession made by the mouth, it not being the business of the civilian to inquire into the heart.⁶ the depravity of men's manners, however, has made this knowledge of the laws so very requisite, that it is usually called the science by way of excellence, nor is any man reckoned learned who has not applied himself thereto.⁷

⁷ Poc. Spec. p. 196. ⁸ Apud Ebn Sina, in *Libello de Divisione Scientiarum et Nazro'ddin al Iûsi*, in præfat. ad *Ethic.* ⁹ More Nevoch lib. i. c. 71, et 73. ¹ Al Ghazali, apud Poc. ubi sup. ² Ibid. ³ Vide Poc. Ibid. p. 197. ⁴ Al Ghazali, Ibid. ⁵ Ebn al Kossâ, apud eund. Ibid. p. 198. ⁶ Al Ghazali. Vide Ibid. p. 198—204. ⁷ Vide Ibid. p. 204.

The points of faith, subject to the examination and discussion of the scholastic divines, are reduced to four general heads, which they call the four bases, or great fundamental articles.⁸

The first basis relates to the attributes of God, and his unity consistent therewith. Under this head are comprehended the questions concerning the eternal attributes, which are asserted by some, and denied by others, and also the explication of the essential attributes, and attributes of action, what is proper for God to do, and what may be affirmed of him, and what it is impossible for him to do. These things are controverted between the Ashárians, the Keramians, the Mojassemians or Corporealists, and the Mótazalites.⁹

The second basis regards predestination, and the justice thereof which comprises the questions concerning God's purpose and decree, man's compulsion or necessity to act, and his co-operation in producing actions, by which he may gain to himself good or evil, and also those which concern God's willing good and evil, and what things are subject to his power, and what to his knowledge, some maintaining the affirmative, and others the negative. These points are disputed among the Kadarians, the Najarians, the Jabarians, the Ashárians, and the Keramians.¹

The third basis concerns the promises and threats, the precise acceptation of names used in divinity, and the divine decisions, and comprehends questions relating to faith, repentance, promises, threats, forbearance, infidelity, and error. The controversies under this head are on foot between the Morgians, the Waidians, the Mótazalites, the Asharians, and the Keramians.

The fourth basis regards history and reason, that is, the just weight they ought to have in matters belonging to faith and religion, and also the mission of prophets, and the office of Imâm, or chief pontiff. Under this head are comprised all casuistical questions relating to the moral beauty or turpitude of actions, inquiring whether things are allowed or forbidden by reason of their own nature, or by the positive law, and also questions concerning the preference of actions, the favour or grace of God, the innocence which ought to attend the prophetic office, and the conditions requisite in the office of Imâm, some asserting it depends on right of succession, others on the consent of the faithful, and also the method of transferring it, with the former, and of confirming it, with the latter. These matters are the subjects of dispute between the Shutes, the Motazalites, the Keramians, and the Ashárians.³

The different sects of Mohammedans may be distinguished into two sorts, those generally esteemed orthodox, and those which are esteemed heretical.

The former, by a general name, are called Sonnites or Traditionists, because they acknowledge the authority of the Sonna, or collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of their prophet, which is a sort of supplement to the Koran, directing the observance of several things omitted in that book, and in name, as well as design, answering to the Mishna of the Jews.⁴

The Sonnites are subdivided into four chief sects, which, notwithstanding some differences as to legal conclusions in their interpretation of the Koran, and matters of practice, are generally acknowledged to be orthodox in

⁸ Vide Abu'lfarag Hist. Dynast. p. 166. ⁹ Al Shahrestânî apud Poc. ubi sup. p. 204, &c. ¹ Idem ibid. p. 205. ² Idem ibid. p. 206. ³ Idem, ibid. ⁴ Vide Poc. Spec. p. 298. Frid. Life of Moham. p. 51, &c. Reland, de Rel. Moham. p. 68, &c. Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 368, 369.

radicals, or matters of faith, and capable of salvation, and have each of them their several stations or oratories in the temple of Mecca.⁵

The founders of these sects are looked upon as the great masters of jurisprudence, and are said to have been men of great devotion and self-denial, well versed in the knowledge of those things which belong to the next life and to man's right conduct here, and directing all their knowledge to the glory of God. This is all Ghazālī's encomium of them, who thinks it derogatory to their honour that their names should be used by those who, neglecting to imitate the other virtues which make up their character, apply themselves only to attain their skill, and follow their opinions in matters of legal practice.⁶

The first of the four orthodox sects is that of the Hanefites, so named from their founder, Abu Hanīfa al Noman Ebn Thâbet, who was born at Cufi, in the eightieth year of the Hejra, and died in the one hundred and fiftieth, according to the more preferable opinion as to the time.⁷ He ended his life in prison at Baghdad, where he had been confined because he refused to be made Kadi or judge,⁸ on which account he was very hardly dealt with by his superiors, yet could not be prevailed on, either by threats or ill treatment, to undertake the charge, choosing rather to be punished by them than by God, says al Ghazālī, who adds, that when he excused himself from accepting the office by alleging that he was unfit for it, being asked the reason, he replied, "If I speak the truth, I am unfit, but if I tell a lie, a liar is not fit to be a judge." It is said that he read over the Koran in the prison where he died, no less than seven thousand times.⁹

The Hanefites are called by an Arabian writer¹ the followers of reason, and those of the three other sects, followers of tradition the former being principally guided by their own judgment in their decisions, and the latter adhering more tenaciously to the traditions of Mohammed.

The sect of Abu Hanīfa heretofore obtained chiefly in Irak,² but now generally prevails among the Turks and Tartars his doctrine was brought into great credit by Abu Yusof, chief justice under the Khalīfs al Hadī and Harun al Rashīd.³

The second orthodox sect is that of Mālec Ebn Ans, who was born at Medina, in the year of the Hejra, 90, 93, 94,⁴ or 95,⁵ and died there in 177,⁶ 178,⁷ or 179⁸ (for so much do authors differ). This doctor is said to have paid great regard to the traditions of Mohammed.⁹ In his last illness, a friend going to visit him found him in tears, and asking him the reason of it, he answered, "How should I not weep? and who has more reason to weep than I? Would to God that for every question decided by me according to my own opinion I had received so many stripes! then would my accounts be easier. Would to God I had never given any decision of my own!"¹ Al Ghazālī thinks it a sufficient proof of Mālec's directing his knowledge to the glory of God, that being once asked his opinion as to forty eight questions, his answer to thirty two of them was, that he did not

⁵ See before p 82. ⁶ Vide Poc. Spec. p 293. ⁷ Ebn Khalecan. ⁸ This was the true cause of his imprisonment and death and not his refusing to subscribe to the opinion of absolute predestination, as D Herbelot writes (Bibl. Orient. p 21), misled by the dubious acceptation of the word Kadi, which signifies not only God's decree in particular, but also the giving sentence as a judge in general nor could Abu Hanīfa have been reckoned orthodox had he denied one of the principal articles of faith. ⁹ Poc. Spec. p 297, 298. ¹ Al Shahrestani ibid. ² Idem. ³ Vide D Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p 21, 22. ⁴ Abulfeda. ⁵ Ebn Khalecan. ⁶ Idem. ⁷ Abulfeda. ⁸ Elmacinus, p 114. ⁹ Ebn Khalec. Vide Poc. Spec. p 294. ¹ Idem.

know, it being no easy matter for one who has any other view than God's glory to make so frank a confession of his ignorance.²

The doctrine of Málec is chiefly followed in Barbary and other parts of Africa.

The author of the third orthodox sect was Mohammed Ebn Edris al Shafei, born either at Gaza or Ascalon in Palestine, in the year of the Hejra one hundred and fifty, the same day (as some will have it), that Abu Hanifa died, and was carried to Mecca at two years of age, and there educated.³ He died in two hundred and four,⁴ in Egypt, whither he went about five years before.⁵ This doctor is celebrated for his excellency in all parts of learning, and was much esteemed by Ebn Hanbal his contemporary, who used to say that "he was as the sun to the world, and as health to the body." Ebn Hanbal, however, had so ill an opinion of al Shafei, at first, that he forbade his scholars to go near him, but some time after one of them, meeting his master trudging on foot after al Shafei, who rode on a mule, asked him how it came about that he forbade them to follow him, and did it himself? to which Ebn Hanbal replied, "Ho'd thy peace, if thou but attend his mule thou wilt profit thereby."⁶

Al Shafei is said to have been the first who discoursed of jurisprudence, and reduced that science into a method,⁷ one wittily saying, that the relators of the traditions of Mohammed were asleep till al Shafei came and waked them.⁸ He was a great enemy to the scholastic divines, as has been already observed.⁹ Al Ghazali tells us that al Shafei used to divide the night into three parts, one for study, another for prayer, and the third for sleep. It is also related of him that he never so much as once swore by God, either to confirm a truth, or to affirm a falsehood, and that being once asked his opinion, he remained silent for some time, and when the reason of his silence was demanded he answered, "I am considering first whether it be better to speak or to hold my tongue." The following saying is also recorded of him, viz, "Whoever pretends to love the world and its Creator at the same time is a liar."¹ The followers of this doctor are from him called Shâfêites, and were formerly spread into Mawarânnahr and other parts eastward, but are now chiefly in Arabia and Persia.

Ahmed Ebn Hanbal, the founder of the fourth sect, was born in the year of the Hejra one hundred and sixty four, but as to the place of his birth there are two traditions some say he was born at Merû in Khorasan, of which city his parents were, and that his mother brought him from thence to Baghdad at her breast, while others assure us that she was with child of him when she came to Baghdad, and that he was born there.² Ebn Hanbal in process of time attained a great reputation on account of his virtue and knowledge, being so well versed in the traditions of Mohammed, in particular, that it is said he could repeat no less than a million of them.³ He was very intimate with al Shafei, from whom he received most of his traditional knowledge, being his constant attendant till his departure for Egypt.⁴ Refusing to acknowledge the Korân to be created,⁵ he was, by order of the Kalf al Motasem, severely scourged and imprisoned.⁶ Ebn Hanbal died at Baghdad, in the year two hundred and forty one, and was followed to his grave by eight hundred thousand men, and sixty thousand women. It is related, as something very extraordinary, if not miraculous,

² Al Ghazali Vide Poc Spec p 294 ³ Ebn Khalecân ⁴ Yet Abulfeda says he lived fifty-eight years ⁵ Ebn Khalecan. ⁶ Idem ⁷ Idem ⁸ Al Zafarani apud Poc. Spec. p 296 ⁹ See before, p 109 ¹ Vide Poc. Spec p 295—297 ² Ebn Khalecan ³ Idem ⁴ Idem ⁵ See before, sect. III. p 48, &c. ⁶ Ebn Khalecan, Abulfarag Hist Dyn p 252, &c.

that on the day of his death no less than twenty thousand Christians, Jews, and Magians, embraced the Mohammedan faith.⁷ This sect increased so fast, and became so powerful and bold, that in the year three hundred and twenty three, in the Kalifat of al Râdi, they raised a great commotion in Baghdâd, entering people's houses, and spilling their wine, if they found any, and beating the singing women they met with, and breaking their instruments, and a severe edict was published against them, before they could be reduced to their duty⁸ but the Hanbalites at present are not very numerous, few of them being to be met with out of the limits of Arabia.

The heretical sects among the Mohammedans are those which hold heterodox opinions in fundamentals or matters of faith.

The first controversies relating to fundamentals began when most of the companions of Mohammed were dead⁹ for in their days was no dispute, unless about things of small moment, if we except only the dissensions concerning the Imams, or rightful successors of their prophet, which were stirred up and fomented by interest and ambition, the Arabs' continual employment in the wars, during that time, allowing them little or no leisure to enter into nice inquiries and subtle distinctions but no sooner was the ardour of conquest a little abated than they began to examine the Koran more nearly, whereupon differences in opinion became unavoidable, and at length so greatly multiplied, that the number of their sects, according to the common opinion, are seventy three. For the Mohammedans seem ambitious that their religion should exceed others even in this respect, saying, that the Magians are divided into seventy sects, the Jews into seventy one, the Christians into seventy two, and the Moslems into seventy-three, as Mohammed had foretold¹ of which sects they reckon one to be always orthodox, and entitled to salvation.²

The first heresy was that of the Kharejites, who *revolled* from Ali in the thirty seventh year of the Hejra, and not long after, Mabad al Johni Ghailin of Damascus, and Jonas al Aswari broached heterodox opinions concerning predestination, and the ascribing of good and evil unto God, whose opinions were followed by Wasel Ebn Ata.³ This latter was the scholar of Hasan of Basra, in whose school a question being proposed, whether he who had committed a grievous sin was to be deemed an infidel or not, the Kharejites (who used to come and dispute there) maintaining the affirmative, and the orthodox the negative, Wasel, without waiting his master's decision, withdrew abruptly, and began to publish among his fellow scholars a new opinion of his own, to wit, that such a sinner was in a middle state, and he was thereupon expelled the school, he and his followers being thenceforth called Môtazalites, or Separatists.⁴

The several sects which have arisen since this time are variously compounded and decomposed of the opinions of four chief sects, the Môtazalites, the Sefâtians, the Khârejites, and the Shutes.⁵

I The Môtazalites were the followers of the before-mentioned Wasel

⁷ Ebn Khalecân ⁸ Abu Ifar ubi sup 301, &c ⁹ Al Shahrestani apud Poc Spe p 194, Auctor Sharh al Mawakef apud eund p 210 ¹ Vide Poc Spec p 194 ² Al Shahrestani, apud eund p 211 ³ Idem, and Auctor Sharh al Mawakef ubi sup ⁴ Idem, ib p 211, 212 Et Ebn Khalecân in Vita Waseli

⁵ Al Shahrestani who also reduces them to four chief sects, puts the Kadarians in the place of the Môtazalites. Abu Ifaragius (Hist Dyn p 166) reckons six principal sects adding the Jabarians and the Morgians and the author of Sharh al Mawakef, eight, viz., the Môtazalites the Shutes, the Kharejites, the Morgians the Najarians, the Jaharians the Moshabbchites, and the sect which he calls al Najia, because that alone will be saved, being, according to him, the sect of the Asharians. Vide Poc Spec. p 209

Ebn Atâ. As to their chief and general tenets, 1 They entirely rejected all eternal attributes of God, to avoid the distinction of persons made by the Christians, saying that eternity is the proper or formal attribute of his essence, that God knows by his essence, and not by his knowledge,⁶ and the same they affirmed of his other attributes⁷ (though all the Môtazalites do not understand these words in one sense), and hence this sect were also named Moa'talites, from their divesting God of his attributes⁸ and they went so far as to say, that to affirm these attributes is the same thing as to make more eternal than one, and that the unity of God is inconsistent with such an opinion,⁹ and this was the true doctrine of Wâsel their master, who declared that whoever asserted an eternal attribute as asserted there were two gods.¹ This point of speculation concerning the divine attributes was not ripe at first, but was at length brought to maturity by Wâsel's followers, after they had read the books of the philosophers.² 2 They believed the word of God to have been created *in subjecto* (as the schoolmen term it), and to consist of letters and sound, copies thereof being written in books, to express or imitate the original. They also went farther, and affirmed that whatever was created *in subjecto* is also an accident, and liable to perish.³ They denied absolute predestination, holding that God was not the author of evil, but of good only, and that man was a free agent⁴ which being properly the opinion of the Kadarians, we defer what may be farther said thereof till we come to speak of that sect. On account of this tenet and the first, the Môtazalites look on themselves as the defenders of the unity and justice of God.⁵ 4 They held that if a professor of the true religion be guilty of a grievous sin, and die without repentance, he will be eternally damned, though his punishment will be lighter than that of the infidels.⁶ 5 They denied all vision of God in paradise by the corporeal eye, and rejected all comparisons or similitudes applied to God.⁷

This sect are said to have been the first inventors of scholastic divinity,⁸ and are subdivided into several inferior sects, amounting, as some reckon, to twenty, which mutually brand one another with infidelity,⁹ the most remarkable of them are —

1 The Hodeilians, or followers of Hamd in Abu Hodeil, a Môtazalite doctor, who differed something from the common form of expression used by this sect, saying that God knew by his knowledge, but that his knowledge was his essence, and so of the other attributes which opinion he took from the philosophers, who affirm the essence of God to be simple and without multiplicity, and that his attributes are not posterior or accessory to his essence, or subsisting therein, but are his essence itself and thus the more orthodox take to be next kin to making distinctions in the deity, which is the thing they so much abhor in the Christians.¹ As to the Korin's being uncreated, he made some distinction, holding the word of God to be partly not *in subjecto* (and therefore uncreated), as when he spake the word Kun. i. e. Fiat, at the creation, and partly *in*

⁶ Maimonides teaches the same, not as the doctrine of the Môtazalites, but his own. Vide More Nev. lib. 1, c. 57. ⁷ Al Shahrestani apud Poc. Spec. p. 214. Abu'lfarag p. 167. ⁸ Vide Poc. Spec. p. 224. ⁹ Sharh al Mawakef, and al Shahrest. apud Poc. p. 216. Maimonides (in Proleg. ad Pirke Aboth, sect. viii.) asserts the same thing. ¹ Vide Poc. ibid. ² Al Shahrest. ib. p. 215. ³ Abu'lfarag and al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 217. See before, sect. iii. p. 48. ⁴ Vide Poc. Spec. p. 240. ⁵ Al Shahrest. and Sharh al Mawakef, apud Poc. ubi sup. p. 214. ⁶ Maracc. Prodr. ad Ref. Alcor. part. iii. p. 74. ⁷ Idem, ib. ⁸ Vide Poc. Spec. p. 213, and D. Herbel. Art. Motazelah. ⁹ Auctor al Mawakef apud Poc. ib. ¹ Al Shahrestani, apud Poc. p. 215—217.

subjecto, as the precepts, prohibitions, &c.² Marracci³ mentions an opinion of Abu Hodeil's concerning predestination, from an Arab writer,⁴ which being by him expressed in a manner not very intelligible, I choose to omit.

2 The Jobbâians, or followers of Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Abd al Wahhâb, surnamed al Jobbâi, whose meaning when he made use of the common expression of the Môtazalites, that God knows by his essence, &c was, that God's being knowing is not an attribute, the same with knowledge, nor such a state as rendered his being knowing necessary.⁵ He held God's word to be created *in subjecto*, as in the preserved table, for example, the memory of Gabriel, Mohammed, &c.⁶ This sect, if Marracci has given the true sense of his author, denied that God could be seen in paradise without the assistance of corporeal eyes, and held that man produced his acts by a power superadded to health of body and soundness of limbs, that he who was guilty of a mortal sin was neither a believer nor an infidel, but a transgressor (which was the original opinion of Wuseli), and, if he died in his sins, would be doomed to hell for eternity, and that God conceals nothing of whatever he knows from his servants.⁷

3 The Hâshemians, who were so named from their master Abu Hâshem al Salâm, the son of Abu Ali al Jobbâi, and whose tenets nearly agreed with those of the preceding sect.⁸ Abu Hâshem took the Môtazalite form of expression, that God knows by his essence, in a different sense from others, supposing it to mean, that God hath or is endued with a disposition, which is a known property, or quality, posterior or accessory to his existence.⁹ His followers were so much afraid of making God the author of evil, that they would not allow him to be said to create an infidel, because, according to their way of arguing, an infidel is a compound of infidelity and man, and God is not the creator of infidelity.¹ Abu Hâshem, and his father Abu Ali al Jobbâi, were both celebrated for their skill in scholastic divinity.²

4 The Nodhâmians, or followers of Ibrahim al Nodhâm, who, having read books of philosophy, set up a new sect, and, imagining he could not sufficiently remove God from being the author of evil, without divesting him of his power in respect thereto, taught that no power ought to be ascribed to God concerning evil and rebellious actions but thus he affirmed against the opinion of his own disciples, who allowed that God could do evil, but did not, because of its turpitude.³ Of his opinion as to the Korân being created we have spoken elsewhere.⁴

5 The Hâyetians, so named from Ahmed Ebn Hâyet, who had been of the sect of the Nodhamians, but broached some new notions on reading the philosophers. His peculiar opinions were, 1 That Christ was the eternal Word incarnate, and took a true and real body, and will judge all creatures in the life to come.⁵ he also farther asserted, that there are two gods, or creators, the one eternal, viz the most high God, and the other not eternal, viz Christ,⁶ which opinion, though Dr Pocock urges the same as an argument that he did not rightly understand the Christian mysteries,⁷ is not much different from that of the Arians and Socinians. 2 That there is a successive transmigration of the soul from one body into another, and that

² Al Shahrestani, apud Poc p 217, &c. ³ In Prodr part 3, p 74. ⁴ Al Shahrest. ⁵ Idem, apud Poc. Spec. p 215. ⁶ Idem, and Auctor al Mawakof ib p 218. ⁷ Marracci, ubi sup p 75, ex al Shahrest. ⁸ Vide Eund ib. ⁹ Al Shahrest. apud Poc. p 215. ¹ Idem p 242. ² Ebn Khalecan, in vitis eorum. ³ Al Shahrest ubi sup p 241, 242. ⁴ Vide Marracc. Prod part 3, p 74. ⁵ See before, sect. iii p 49. ⁶ Al Shahrest ubi sup p 218. ⁷ Abu Isfarag p 167. ⁸ Al Shahrest, al Mawakof, et Ebn Kos.a, apud Poc ubi sup p 219. ⁹ Vide Poc. ib

the last body will enjoy the reward or suffer the punishment due to each soul,⁸ and 3 That God will be seen at the resurrection, not with the bodily eyes, but those of the understanding⁹

6 The Jâhedhians, or followers of Amru Ebn Bahr, surnamed al Jâhedh, a great doctor of the Môtazalites, and very much admired for the elegance of his composesures,¹ who differed from his brethren in that he imagined the damned would not be eternally tormented in hell, but should be changed into the nature of fire, and that the fire would of itself attract them, without any necessity of their going into it.² He also taught that if a man believed God to be his Lord, and Mohammed the apostle of God, he became one of the faithful, and was obliged to nothing farther³ His peculiar opinion as to the Koran has been taken notice of before⁴

7 The Mozdarians, who embraced the opinions of Isa Ebn Sobaih al Mozdâr, and those very absurd ones for, besides his notions relating to the Koran,⁵ he went so directly counter to the opinion of those who abridged God of the power to do evil, that he affirmed it possible for God to be a liar, and unjust⁶ He also pronounced him to be an infidel who thrust himself into the supreme government⁷ nay he went so far as to assert men to be infidels while they said, There is no God but God, and even condemned all the rest of mankind as guilty of infidelity, upon which Ibrahim Ebn al Sendi asked him whether paradise, whose breadth equals that of heaven and earth, was created only for him and two or three more who thought as he did? to which it is said he could return no answer⁸

8 The Basharians, who maintained the tenets of Bashâr Ebn Môtamer, the master of al Mozdar,⁹ and a principal man among the Môtazalites. He differed in some things from the general opinion of that sect, carrying man a free agency to a great excess, making it even independent and yet he thought God might doom an infant to eternal punishment, but granted he would be unjust in so doing He taught that God is not always obliged to do that which is best, for if he pleased he could make all men true believers. These sectaries also held, that if a man repent of a mortal sin, and afterwards return to it, he will be liable to suffer the punishment due to the former transgression¹

9 The Thamamians, who followed Thamama Ebn Bashâr, a chief Môtazalite. Their peculiar opinions were, 1 That sinners should remain in hell for ever 2 That free actions have no producing author 3 That at the resurrection all infidels, idolaters, atheists, Jews, Christians, Magians, and heretics shall be reduced to dust²

10 The Kadarîans, which is really a more ancient name than that of Môtazalites, Mabad al Johni and his adherents being so called, who disputed the doctrine of predestination before Wâsel quitted his master,³ for which reason some use the denomination of Kadarîans as more extensive than the other, and comprehend all the Môtazalites under it.⁴ This sect deny absolute predestination, saying that evil and injustice ought not to be attributed to God, but to man, who is a free agent, and may therefore be rewarded or punished for his actions, which God has granted him power either to do or to let alone⁵ And hence it is said they are called Kadarîans, because they deny al Kadr, or God's absolute decree, though others,

* Marracc et al Shahrest. ubi sup * Marracc ibid p 75. 1 Vide D Herbel
Bibl Orient. art Giahedh 2 Al Shahrest ubi sup p 280 * Marracc ubi sup.
* Sect. iii p 49 5 Vide ibid et p 48 6 Al Shahrest. apud Poc. p 241 7 Mar-
racc ubi sup p 75 8 Al Shahrestâni ubi sup p 220. 9 Poc Spec p 22
1 Marracc ubi sup 2 Idem ibid 3 Al Shahrest 4 Al Firauzab Vide Poc.
Spec p 231 232 et 214 Al Shahrest Vide Poc. Spec p 235 et 240 &c.

thinking it not so proper to affix a name to a sect from a doctrine which they combat, will have it come from Kadr, or Kodrat, i e power, because they assert man's power to act freely ⁶ Those, however, who give the name of Kadarians to the Môtazalites are their enemies, for they disclaim it, and give it to their antagonists the Jabarians, who likewise refuse it as an infamous appellation,⁷ because Mohammed is said to have declared the Kadarians to be the Magians of his followers.⁸ But what the opinion of these Kadarians in Mohammed's time was, is very uncertain the Môtazalites say the name belongs to those who assert predestination, and make God the author of good and evil,⁹ viz. the Jabarians, but all the other Mohammedan sects agree to fix it on the Môtazalites who, they say, are like the Magians in establishing two principles, light, or God, the author of good, and darkness, or the devil, the author of evil but this cannot absolutely be said of the Môtazalites, for they (at least the generality of them) ascribe men's good deeds to God, but their evil deeds to themselves, meaning thereby that man has a free liberty and power to do either good or evil, and is master of his actions, and for this reason it is said that the other Mohammedans call them Magians, because they assert another author of actions besides God.¹ And, indeed, it is a difficult matter to say what Mohammed's own opinion was in this matter, for, on the one side, the Korân itself is pretty plain for absolute predestination, and many sayings of Mohammed are recorded to that purpose,² and one in particular, wherein he introduces Adam and Moses disputing before God in this manner Thou, says Moses, art Adam, whom God created, and animated with the breath of life, and caused to be worshipped by the angels, and placed in paradise, from whence mankind have been expelled for thy fault whereto Adam answered, Thou art Moses, whom God chose for his apostle, and intrusted him with his word, by giving thee the tables of the law, and whom he vouchsafed to admit to discourse with himself how many years dost thou find the law was written before I was created? Says Moses, Forty And dost thou not find, replied Adam, these words therein, And Adam rebelled against his Lord and transgressed? which Moses confessing, Dost thou therefore blame me, continued he, for doing that which God wrote of me that I should do, forty years before I was created, nay, for what was decreed concerning me fifty thousand years before the creation of heaven and earth?³ In the conclusion of which dispute Mohammed declared that Adam had the better of Moses On the other side, it is urged in the behalf of the Môtazalites, that Mohammed declaring that the Kadarians and Magians had been cursed by the tongues of seventy prophets, and being asked who the Kadarians were, answered, Those who assert that God predestinated them to be guilty of rebellion, and yet punishes them for it al Hasan is also said to have declared, that God sent Mohammed to the Arabs while they were Kadarians, or Jabarians, and laid their sins upon God and to confirm the matter this sentence of the Korân is quoted,⁴ When they commit a filthy action, they say, We found our fathers practising the same, and God hath commanded us so to do Say, Verily God commandeth not filthy actions.⁵

II The Sefâtians held the opposite opinion to the Môtazalites in respect to the eternal attributes of God, which they affirmed, making no distinction between the essential attributes and those of operation and hence

⁶ Vide Poc Spec p 238 ⁷ Al Motarrezî, al Shahrest Vide ibid p 232 ⁸ Idem &c ibid ⁹ Idem ibid ¹ Vide Poc Spec p 233, &c. ² Vide ibid p 237 ³ Ebn al Athîr al Bokhari, apud Poc. p 236. ⁴ Chap 7 ⁵ Al Motarrezî apud eund. p. 237, 238.

they were named Sefātians, or Attributists. Their doctrine was that of the first Mohammedans, who were not yet acquainted with these nice distinctions, but this sect afterwards introduced another species of declarative attributes, or such as were necessarily used in historical narration, as hands, face, eyes, &c which they did not offer to explain, but contented themselves with saying they were in the law, and that they called them declarative attributes ⁶ However, at length, by giving various explications and interpretations of these attributes, they divided into many different opinions some, by taking the words in the literal sense, fell into the notion of a likeness or similitude between God and created beings, to which it is said the Karaites among the Jews, who are for the literal interpretation of Moses's law, had shown them the way ⁷ others explained them in another manner, saying that no creature was like God, but that they neither understood, nor thought it necessary to explain the precise signification of the words which seem to affirm the same of both, it being sufficient to believe that God hath no companion or similitude Of this opinion was Malec Ebn Ans, who declared as to the expression of God's sitting on his throne, in particular, that though the meaning is known, yet the manner is unknown, and that it is necessary to believe it, but heresy to make any question about it ⁸

The sects of the Sefātians are,

1 The Asharians, the followers of Abu'l Hasan al Ashāri, who was first a Mōtazalite, and the scholar of Abu Ali al Jobbāi, but disagreeing from his master in opinion as to God's being bound (as the Mōtazalites assert) to do always that which is best or most expedient, left him, and set up a new sect of himself The occasion of this diffidence was the putting a case concerning three brothers, the first of whom lived in obedience to God, the second in rebellion against him, and the third died an infant Al Jobbāi being asked what he thought would become of them answered, that the first would be rewarded in paradise, the second punished in hell, and the third neither rewarded nor punished but what, objected al Ashāri, if the third say, O Lord, if thou hadst given me longer life, that I might have entered paradise with my believing brother, it would have been better for me, to which al Jobbāi replied, that God would answer, I knew that if thou hadst lived longer, thou wouldst have been a wicked person, and therefore cast into hell! Then, retorted al Ashari, the second will say, O Lord, why didst thou not take me away while I was an infant, as thou didst my brother, that I might not have deserved to be punished for my sins, nor be cast into hell? To which al Jobbāi could return no other answer, than that God prolonged his life to give him an opportunity of obtaining the highest degree of perfection, which was best for him but al Ashāri demanding farther, why he did not for the same reason grant the other a longer life, to whom it would have been equally advantageous, al Jobbāi was so put to it, that he asked whether the devil possessed him? No, says al Ashāri, but the master's ass will not pass the bridge, ¹ i. e. he is posed

The opinions of the Ashārians were, 1 That they allowed the attributes of God to be distinct from his essence, yet so as to forbid any comparison to be made between God and his creatures ² This was also the opinion of Ahmen Ebn Hanbal, and David al Ispahāni, and others, who herein followed Malec Ebn Ans, and were so cautious of any assimilation of God to created beings, that they declared whoever moved his hand while he read

⁶ Al Shahrest apud Poc Spec. p 223 ⁷ Vide Poc. ibid p 224 ⁸ Vide eund. ibid ¹ Auctor al Mawakif, et al Safadi, apud Poc ubi sup p 230, &c. Ebn b. Malec. in Vita al Jobbāi. ² Al Shahrest apud Poc. Spec. p 230.

these words I have created with my hand, or stretched forth his finger in repeating this saying of Mohammed The heart of the believer is between two fingers of the Merciful, ought to have his finger cut off ² and the reasons they gave for not explaining any such words were, that it is forbidden in the Korân, and that such explications were necessarily founded on conjecture and opinion, from which no man ought to speak of the attributes of God, because the words of the Korân might by that means come to be understood differently from the author's meaning nay some have been so superstitiously scrupulous in this matter as not to allow the words hand, face, and the like, when they occur in the Korân, to be rendered into Persian or any other language, but require them to be read in the very original words, and thus they call the safe way ⁴ 2 As to predestination, they held that God hath one eternal will, which is applied to whatsoever he willeth, both of his own actions and those of men, so far as they are created by him, but not as they are required or gained by them that he willeth both their good and their evil, their profit and their hurt, and as he willeth and knoweth, he willeth concerning men that which he knoweth, and hath commanded the pen to write the same in the preserved table and this is his decree, and eternal immutable counsel and purpose ⁵ They also went so far as to say, that it may be agreeable to the way of God that man should be commanded what he is not able to perform. ⁶ But while they allow man some power, they seem to restrain it to such a power as cannot produce any thing new, only God, say they, so orders his providence, that he creates, after, or under, and together with every created or new power, an act on which is ready whenever a man wills it, and sets about it and this action is called *Cash*, ¹ e Acquisition, being in respect to its creation, from God, but in respect to its being produced, employed, and required, from man ⁷ And this being generally esteemed the orthodox opinion, it may not be improper farther to explain the same in the words of some other writers. The elective actions of men, says one, fall under the power of God alone, nor is their own power effectual thereto but God causeth to exist in man power and choice, and if there be no impediment, he causeth his action to exist also, subject to his power, and joined with that and his choice, which action, as created, is to be ascribed to God, but as produced, employed, or acquired, to man. So that by the acquisition of an action is properly meant a man's joining or connecting the same with his power and will, yet allowing herein no impression or influence on the existence thereof, save only that it is subject to his power ⁸ Others, however, who are also on the side of al Ashâri, and reputed orthodox, explain the matter in a different manner, and grant the impression or influence of the created power of man on his action, and that this power is what is called Acquisition. ⁹ But the point will be still clearer, if we hear a third author, who rehearses the various opinions, or explications of the opinion of this sect, in the following words viz. Abu l Hasan al Ashâri asserts all the actions of men to be subject to the power of God, being created by him, and that the power of man hath no influence at all on that which he is empowered to do, but that both the power, and what is subject thereto, fall under the power of God al Kadi Abu Becr says that the essence or substance of the action is the effect of the power of God, but its being either an action of obedience, as prayer, or an action of disobedience, as fornication, are qualities of the action, which proceed from the power of man, Ahd'almalec, known by the title of Imâm al Haramain,

¹ Al Shahrest apud Poc. Spec p 228 &c ⁴ Vide Poc ibid ⁵ Al Shahrest apud eund. p. 245, &c ⁶ idem, ibid p 246. ⁷ Al Shahrest, apud Poc p 245, &c. ⁸ Auctor Sharh al Mawakef, apud eund. p 247 ⁹ Al Shahrest ibid. p 248.

Abu'l Hosein of Basra, and other learned men, held that the actions of men are effected by the power which God hath created in man, and that God causeth to exist in man both power and will, and that this power and will do necessarily produce that which man is empowered to do and Abu Ishâk al Istarâfeyî taught, that that which maketh impression, or hath influence on an action, is a compound of the power of God and the power of man¹ The same author observes, that their ancestors, perceiving a manifest difference between those things which are the effects of the election of man, and those things which are the necessary effects of inanimate agents, destitute both of knowledge and choice, and being at the same time pressed by the arguments which prove that God is the Creator of all things, and consequently of those things which are done by men, to conciliate the matter, chose the middle way, asserting actions to proceed from the power of God, and the acquisition of man, God's way of dealing with his servants being, that when man intended obedience, God createth in him an action of obedience and when he intendeth disobedience, he createth in him an action of disobedience, so that man seemeth to be the effective producer of his action, though he really be not² But this, proceeds the same writer, is again pressed with its difficulties, because the very intention of the mind is the work of God, so that no man hath any share in the production of his own actions, for which reason the ancients disapproved of too nice an inquiry into this point, the end of the dispute concerning the same being, for the most part, either the taking away of all precepts positive as well as negative, or else the associating of a companion with God, by introducing some other independent agent besides him Those, therefore, who would speak more accurately, use this form There is neither compulsion nor free liberty, but the way lies between the two, the power and will in man being both created by God, though the merit or guilt be imputed unto man Yet, after all, it is judged the safest way to follow the steps of the primitive Moslems, and, avoiding subtle disputations and too curious inquiries to leave the knowledge of this matter wholly unto God³ 3 As to mortal sin

¹ Auctor Sharh al Tawalea apud eund ibid p 248, &c ² Idem ibid p 249, 250
³ Idem, ibid p 250, 251 I trust the reader will not be offended if as a farther illustration of what has been said on this subject, (in producing of which I have purposely kept to the original Mohammedan expressions) I transcribe a passage or two from a postscript subjoined to the epistle I have quoted above, (sect iv p 77) in which the point of free-will is treated *ex professo* Therein the Moorish author, having mentioned the two opposite opinions of the Kadarians, who allow free will and the Jabarians, who make man a necessary agent, (the former of which opinions, he says seems to approach nearest to that of the greater part of Christians, and of the Jews,) declares the true opinion to be that of the Sonnites, who assert that man hath power and will to choose good and evil, and can moreover know he shall be rewarded if he do well, and shall be punished if he do ill but that he depends notwithstanding on God's power, and willeth if God willeth, but not otherwise Then he proceeds briefly to refute the two extreme opinions, and first to prove that of the Kadarians, though it be agreeable to God's justice, inconsistent with his attributes of wisdom and power "Sapientia enim Dei, says he, "comprehendit quicquid fuit et futurum est ab æternitate in finem usque mundi et postea. Et ita novit ab æterno omnia opera creaturarum, sive bona, sive mala, quæ fuerint creata cum potentia Dei, et ejus libera et determinata voluntate, sicut ipsi visum fuit Denique novit eum qui futurus erat malus, et tamen creavit eum, et similiter bonum, quem etiam creavit neque negari potest quin, si ipsi libuisset, potuisset omnes creare bonos placuit tamen Deo creare bonos et malos, cum Deo soli sit absoluta et libera voluntas, et perfecta electio, et non homini. Ita enim Salomon in suis proverbiis dixit, Vitam et mortem, bonum et malum, divitias et paupertatem, esse et venire a Deo Christiani etiam dicunt S. Paulum dixisse in suis epistolis Dicit etiam lutum figulo, Quare facis unum vas ad honorem, et aliud vas ad contumeliam? Cum igitur miser homo fuerit creatus a voluntate Dei et potentia, nihil aliud potest tribui ipsi quam ipse sensus cognoscendi et sentiendi an bene vel male faciat Quæ unica causa (id est, sensus cognoscendi) erit ejus gloriæ vel ~~damne~~ causa per talem enim sensum novit quid boni vel mali adversus

the Asharians taught, that if a believer guilty of such sin die without repentance, his sentence is to be left to God, whether he pardon him out of mercy, or whether the prophet intercede for him, (according to that saying recorded of him, 'My intercession shall be employed for those among my people who shall be guilty of grievous crimes,") or whether to punish him in proportion to his desert, and afterwards, through his mercy, admit him into paradise but that it is not to be supposed he will remain for ever in hell with the infidels, seeing it is declared that whoever shall have faith in his heart but of the weight of an ant shall be delivered from hell fire⁴ And this is generally received for the orthodox doctrine in this point, and is diametrically opposite to that of the Motazalites

These were the more rational Sefatians, but the ignorant part of them, not knowing how otherwise to explain the expressions of the Koran relating to the declarative attributes, fell into most gross and absurd opinions, making God corporeal, and like created beings⁵ Such were,

2 The Moshabbehites, or assimilators, who allowed a resemblance between God and his creatures,⁶ supposing him to be a figure composed of members or parts, either spiritual or corporeal, capable of local motion, of ascent and descent, &c.⁷ Some of this sect inclined to the opinion of the Dei præcepta fecerit "The opinion of the Jabarians on the other hand, he rejects as contrary to man's consciousness of his own power and choice and inconsistent with God's justice and his having given mankind laws to the observing or transgressing of which he has annexed rewards and punishments After this he proceeds to explain the third opinion in the following words Tertio opinio Zonis (i. e. Sonnitarius) quæ vera est affirmat homini potestatem esse sed limitatam a sua causa id est dependentem a Dei potentia et voluntate et propter illam cognitionem quâ deliberat bene vel malè facere esse dignum pœna vel præmio Manifestum est in æternitate non fuisse aliam potentiam præter Dei nostri omnipotentis et ejus potentia pendebant omnia possibilia id est quæ poterant esse cum ab ipso fuerint creata Sapientia verò Dei novit etiam quæ non sunt futura et potentia ejus, etsi non creaverit ea potuit tamen si ita Deo placuisset Ita novit sapientia Dei quæ eiant impossibilia, id est quæ non poterant esse quæ tamen nullo pacto pendent ab ejus potentia ab ejus enim potentia nulla pendent nisi possibilia — Dicimus enim a Dei potentia non pendere creare Deum alium ipsi similem nec creare aliquid quod moveatur et quiescat simul eodem tempore, cum hæc sint ex impossibilibus comprehendit tamen suâ sapientia tale aliquid non pendere ab ejus potentia — A potentia igitur Dei pendet solum quod potest esse et possibile esse quæ semper parata est dare esse possibilibus Lt si hoc penitus cognoscamus cognoscemus pariter omne quod est seu futurum est sive sint opera nostra sive quidvis aliud pendere a sola potentia Dei Et hoc non privatim intelligitur, sed in genere de omni eo quod est et movetur sive in cœlis sive in terra et nec aliqua potentia potest impediri Dei potentia cum nulla alia potentia absoluta sit, præter Dei potentia vero nostra non est a se, nisi a Dei potentia et cum potentia nostra dicitur esse a causa sua ideo dicimus potentiam nostram esse straminis comparatam cum potentia Dei eo enim modo quo stramen movetur a motu maris, ita nostra potentia et voluntas a Dei potentia Itaque Dei potentia semper est parata etiam ad occidendum aliquem, ut si quis hominem occidat non dicimus potentia hominis id factum sed æterna potentia Dei error enim est id tribuere potentia hominis Potentia enim Dei cum semper sit parata et ante ipsum hominem ad occidendum si sola hominis potentia id factum esse diceremus et moriretur, potentia sane Dei (quæ antè erat) jam ibi esset frustra quia post mortem non potest potentia Dei eum iterum occidere ex quo sequeretur potentiam Dei impediri a potentia hominis et potentiam hominis antè et antecellere potentiam Dei quod est absurdum et impossibile Igitur Deus est qui operatur æterna sua potentia, si verò homini injiciatur culpa, sive in tali homicidio, sive in aliis hoc est quantum ad præcepta et legem Homini tribuitur solum opus externè et ejus electio quæ est a voluntate ejus et potentia, non verò internè — Hoc est punctum illud indivisibile et secretum, quod a paucissimis capitur, ut sapientissimus Sidi Abo Hamet Elgaceli (i. e. Dominus Abu Hamed al Ghazali) affirmat (cujus spiritum Deus concedat gloriam, Amen!) sequentibus verbis Ita abditum et profundum et abstrusum est intelligere punctum illud Liberi Arbitri, ut neque characteres ad scribendum neque ullæ rationes ad exprimendum sufficiant, et omnes, quotquot de hac re locuti sunt, hæserunt confusi in ripa tanti et tam spaciosi maris "

⁴ Al Shahrest. apud Poc. Spec p 253 ⁵ Vide Poc. ibid p 255 &c. Abulfar p. 167, &c ⁶ Al Mawakef, apud Poc. ibid. ⁷ Al Shahrest. apud eund ibid p 226

Holulians, who believed that the divine nature might be united with the human in the same person, for they granted it possible that God might appear in a human form as Gabriel did and to confirm their opinion they allege Mohammed's words, that he saw his lord in a most beautiful form, and Moses talking with God face to face⁸. And,

3 The Kerâmians, or followers of Mohammed Ebn Kerâm, called also Mojassemians, or Corporealists, who not only admitted a resemblance between God and created beings, but declared God to be corporeal⁹. The more sober among them, indeed, when they applied the word body to God, would be understood to mean that he is a self subsisting being, which with them is the definition of body but yet some of them affirmed him to be finite, and circumscribed either on all sides, or on some only (as beneath, for example), according to different opinions,¹⁰ and others allowed that he might be felt by the hand, and seen by the eye. Nay, one David al Jawârî went so far as to say, that his deity was a body composed of flesh and blood, and that he had members, as hands, feet, a head, a tongue, eyes, and ears, but that he was a body, however, not like other bodies, neither was he like to any created being he is also said further to have affirmed that from the crown of the head to the breast he was hollow, and from the breast downward solid, and that he had black curled hair¹. These most blasphemous and monstrous notions were the consequence of the literal acceptance of those passages in the Korân, which figuratively attribute corporeal actions to God, and of the words of Mohammed, when he said, that God created man in his own image, and that he himself had felt the fingers of God, which he laid on his back, to be cold besides which, this sect are charged with fathering on their prophet a great number of spurious and forged traditions to support their opinion, the greater part whereof they borrowed from the Jews, who are accused as naturally prone to assimilate God to men, so that they describe him as weeping for Noah's flood till his eyes were sore². And indeed, though we grant the Jews may have imposed on Mohammed and his followers in many instances, and told them as solemn truths things which them selves believed not or had invented, yet many expressions of this kind are to be found in their writings as when they introduce God roaring like a lion at every watch of the night, and crying, "Alas! that I have laid waste my house, and suffered my temple to be burnt, and sent my children into banishment among the heathen, &c"³.

4 The Jabarians, who are the direct opponents of the Kadarians, denying free agency in man, and ascribing his actions wholly unto God⁴. They take their denomination from al Jabr, which signifies necessity or compulsion, because they hold man to be necessarily and inevitably constrained to act as he does, by force of God's eternal and immutable decree⁵. This sect is distinguished into several species, some being more rigid and extreme in their opinion, who are thence called pure Jabarians, and others more moderate, who are therefore called middle Jabarians. The former will not allow men to be said either to act, or to have any power at all, either operative or acquiring, asserting that man can do nothing, but produces all his actions by necessity, having neither power, nor will, nor choice, any more than an inanimate agent they also declare that rewarding and punishing are also the effects of necessity, and the same they say of the imposing of commands. This was the doctrine of the Jahmians, the followers of Jahm Ebn Safwân, who likewise held that paradise and hell

⁸ Vide Marracc Prodr part iii. p 76. ⁹ Al Shahrest ubi sup. ¹⁰ Idem ibid. p 225. ¹ Idem, ibid p 226, 227. ² Idem, ibid p 227, 228. ³ Talm. Berachoth. c 1. Vide Poc ubi sup p 228. ⁴ Vide Abulfarag p 168. ⁵ Al Shahrest. al Mawakef, et Ebn al Kossa, apud Poc. ibid. p 238, &c.

will vanish, or be annihilated, after those who are destined thereto respectively shall have entered them, so that at last there will remain no existing being besides God, ⁶ supposing those words of the Korân, which declare that the inhabitants of paradise and of hell shall remain therein for ever, to be hyperbolical only, and intended for corroboration, and not to denote an eternal duration in reality ⁷ The moderate Jabarians are they who ascribe some power to man, but such a power as hath no influence on the action for as to those who grant the power of man to have a certain influence on the action, which influence is called Acquisition, some ⁸ will not admit them to be called Jabarians, though others reckon those also to be called middle Jabarians, and to contend for the middle opinion between absolute necessity and absolute liberty, who attribute to man acquisition, or concurrence, in producing the action, whereby he gaineth commendation or blame, (yet without admitting it to have any influence on the action,) and therefore make the Ashârians a branch of this sect ⁹ Having again mentioned the term Acquisition, we may perhaps have a clearer idea of what the Moham-medans mean thereby, when told, that it is defined to be an action directed to the obtaining of profit, or the removing of hurt, and for that reason never applied to any action of God, who acquireth to himself neither profit nor hurt ¹ Of the middle or moderate Jabarians, were the Najârians, and the Derârians The Najârians were the adherents of Al Hasan Ebn Moham-med al Najâr, who taught that God was he who created the actions of men, both good and bad, and that man acquired them, and also that man's power had an influence on the action, or a certain co operation, which he called acquisition, and herein he agreed with al Ash'ari ² The Derârians were the disciples of Derâr Ebn Amru who held also that men's actions are really created by God and that man really acquired them ³ The Jabarians also say, that God is absolute Lord of his creatures, and may deal with them according to his own pleasure, without rendering account to any, and that if he should admit all men without distinction into paradise, it would be no impartiality, or if he should cast them all into hell it would be no injustice ⁴ And in this particular likewise they agree with the Ashârians, who assert the same, ⁵ and say that reward is a favour from God, and punishment a piece of justice, obedience being by them considered as a sign only of future reward, and transgression as a sign of future punishment ⁶

5 The Morgians, who are said to be derived from the Jabarians ⁷ These teach that the judgment of every true believer, who hath been guilty

⁶ Al Shahrest, al Motarezzi, et Ebn al Kossa, apud eund p 239, 243, &c
⁷ Idem, ibid p 260 ⁸ Al Shahrest ⁹ Ebn al Kossa, et al Mawakef ¹ Ebn al Kossa, apud Poc ubi sup p 240 ² Al Shahrest apud eund p 245 ³ Idem ibid ⁴ Abulfarag p 168, &c ⁵ Al Shahrestani ubi sup p 252, &c. Sharh al Tawalea, ibid To the same effect writes the Moorish author quoted above, from whom I will venture to transcribe the following passage with which he concludes his discourse on Free will "Intellectus ferè lumine naturali novit Deum esse rectum judicem et justum, qui non aliter afficit creaturam quàm justè etiam Deum esse absolutum Dominum, et hanc orbis machinam esse ejus, et ab eo creatam Deum nullis debere rationem reddere cùm quicquid agat, agat jure proprio sibi et ita absolutè potent afficere præmio vel pœnâ quem vult, cùm omnis creatura sit ejus nec facit cuiquam injuriam, etsi eam tormentis et pœnis æternis afficiat plus enim boni et commodi accepit creatura quando accepit esse a suo creatore, quàm incommodi et damni quando ab eo damnata est et affecta tormentis et pœnis. Hoc autem intelligitur si Deus absolute id faceret Quando enim Deus, pietate et misericordiâ motus eligit aliquos ut ipsi serviant, Dominus Deus gratia suâ id facit ex infinita bonitate, et quando aliquos derelinquit, et pœnis et tormentis afficit, ex justitia et rectitudine. Et tandem dicimus omnes pœnas esse justas quæ a Deo veniunt et nostrâ tantum culpâ, et omnia bona esse a pietate et misericordiâ ejus infinita." ⁷ Al Shahrest. ubi sup p 256.

of a grievous sin, will be deferred till the resurrection, for which reason they pass no sentence on him in this world, either of absolution or condemnation. They also hold that disobedience with faith hurteth not, and that on the other hand, obedience with infidelity profiteth not⁸. As to the reason of their name the learned differ, because of the different significations of its root, each of which they accommodate to some opinion of the sect. Some think them so called because they postpone works to intention, that is, esteem works to be inferior in degree to intention and profession of the faith,⁹ others, because they allow hope, by asserting that disobedience with faith hurteth not, &c, others take the reason of the name to be, their deferring the sentence of the heinous sinner till the resurrection,¹ and others, their degrading of Ali, or removing him from the first degree to the fourth² for the Morgians, in some points relating to the office of Imâm, agree with the Kharejites. This sect is divided into four species three of which, according as they happen to agree in particular dogmas with the Kharejites, the Kadarians, or the Jabarians, are distinguished as Morgians of those sects, and the fourth is that of the pure Morgians, which last species is again subdivided into five others³. The opinions of Mokâtel and Bashar, both of a sect of the Morgians called Thaubanians, should not be omitted. The former asserted that disobedience hurts not him who professes the unity of God, and is endued with faith, and that no true believer shall be cast into hell: he also taught that God will surely forgive all crimes besides infidelity, and that a disobedient believer will be punished, at the day of resurrection, on the bridge⁴ laid over the midst of hell, where the flames of hell fire shall catch hold on him, and torment him in proportion to his disobedience, and that he shall then be admitted into paradise⁵. The latter held, that if God do cast the believers guilty of grievous sins into hell, yet they will be delivered thence after they shall have been sufficiently punished, but that it is neither possible nor consistent with justice, that they should remain therein for ever: which, as has been observed, was the opinion of al Ashâri.

III The Khârejites are they who depart or revolt from the lawful prince established by public consent, and thence comes their name, which signifies revolvers or rebels⁶. The first who were so called were twelve thousand men who revolted from Ali, after they had fought under him at the battle of Seffin, taking offence at his submitting the decision of his right to the Khalifat, which Moâwiyah disputed with him, to arbitration, though they themselves had first obliged him to it⁷. These were also called Mohakkemites, or Judiciarians, because the reason which they gave for their revolt was, that Ali had referred a matter concerning the religion of God to the judgment of men, whereas the judgment, in such case, belonged only unto God.⁸ The heresy of the Kharejites consisted chiefly in two things. 1 In that they affirmed a man might be promoted to the dignity of Imâm, or prince, though he was not of the tribe of Koreish, nor even a freeman, provided he was a just and pious person, and endued with the other requisite qualifications, and also held, that if the Imam turned aside from the truth, he might be put to death or deposed, and that there was no absolute necessity for any Imâm at all in the world. 2 In that they charged Ali with sin, for having left an affair to the judgment of men, which ought to have been determined by God alone, and went so far as to declare him guilty of infidelity, and to curse him on that account.¹ In the

⁸ Abulfar p 169. ⁹ Al Firaouz. ¹ Ebn al Athir, Al Motazezi. ² Al Shahrest. ubi sup p 254. &c. ³ Idem ibid. ⁴ See before, sect. iv p 65. ⁵ Al Shahrest. ubi sup p 257. ⁶ Idem, ibid p 269. ⁷ See Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac vol i. p. (p. &c. ⁸ Al Shahrest. ubi sup p 270. ¹ Idem, ibid

38th year of the Hejra, which was the year following the revolt, all these Khârejites, who persisted in their rebellion, to the number of four thousand, were cut to pieces by Ali, and as several historians² write, even to a man but others say nine of them escaped, and that two fled into Omân, two into Kermân, two into Sejestân, two into Mesopotamia, and one to Tel Mawrûn, and that these propagated their heresy in those places, the same remaining there to this day³. The principal sects of the Khârejites, besides the Mohakkemites above mentioned are six, which, though they greatly differ among themselves in other matters, yet agree in these, viz that they absolutely reject Othmân and Ali, preferring the doing of this to the greatest obedience, and allowing marriages to be contracted on no other terms, that they account those who are guilty of grievous sins to be infidels, and that they hold it necessary to resist the Imam when he transgresses the law. One sect of them deserves more particular notice, viz.

The Waidians, so called from al Waid, which signifies the threats denounced by God against the wicked. These are the antagonists of the Morgians, and assert that he who is guilty of a grievous sin ought to be declared an infidel or apostate, and will be eternally punished in hell, though he were a true believer⁴ which opinion of theirs, as has been observed occasioned the first rise of the Môtazalites. One Jaafar Ebn Mobashshar, of the sect of the Nodhâmians, was yet more severe than the Waidians, pronouncing him to be a reprobate and an apostate who steals but a grain of corn⁵.

IV The Shiites are the opponents of the Kharejites their name properly signifies sectaries or adherents in general, but is peculiarly used to denote those of Ali Ebn Abi Taleb, who maintain him to be lawful Khalif and Imam, and that the supreme authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to his descendants, notwithstanding they may be deprived of it by the injustice of others, or their own fear. They also teach, that the office of Imâm is not a common thing, depending on the will of the vulgar so that they may set up whom they please, but a fundamental affair of religion and an article which the prophet could not have neglected, or left to the fancy of the common people⁶. nay, some, thence called Imamîns, go so far as to assert, that religion consists solely in the knowledge of the true Imâm⁷. The principal sects of the Shiites are five, which are subdivided into an almost innumerable number, so that some understand Mohammed's prophecy of the seventy odd sects of the Shiites only. Their general opinions are: 1 That the peculiar designation of the Imam, and the testimonies of the Koran and Mohammed concerning him, are necessary points. 2 That the Imams ought necessarily to keep themselves free from light sins as well as more grievous. 3 That every one ought publicly to declare who it is that he adheres to, and from whom he separates himself, by word, deed, or engagement, and that herein there should be no dissimulation. But in this last point some of the Zeidians, a sect so named from Zeid, the son of Ali, surnamed Zein al âbedin, and great grandson of Ali, dissented from the rest of the Shiites⁸. As to the other articles, wherein they agreed not, some of them came pretty near to the notions of the Môtazalites, others to those of the Moshabbehites, and others to those of the Sonnites.⁹ Among the latter of these, Mohammed al Baker, another son of Zein al âbedin's, seems to claim a place for his opinion as to the will of God was, that God

² Abu lfeda, al Jannabi Elmacinus, p 40. ³ Al Shahrestani. See Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, ubi sup p 63. ⁴ Abulfar p 169. Al Shahrest. apud Poc.

Spec. p 256. ⁵ Vide Poc. ibid p. 257. ⁶ Al Shahrest ibid p 261. Abulfar p 169. ⁷ Al Shahrest ibid p 262. ⁸ Idem, ibid. Vide D Herbel. Bibl Orient. Art. Schiah. Vide Poc. ibid.

willeth something in us, and something from us, and that what he willeth from us he hath revealed to us, for which reason he thought it preposterous that we should employ our thoughts about those things which God willeth in us, and neglect those which he willeth from us and as to God's decree, he held that the way lay in the middle, and that there was neither compulsion nor free liberty¹ A tenet of the Khattâbians, or disciples of one Abu'l Khattâb, is too peculiar to be omitted These maintained paradise to be no other than the pleasures of this world, and hell-fire to be the pains thereof, and that the world will never decay which proposition being first laid down, it is no wonder they went farther, and declared it lawful to indulge themselves in drinking wine and whoring and to do other things forbidden by the law, and also to omit doing the things commanded by the law²

Many of the Shutes carried their veneration for Ali and his descendants so far, that they transgressed all bounds of reason and decency, though some of them were less extravagant than others The Gholâtes, who hid their name from their excessive zeal for their Imâms, were so highly transported therewith, that they raised them above the degrees of created beings, and attributed divine properties to them, transgressing on either hand by deifying of mortal men and by making God corporeal for one while they liken one of their Imâms to God, and another while they liken God to a creature³ The sects of these are various, and have various appellations in different countries Abd'allah Ebn Saba (who had been a Jew, and had asserted the same thing of Joshua the son of Nun) was the ringleader of one of them This man gave the following salutation to Ali, viz Thou art thou, &c Thou art God and hereupon the Gholâtes became divided into several species, some maintaining the same thing, or something like it, of Ali, and others of some one of his descendants, affirming that he was not dead, but would return again in the clouds, and fill the earth with justice⁴ But how much soever they disagreed in other things, they unanimously held a metempsychosis, and what they call al Holul, or the descent of God on his creatures, meaning thereby, that God is present in every place, and speaks with every tongue, and appears in some individual persons⁵ and hence some of them asserted their Imâms to be prophets and at length gods⁶ The Nosutians and the Ishâkians taught that spiritual substances appear in grosser bodies, and that the angels and the devil have appeared in this manner They also assert that God hath appeared in the form of certain men, and since, after Mohammed, there hath been no man more excellent than Ali, and after him, his sons have excelled all other men, that God hath appeared in their form, spoken with their tongue, and made use of their hands, for which reason, say they, we attribute divinity to them⁷ And, to support these blasphemies, they tell several miraculous things of Ali, as his moving the gates of Khaibar,⁸ which they urge as a plain proof that he was endued with a particle of divinity and with sovereign power, and that he was the person in whose form God appeared, with whose hands he created all things, and with whose tongue he published his commands, and therefore they say he was in being before the creation of heaven and earth⁹ In so impious a manner do they seem to wrest those things which are said in Scripture of Christ, by applying them to Ali These extravagant fancies of the Shutes,

¹ Al Shahrest ibid p 263 ² Idem, et Fbn al Kossa ibid p 260, &c ³ Idem ibid ⁴ Idem, ibid p 264 Vide Marracc. Prodr part iii p 80, &c ⁵ Al Shahrest ibid p 260 ⁶ Vide D Herbel Bibl Or Art Hakem beamrillah ⁷ Idem ibid Abulfar p 160 ⁸ See Frid Life of Moham p 93 ⁹ Al Shah ubi sup p 266.

however in making their Imâms partakers of the divine nature, and the impiety of some of those Imâms in laying claim thereto, are so far from being peculiar to this sect, that most of the other Mohammedan sects are tainted with the same madness, there being many found among them, and among the Sufis especially, who pretend to be nearly related to heaven, and who boast of strange revelations before the credulous people¹ It may not be amiss to hear what al Ghazâlî has written on this occasion "Matters are come to that pass," says he, "that some boast of a union with God, and are discoursing familiarly with him, without the interposition of a veil, saying, It hath been thus said to us, and We have thus spoken, affecting to imitate Hosein al Hallâj, who was put to death for some words of this kind uttered by him, he having said (as was proved by credible witnesses), I am the Truth,² or Abu Yazid al Bastami, of whom it is related that he often used the expression, Sobhânî, i. e. Praise be unto me!³ But this way of talking is the cause of great mischief among the common people, insomuch that husbandmen, neglecting the tillage of their land, have pretended to the like privileges, nature being tickled with discourses of this kind, which furnish men with an excuse for leaving their occupations, under pretence of purifying their souls, and attaining I know not what degrees and conditions. Nor is there any thing to hinder the most stupid fellows from forming the like pretensions, and catching at such vain expressions for whenever what they say is denied to be true they fail not to reply that our unbelief proceeds from learning and logic, affirming learning to be a veil, and logic the work of the mind, whereas what they tell us appears only within, being discovered by the light of truth But this is that truth the sparks whereof have flown into several countries, and occasioned great mischiefs, so that it is more for the advantage of God's true religion to put to death one of those who utter such things than to bestow life on ten others"⁴

Thus far have we treated of the chief sects among the Mohammedans of the first ages omitting to say any thing of the more modern sects, because the same are taken little or no notice of by their own writers, and would be of no use to our present design⁵ It may be proper, however, to mention a word or two of the great schism at this day subsisting between the Sonnites and the Shutes, or partisans of Ali, and maintained on either side with implacable hatred and furious zeal Though the difference arose at first on a political occasion, it has notwithstanding been so well improved by additional circumstances, and the spirit of contradiction, that each party detest and anathematize the other as abominable heretics, and farther from the truth than either the Christians or the Jews⁶ The chief points wherein they differ are, 1 That the Shutes reject Abu Becr, Omar, and Othmân, the first three Khalifs, as usurpers and intruders, whereas the Sonnites acknowledge and respect them as rightful Imâms 2 The Shutes prefer Ali to Mohammed, or, at least, esteem them both equal, but the Sonnites admit neither Ali nor any of the prophets to be equal to Mohammed 3 The Sonnites charge the Shutes with corrupting the Koran, and neglecting its precepts, and the Shutes retort the same charge on the Sonnites 4 The Sonnites receive the Sonna, or book of traditions of their prophet, as of canonical authority, whereas the Shutes reject it as apocryphal and unworthy of credit And to these disputes, and some others of less moment, is principally owing the antipathy which has long reigned between

¹ Pocock Spec p 267 ² Vide D Herbel Bibl Orient. Art Hallage. ³ Vide Ibid A t Bastham ⁴ Al Ghazâlî apud Poc. ubi sup ⁵ The reader may meet with some account of them in Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, lib 2, c. 12 ⁶ Vide ibid c 10 et Chardin, Voy de Perse tom II. p 169 170 &c

the Turks, who are Sunnites, and the Persians who are of the sect of Ali. It seems strange that Spinoza, had he known of no other schism among the Mohammedans, should yet never have heard of one so publicly notorious as this between the Turks and Persians, but it is plain he did not, or he would never have assigned it as the reason of his preferring the order of the Mohammedan church to that of the Roman, that there have arisen no schisms in the former since its birth.⁷

As success in any project seldom fails to draw in imitators, Mohammed's having raised himself to such a degree of power and reputation by acting the prophet induced others to imagine they might arrive at the same height by the same means. His most considerable competitors in this prophetic office were Moseilama and al Aswad, whom the Mohammedans usually call the two liars.

The former was of the tribe of Honeifa, who inhabited the province of Yamâma, and a principal man among them. He headed an embassy sent by his tribe to Mohammed in the ninth year of the Hejra, and professed himself a Moslem⁸ but on his return home, considering that he might possibly share with Mohammed in his power, the next year he set up for a prophet also, pretending to be joined with him in the commission to recall mankind from idolatry to the worship of the true God⁹ and he published written revelations, in imitation of the Koran, of which Abulfaragius¹⁰ has preserved the following passage, viz. Now hath God been gracious unto her that was with child, and hath brought forth from her the soul which runneth between the peritonæum and the bowels. Moseilama, having formed a considerable party among those of Honeifa, began to think himself upon equal terms with Mohammed, and sent him a letter, offering to go halves with him,¹ in these words. From Moseilama the apostle of God, to Mohammed the apostle of God,—Now let the earth be half mine and half thine. But Mohammed, thinking himself too well established to need a partner, wrote him this answer. From Mohammed the apostle of God, to Moseilama the liar,—The earth is God's, he giveth the same for inheritance unto such of his servants as he pleaseth, and the happy issue shall attend those who fear him.² During the few months which Mohammed lived after this revolt, Moseilama rather gained than lost ground, and grew very formidable, but Abu Becr, his successor, in the eleventh year of the Hejra, sent a great army against him, under the command of that consummate general Khaled Ebn al Walid, who engaged Moseilama in a bloody battle, wherein the false prophet happening to be slain by Wahsha, the negro slave who had killed Hamza at Ohod, and by the same lance,³ the Moslems gained an entire victory, ten thousand of the apostates being left dead on the spot, and the rest returning to Mohammedism.⁴

Al Aswad, whose name was Aihala, was of the tribe of Ans, and governed that and the other tribes of Arabs descended from Madhhaj.⁵ This man was likewise an apostate from Mohammedism, and set up for himself the very year that Mohammed died.⁶ He was surnamed Dhu'lhemâr or the master of the ass, because he used frequently to say, The master of the ass

⁷ The words of Spinoza are "Ordinem Romanæ ecclesiæ—politicum et plurimis lucrosam esse fateor nec ad decipiendam plebem, et hominum animos coercendum commodiorem isto crederem nisi ordo Mahumedanæ ecclesiæ esset, qui longè eundem antecellit. Nam a quo tempore hæc superstitio inceptit, nulla in eorum ecclesiæ schismata orta sunt." Opera Posth. p. 613. ⁸ Abulfed. p. 160. ⁹ Idem Elmac. p. 9. ¹⁰ Hist. Dynast. p. 164. ¹ Abulfed. ubi sup. ² Al Beidawî in Kor. c. 5. ³ Abulfed. ubi sup. ⁴ Idem, ibid. Abulfarag. p. 173. Elmac. p. 16, &c. See Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. vol. 1. p. 15, &c. ⁵ Al Soheili, apud Gagnier, in not. ad Abulf. Vit. Moh. p. 158. ⁶ Elmac. p. 9.

is coming unto me,⁷ and pretended to receive his revelations from two angels named Sohaik and Shoraik.⁸ Having a good hand at legerdemain, and a smooth tongue, he gained mightily on the multitude by the strange feats which he showed them, and the eloquence of his discourse⁹ by these means he greatly increased his power, and having made himself master of Najran and the territory of al Tâye¹, on the death of Badhân the governor of Yaman for Mohammed, he seized that province also, killing Shahr, the son of Budhan, and taking to wife his widow, whose father, the uncle of Firuz the Deilamite, he had also slain.² These news being brought to Mohammed, he sent to his friends, and to those of Hamdan, a party of whom, conspiring with Kais Ebn Abd' al Yaghuth, who bore al Aswad a grudge, and with Firuz and al Aswad's wife, broke by night into his house, where Firuz surprised him and cut off his head. While he was despatching he roared like a bull, at which his guards came to the chamber door, but were sent away by his wife, who told them the prophet was only agitated by the divine inspiration. This was done the very night before Mohammed died. The next morning the conspirators caused the following proclamation to be made, viz I bear witness that Mohammed is the apostle of God, and that Aihâlâsahai, and letters were immediately sent away to Mohammed, with an account of what had been done but a messenger from heaven outstripped them, and acquainted the prophet with the news, which he imparted to his companions a little before his death, the letters themselves not arriving till Abu Becr was chosen Khalif. It is said that Mohammed on this occasion told those who attended him, that before the day of judgment thirty more impostors, besides Moseilama and al Aswad, should appear, and every one of them set up for a prophet. The whole time from the beginning of Aswad's rebellion to his death was about four months.³

In the same eleventh year of the H^jra, but after the death of Mohammed, as seems most probable, Toleiha Ebn Khowailed set up for a prophet, and Sejj Bint al Mondar⁴ for a prophetess.

Toleiha was of the tribe of Asad, which adhered to him, together with great numbers of the tribes of Ghatfân and Tay. Against them likewise was Khâled sent, who engaged and put them to flight, obliging Toleiha with his shattered troops to retire into Syria, where he staid till the death of Abu Becr. then he went to Omai and embraced Mohammedism in his presence, and having taken the oath of fidelity to him, returned to his own country and people.⁵

Sejj, surnamed Omm Sader, was of the tribe of Tamim, and the wife of Abu Calidala, a soothsayer of Yamama. She was followed not only by those of her own tribe, but by several others. Thinking a prophet the most proper husband for her, she went to Moseilama, and married him, but after she had staid with him three days, she left him, and returned home.⁶ What became of her afterwards I do not find. Ebn Shohnah has given us a part of the conversation which passed at the interview between those two pretenders to inspiration, but the same is a little too immodest to be translated.

In succeeding ages several impostors from time to time started up, most of whom quickly came to nothing but some made a considerable figure, and propagated sects which continued long after their decease. I shall give a brief account of the most remarkable of them, in order of time.

⁷ Abulfed ubi sup. ⁸ Al Soheili, ubi sup. ⁹ Abulfed ubi sup. ¹ Idem, et Elmac ubi sup. ² Idem, al Jannabi ubi sup. ³ Idem, ibid. ⁴ Ebn Shohnah and Elmacinus call her the daughter of al Hareth. ⁵ Elmac p 16 al Beidawi, in Kor c. 5. ⁶ Ebn Shohnah. Vide Elmac p 16.

In the reign of al Mohdi, the third Khalif of the race of al Abbās, one Hakem Ebn Hashem,⁷ originally of Meru in Khorasān, who had been an under secretary to Abu Moslem, the governor of that province, and afterwards turned soldier, passed thence into Marwarā'nahr, where he gave himself out for a prophet. He is generally named by the Arab writers al Mokanna, and sometimes al Borkai, that is, the veiled, because he used to cover his face with a veil, or a gilded mask, to conceal his deformity, having lost an eye in the wars, and being otherwise of a despicable appearance, though his followers pretended he did it for the same reason as Moses did, viz. lest the splendour of his countenance should dazzle the eyes of the beholders. He made a great many proselytes at Nakhshab and Kash, deluding the people with several juggling performances, which they swallowed for miracles, and particularly by causing the appearance of a moon to rise out of a well for many nights together, whence he was also called, in the Persian tongue, Sazendeh mah, or the moon maker. This impious impostor, not content with being reputed a prophet, arrogated divine honours to himself, pretending that the deity resided in his person and the doctrine whereon he built this was the same with that of the Gholates above mentioned, who affirmed a transmigration or successive manifestation of the divinity, through and in certain prophets and holy men, from Adam to these latter days (of which opinion was also Abu Moslem himself⁸), but the particular doctrine of al Mokanna was, that the person in whom the deity had last resided was the aforesaid Abu Moslem, and that the same had, since his death, passed into himself. The faction of al Mokanna, who had made himself master of several fortified places in the neighbourhood of the cities above mentioned, growing daily more and more powerful, the Khalif was at length obliged to send an army to reduce him, at the approach whereof al Mokanna retired into one of his strongest fortresses, which he had well provided for a siege, and sent his emissaries abroad to persuade people that he raised the dead to life, and knew future events. But being straitly besieged by the Khalif's forces, when he found there was no possibility for him to escape, he gave poison in wine to his whole family and all that were with him in the castle, and when they were dead he burnt their bodies, together with their clothes, and all the provisions, and cattle, and then, to prevent his own body being found, he threw himself into the flames, or, as others say, into a tub of aqua fortis, or some other preparation, which consumed every part of him, except only his hair, so that when the besiegers entered the place they found no creature in it, save one of al Mokanna's concubines, who, suspecting his design, had hid herself, and discovered the whole matter. This contrivance, however, failed not to produce the effect which the impostor designed among the remaining part of his followers, for he had promised them that his soul should transmigrate into the form of a grey headed man, riding on a greyish beast, and that after so many years, he would return to them, and give them the earth for their possession, the expectation of which promise kept the sect in being for several ages after,⁹ under the name of Mobeyyidites, or, as the Persians call them, Sefid jāmebhā, i. e. the clothed in white, because they wore their garments of that colour, in opposition, as is supposed, to the Khalifs of the family of Abbās, whose banners and habits

⁷ Or Ebn Ata, according to Ebn Shohnah. ⁸ This explains a doubt of Mr Bayle concerning a passage of Elmacinus, as translated by Erpenius, and corrected by Bespier Vide Bayle, Dict Hist Art Abumuslimus, vers la fin, et Rem B. ⁹ They were a sect in the days of Abu Isaragus, who lived about five hundred years after this extraordinary event, and may, for aught I know, be so still.

were black. The historians place the death of al Mokanna in the 162nd or 163rd year of the Hejra.¹

In the year of the Hejra 201, Babec, surnamed al Khorremi and Khorremdin, either because he was of a certain district near Adherbyân, called Khorrem, or because he instituted a merry religion, which is the signification of the word in Persian, began to take on him the title of a prophet. I do not find what doctrine he taught, but it is said he professed none of the religions then known in Asia. He gained a great number of devotees in Adherbyân and the Persian Irâk, and grew powerful enough to wage war with the Khalif al Mâmûn, whose troops he often beat, killing several of his generals, and one of them with his own hand, and by these victories he became so formidable that al Môtasem, the successor of al Mâmûn, was obliged to employ the forces of the whole empire against him. The general sent to reduce Babec was Afshid, who, having overthrown him in battle, took his castles one after another with invincible patience, notwithstanding the rebels gave him great annoyance, and at last shut up the impostor in his principal fortress, which being taken, Babec found means to escape thence in disguise, with some of his family and principal followers, but taking refuge in the territories of the Greeks, was betrayed in the following manner. Sahel, an Armenian officer, happening to know Babec, enticed him, by offers of service and respect, into his power, and treated him as a mighty prince, till, when he sat down to eat, Sahel clapt himself down by him, at which Babec being surprised, asked him how he dared to take that liberty unasked? "It is true, great king," replied Sahel, "I have committed a fault, for who am I, that I should sit at your majesty's table" And immediatly sending for a smith, he made use of this bitter sarcasm, "Stretch forth your legs, great king, that this man may put fetters on them" After this Sahel sent him to Afshid, though he had offered a large sum for his liberty, having first served him in his own kind, by causing his mother, sister, and wife, to be ravished before his face, for so Bâbec used to treat his prisoners. Afshid, having the arch rebel in his power, conducted him to al Motasem, by whose order he was put to an ignominious and cruel death. This man had maintained his ground against the power of the Khalifs for twenty years, and had cruelly put to death above two hundred and fifty thousand people, it being his custom never to spare man, woman, or child, either of the Mohammedans or their allies.² The sectaries of Babec which remained after his death seem to have been entirely dispersed, there being little or no mention made of them by historians.

About the year 235, one Mahmud Ebn Faraj pretended to be Moses resuscitated, and played his part so well that several people believed in him, and attended him when he was brought before the Khalif al Motawakkel. That prince, having been an ear witness of his extravagant discourses, condemned him to receive ten buffets from every one of his followers, and then to be drubbed to death, which was accordingly executed, and his disciples were imprisoned till they came to their right minds.³

The Karmatians, a sect which bore an inveterate malice against the Mohammedans, began first to raise disturbances in the year of the Hejra 278, and the latter end of the reign of al Môtamed. Their origin is not well known, but the common tradition is, that a poor fellow, whom some call

¹ Ex Abu'lfarag Hist Dyn p 226 Lobb al Tawarikh, Ebn Shohnah al Tabari, et Khondamir Vide D Herbel Bibl Orient. Art. Hakem Ben Haschem ² Ex Abu'lfarag p 252, &c Elmacin p 141 &c and Khondamir Vide D Herbel Art. Babec. ³ Ebn Shohnah Vide D Herbel. p 537

Karmata, came from Khūzistān to the villages near Cūfa, and there feigned great sanctity and strictness of life, and that God had enjoined him to pray fifty times a day, pretending also to invite people to the obedience of a certain Imām of the family of Mohammed and this way of life he continued till he had made a very great party, out of whom he chose twelve, as his apostles, to govern the rest, and to propagate his doctrines. But the governor of the province, finding men neglected their work, and their husbandry in particular, to say those fifty prayers a day, seized the fellow, and having put him in prison, swore that he should die, which being overheard by a girl belonging to the governor, she, pitying the man, at night took the key of the dungeon from under her master's head as he slept, and having let the prisoner out, returned the key to the place whence she had it. The next morning the governor found the bird flown, and the accident being publicly known raised great admiration, his adherents giving it out that God had taken him into heaven. Afterwards he appeared in another province, and declared to a great number of people he had got about him, that it was not in the power of any to do him hurt, notwithstanding which, his courage failing him, he retired into Syria, and was not heard of any more. His sect, however, continued and increased, pretending that their master had manifested himself to be a true prophet, and had left them a new law, wherein he had changed the ceremonies and form of prayer used by the Moslems, and introduced a new kind of fast, and that he had also allowed them to drink wine, and dispensed with several things commanded in the Koran. They also turned the precepts of that book into allegory, teaching that prayer was the symbol of obedience to their Imam and fasting that of silence, or concealing their dogmas from strangers, they also believed fornication to be the sin of infidelity, and the guilt thereof to be incurred by those who revealed the mysteries of their religion, or paid not a blind obedience to their chief. They are said to have produced a book, wherein was written (among other things) "In the name of the most merciful God. Al Faraj Ebn Othman, of the town of Nasrāna, saith, that Christ appeared unto him in a human form, and said, Thou art the invitation thou art the demonstration thou art the camel thou art the beast thou art John the son of Zacharias thou art the Holy Ghost."⁴ From the year above mentioned the Karmatians, under several leaders, gave almost continual disturbance to the Khalifs and their Mohammedan subjects for several years, committing great disorders and outrages in Chaldea, Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, and at length establishing a considerable principality, the power whereof was in its meridian in the reign of Abu Dhāher, famous for his taking of Mecca, and the indignities by him offered to the temple there, but which declined soon after his time, and came to nothing.⁵

To the Karmatians the Ismaelians of Asia were very near of kin if they were not a branch of them for these, who were also called al Molahedah, or the impious, and by the writers of the history of the holy wars, Assassins, agreed with the former in many respects, such as their inveterate malice against those of other religions, and especially the Mohammedan, their unlimited obedience to their prince, at whose command they were ready for assassinations, or any other bloody and dangerous enterprise, their pretended attachment to a certain Imam of the house of Ali, &c. These Ismaelians, in the year 488, possessed themselves of al Jebāl, in the Persian Irāk, under the conduct of Hasan Sabah, and that prince and his

⁴ Apud Abulfar p 275 ⁵ Ex Abulfar ibid Elmacino, p 174, &c. Ebn Shohnah, Khondamir Vide D Herbel, Art Carmath.

descendants enjoyed the same for a hundred and seventy-one years, till the whole race of them was destroyed by Holagu the Tartar⁶

The Batenites, which name is also given to the Ismaelians by some authors, and likewise to the Karmatians,⁷ were a sect which professed the same abominable principles, and were dispersed over several parts of the East.⁸ The word signifies Esoterics, or people of inward or hidden light or knowledge.

Abul Teyyeb Ahmed, surnamed al Motanabbî, of the tribe of Jôfa, is too famous on another account not to claim a place here. He was one of the most excellent poets among the Arabians, there being none besides Abu Temam who can dispute the prize with him. His poetical inspiration was so warm and exalted, that he either mistook it, or thought he could persuade others to believe it to be prophetic, and therefore gave himself out to be a prophet indeed, and thence acquired his surname, by which he is generally known. His accomplishments were too great not to have some success, for several tribes of the Arabs of the deserts, particularly that of Kelab, acknowledged him to be what he pretended. But Lîlu, governor of those parts for Akhshid king of Egypt and Syria, soon put a stop to the farther progress of this new sect, by imprisoning their prophet, and obliging him to renounce his chimerical dignity, which having done, he regained his liberty, and applied himself solely to his poetry, by means whereof he got very considerable riches, being in high esteem at the courts of several princes. Al Motanabbî lost his life, together with his son, on the bank of the Tigris, in defending the money which had been given him by Adado 'ddawla, sultan of Persia, against some Arabian robbers who demanded it of him, with which money he was returning to Cufa, his native city. This accident happened in the year 354⁹

The last pretender to prophecy I shall now take notice of is one who appeared in the city of Amasia, in Natolia, in the year 638, and by his wonderful feats seduced a great multitude of the people there. He was by nation a Turkman, and called himself Baba, and had a disciple named Isaac, whom he sent about to invite those of his own nation to join him. Isaac accordingly, coming to the territory of Somesat, published his commission, and prevailed on many to embrace his master's sect, especially among the Turkman, so that at last he had six thousand horse at his heels, besides foot. With these Baba and his disciples made open war on all who would not cry out with them, There is no God but God, Baba is the apostle of God, and they put great numbers of Mohammedans, as well as Christians, to the sword in those parts, till at length both Mohammedans and Christians, joined together, gave them battle, and having entirely routed them, put them all to the sword, except their two chiefs, who, being taken alive, had their heads struck off by the executioner.¹⁰ I could mention several other impostors of the same kind, which have arisen among the Mohammedans since their prophet's time, and very near enough to complete the number foretold by him, but I apprehend the reader is by this time tired as well as myself, and shall therefore here conclude this discourse, which may be thought already too long for an introduction.

⁶ Vide Abulfar p 505, &c D Herbel. p 104, 437, 505, 620, and 784. ⁷ Vide Almâcin p 174, and 286 D Herbel p 194. ⁸ Vide Abulfar p 361, 374 380, 483, ⁹ Pref in Opera Motanabbis MS. Vide D Herbel. p 638, &c. ¹⁰ Abulfar p 479. ¹¹ In Shohnah D Herbel Art Baba.

AL KORAN.

CHAPTER I.

INTITLED, THE PREFACE OR INTRODUCTION,* REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD *

PRAISE be to GOD, the LORD of all creatures, ^b the most merciful, the king of the day of judgment. Thee do we worship, and of thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way, in the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious, not of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray *

* In Arabic *al Fâtihat*. This chapter is a prayer and held in great veneration by the Mohammedans who give it several other honourable titles, as the chapter of prayer, of praise of thanksgiving of treasure, &c. They esteem it as the quintessence of the whole Koran and often repeat it in their devotions both public and private as the Christians do the Lord's Prayer ¹

* This formula is prefixed to all the chapters (with the exception of one) It is expressly recommended in the Koran. The Mohammedans pronounce it whenever they slaughter an animal and at the commencement of the reading, and of all important actions. It is with them that which the sign of the cross is with Christians. Giaab one of their celebrated authors says that when these words were sent down from heaven, the clouds fled on the side of the east, the winds were lulled, the sea was moved the animals erected their ears to listen, the devils were precipitated from the celestial spheres &c—*Savary*

^b The original words are *Rabbi lalâmina*, which literally signify, *Lord of the worlds*, but *âlâmina*, in this and other places of the Koran properly means the three species of rational creatures, men, geni, and angels. Father Marracci has endeavoured to prove from this passage that Mohammed believed a plurality of worlds, which he calls the error of the Manichees &c ² but this imputation the learned Heland has shown to be entirely groundless ³ Savary translates it “Sovereign of the worlds”

* This last sentence contains a petition that God would lead the supplicants into the true religion by which is meant the Mohammedan in the Koran often called *the right way*, in this place more particularly defined to be, *the way of those to whom God hath been gracious*, that is, of the prophets and faithful who preceded Mohammed, under which appellations are also comprehended the Jews and Christians, such as they were in the times of their primitive purity, before they had deviated from their respective institutions, *not the way of the modern Jews*, whose signal calamities are marks of the just anger of God against them for their obstinacy and

¹ Vide Bobovium de Precib. Mohammed p. 3 et seq. ² In Prodomo ad Refut. Alcorani, part iv p. 76, et in notis ad Alc. cap. 1. ³ De Religione Mohammed. p. 362.

CHAPTER II.

INTITLED THE COW,^a REVEALED PARTLY AT MECCA, AND PARTLY AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

A. L. M.* There is no doubt in this book, *it is a direction to the pious, who believe in the mysteries^c of faith, who observe the appointed times of prayer, and distribute alms out of what we have bestowed on them, and who believe in that revelation, which hath been sent down unto thee, and that which hath been sent down unto the prophets before thee,^e and have firm assurance of the life to come* ^b *these are directed by their LORD, and they shall prosper* As for the unbelievers, it will be equal to them whether thou admonish them, or do not admonish them, they will not believe God hath sealed up their hearts and their hearing, a dimness covereth their sight, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment There are some who say, We believe in God, and the last day, but are not *really* believers, they seek to deceive God, and those who do believe but they deceive themselves only, and are not sensible thereof There is an infirmity in their hearts, and God hath increased that infirmity,^f and they shall suffer a most painful punishment, because they have disbelieved When one saith unto them, Act not corruptly^g in the earth,

disobedience, *nor of the Christians of this age, who have departed from the true doctrine of Jesus, and are bewildered in a labyrinth of error* ^h

This is the common exposition of the passage, though al Zamakhshari and some others, by a different application of the negatives, refer the whole to the true believers, and then the sense will run thus *The way of those to whom thou hast been gracious, against whom thou art not incensed, and who have not erred.* Which translation the original will very well bear

^d This title was occasioned by the story of the red heifer, mentioned pp 9, 10

^e As to the meaning of these letters, see the preliminary discourse, sect. 3

^f The Arabic word is *gheib*, which properly signifies a thing that is *absent at a great distance, or invisible* such as the resurrection, paradise, and hell. And this is agreeable to the language of scripture, which defines faith to be *the evidence of things not seen.*ⁱ

^g The Mohammedans believe that God gave written revelations not only to Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed but to several other prophets,^j though they acknowledge none of those which preceded the Koran to be now extant, except the Pentateuch of Moses, the Psalms of David, and the Gospel of Jesus which yet they say were even before Mohammed's time altered and corrupted by the Jews and Christians; and therefore will not allow our present copies to be genuine

^h The original word *al-akherat* properly signifies *the latter part* of any thing, and by way of excellence *the next life, the latter or future state* after death and is opposed to *al-dunya, this world*, and *al-oula, the former or present life* The Hebrew word *ahharath*, from the same root, is used by Moses in this sense, and is translated *latter end* ^k

ⁱ Mohammed, here and elsewhere, frequently imitates the truly inspired writers, in making God, by operation on the minds of reprobates to prevent their conversion This fatality or predestination, as believed by the Mohammedans, hath been sufficiently treated of in the preliminary discourse

^j Literally *corrupt not in the earth*, by which some expositors understand the sowing of false doctrine, and corrupting people's principles.

^a JaHalo ddin Al Baidawi, &c. ^b Heb. xi 1 See also Rom xxiv 25 2 Cor iv 18, and v 7 ^c Vide Reland, De Relig. Moham. p 34, et Dissert. de Samaritanis, p. 34, &c. ^d Numb xxiv 20 Deut. viii 16.

they reply, Verily we are men of integrity¹ Are not they themselves corrupt doers? but they are not sensible thereof. And when one saith unto them, Believe ye as others^m believe, they answer, Shall we believe as fools believe? Are not they themselves fools? but they know it not. When they meet those who believe, they say, We do believe but when they retire privately to their devils,² they say, We really *hold* with you, and only mock *at those people* God shall mock at them, and continue them in their impiety, they shall wander in confusion. These are *the men* who have purchased error at the price of *true* direction but their traffic hath not been *gainful*, neither have they been *rightly* directed. They are like unto one who kindleth a fire,³ and when it hath enlightened all around him,⁴ God taketh away their light⁵ and leaveth them in darkness, they shall not see, *they are* deaf, dumb, and blind, therefore will they not repent. Or like a stormy cloud from heaven, fraught with darkness, thunder, and lightning,⁶ they put their fingers in their ears, because of the noise of the thunder, for fear of death, God encompasseth the infidels the lightning wanteth but little of taking away their sight, so often as it enlighteneth them, they walk therein, but when darkness cometh on them, they stand still, and if God so pleased, he would certainly deprive them of their hearing and their sight, for God is almighty O men of Mecca, serve your Lord who hath created you, and those who have been before you peradventure ye will fear *him*, who hath spread the earth as a bed for you, and the heaven as a covering, and hath caused water to descend from heaven, and thereby produced fruits for your sustenance. Set not up therefore any equals unto God, against your own knowledge. If ye be in doubt concerning that *revelation* which we have sent down unto our servant, produce a chapter like unto it, and call upon your witnesses,

¹ According to the explication in the preceding note this word must be translated *reformers*, who promote true piety by their doctrine and example

² The first companions and followers of Mohammed⁸

³ The prophet, making use of the liberty zealots of all religions have by prescription, of giving ill language, bestows this name on the Jewish rabbins and Christian priests, though he seems chiefly to mean the former, against whom he had by much the greater spleen

⁴ In this passage Mohammed compares those who believed not in him to a man who wants to kindle a fire but as soon as it burns up and the flames give a light, shuts his eyes, lest he should see As if he had said, You, O Arabians, have long desired a prophet of your own nation and now I am sent unto you and have plainly proved my mission by the excellence of my doctrine and revelation, you resist conviction, and refuse to believe in me therefore shall God leave you in your ignorance

⁵ The sense seems to be here imperfect and may be completed, by adding the words, *he turns from it, shuts his eyes, or the like*

⁶ That is of the believers, to whom the word *thear*, being in the plural, seems to refer, though it is not unusual for Mohammed, in affectation of the prophetic style, suddenly to change the number against all rules of grammar

⁷ Here he compares the unbelieving Arabs to people caught in a violent storm. To perceive the beauty of this comparison, it must be observed, that the Mohammedan doctors say, this tempest is a type or image of the Koran itself the thunder signifying the threats therein contained, the lightning, the promises and the darkness, the mysteries The terror of the threats makes them stop their ears unwilling to hear truths so disagreeable, when the promises are read to them they attend with pleasure; but when any thing mysterious or difficult of belief occurs, they stand stock still, and will not submit to be directed.

⁸ Jallalo ddin.

besides God,* if ye say truth. But if ye do *it* not, nor shall *ever* be able to do *it*, justly fear the fire whose fuel is men and stones, prepared for the unbelievers. But bear good tidings unto those who believe, and do good works, that they shall have gardens watered by rivers, so often as they eat of the fruit thereof for sustenance, they *shall* say, this is what we have formerly eaten of, and they shall be supplied with *several sorts of fruit* having a mutual resemblance to one another^t There shall they enjoy wives subject to no impurity, and there shall they continue for ever Moreover, God will not be ashamed to propound in a parable a gnat,* or even a more despicable thing^u for they who believe will know it to be the truth from their Lord, but the unbelievers will say, What meaneth God by this parable? he will thereby mislead many, and will direct many thereby but he will not mislead *any* thereby, except the transgressors, who make void the covenant of God after the establishing thereof, and cut in sunder that which God hath commanded to be joined, and act corruptly in the earth, they shall perish How *is it* that ye believe not in God? Since ye were dead, and he gave you life,^v he will hereafter cause you to die, and will again restore you to life, then shall ye return unto him It is he who hath created for you whatsoever is on earth, and then set his mind to *the creation of* heaven, and formed it into seven heavens, he knoweth all things When thy Lord said unto the angels, I am going to place a substitute on earth,^y they said, Wilt thou place there one who

* : c Your false gods and idols

Some commentators^o approve of this sense, supposing the fruits of paradise though of various tastes are alike in colour and outward appearance but others¹ think the meaning to be, that the inhabitants of that place will find their fruits of the same or the like kinds as they used to eat while on earth

* : God is no more ashamed to propound a gnat as a parable, than to use a more dignified illustration'—*Savary*

^u This was revealed to take off an objection made to the Koran by the infidels, for condescending to speak of such insignificant insects, as the spider, the pismire, the bee, &c²

* : c Ye were dead while in the wombs of your fathers and he gave you life in your mothers' wombs and after death ye shall be again raised at the resurrection³

^y Concerning the creation of Adam here intimated, the Mohammedans have several peculiar traditions They say the angels Gabriel, Michael, and Israfil were sent by God, one after another to fetch for that purpose seven handfuls of earth from different depths, and of different colours, (whence some account for the various complexions of mankind,⁴) but the earth being apprehensive of the consequence and desiring them to represent her fear to God, that the creature he designed to form would rebel against him, and draw down his curse upon her, they returned without performing God's command, whereupon he sent Azrail on the same errand who executed his commission without remorse, for which reason, God appointed that angel to separate the souls from the bodies, being therefore called *the angel of death* The earth he had taken was carried into Arabia to a place between Mecca and Tayef where being first kneaded by the angels it was afterwards fashioned by God himself into a human form and left to dry⁵ for the space of forty days, or as others say, as many years, the angels in the mean time often visiting it and Iblis (then one of the angels who are nearest to God's presence afterwards the devil) among the rest but he, not contented with looking on it, kicked it with his foot till it rung and knowing God designed that creature to be his superior took a secret resolution never to acknowledge him as such After this God animated the figure of clay and endued it with an intelligent soul, and when he had placed him in paradise, formed Eve out of his left side⁶

^o Jallalo ddin ¹ Al Zamakhshari ² Yahya ³ Jallalo ddin ⁴ Al Termedi, from a tradition of Abu Musa al Ashari ⁵ Koran, c 55 ⁶ Khond amir Jallalo ddin. Comment in Koran, &c. Vide D Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. p 53.

will do evil therein, and shed blood? but we celebrate thy praise, and sanctify thee God answered, Verily I know that which ye know not, and he taught Adam the names of all things, and then proposed them to the angels, and said, Declare unto me the names of these things if ye say truth. They answered, Praise be unto thee, we have no knowledge but what thou teachest us, for thou art knowing and wise God said, O Adam, tell them their names. And when he had told them their names, God said, Did I not tell you that I know the secrets of heaven and earth, and know that which ye discover, and that which ye conceal? And when we said unto the angels, Worship^a Adam, they all worshipped him, except Eblis, who refused, and was puffed up with pride, and became of the number of unbelievers.^b And we said, O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife in the garden,^c and eat of the fruit thereof plentifully whenever ye will, but approach not this tree,^d lest ye become of the number of the transgressors. But Satan caused them to forfeit paradise,^e and turned them out of the state of happiness wherein they had been, whereupon we said, Get ye down,^f the one of you an enemy unto the other, and thence shall be a dwelling place for you on

^a This story Mohammed borrowed from the Jewish traditions which say that the angels having spoken of man with some contempt when God consulted them about his creation God made answer, that the man was wiser than they and to convince them of it, he brought all kinds of animals to them and asked them their names which they not being able to tell, he put the same question to the man, who named them one after another, and being asked his own name and God's name he answered very justly and gave God the name of Jehovah — The angels adoring of Adam is also mentioned in the Talmud^g

^b The original word signifies properly to *prostrate one's self* till the forehead touches the ground, which is the humblest posture of adoration, and strictly due to God only, but it is sometimes as in this place, used to express that civil worship or homage which may be paid to creatures^h

^c This occasion of the devil's fall has some affinity with an opinion which has been pretty much entertained among Christians,ⁱ viz that the angels being informed of God's intention to create man after his own image and to dignify human nature by Christ's assuming it, some of them thinking their glory to be eclipsed thereby, envied man's happiness, and so revolted

^d Mohammed as appears by what presently follows, does not place this garden or paradise on earth but in the seventh heaven^j

^e Concerning this tree, or the forbidden fruit the Mohammedans as well as the Christians, have various opinions Some say it was an ear of wheat some will have it to have been a fig tree and others a vine^k The story of the fall is told, with some further circumstances, in the beginning of the seventh chapter

^f They have a tradition that the devil offering to get into paradise to tempt Adam was not admitted by the guard, whereupon he begged of the animals one after another, to carry him in that he might speak to Adam and his wife but they all refused him except the serpent, who took him between two of his teeth, and so introduced him They add that the serpent was then of a beautiful form, and not in the shape he now bears^l

^g The Mohammedans say that when they were cast down from paradise Adam fell on the isle of Ceylon or Serendib and I've near Joddah (the port of Mecca) in Arabia, and that, after a separation of 200 years Adam was, on his repentance conducted by the angel Gabriel to a mountain near Mecca, where he found and knew his wife the mountain being thence named Arafat and that he afterwards retired with her to Ceylon, where they continued to propagate their species^m

It may not be improper here to mention another tradition concerning the gigantic stature of our first parents Their prophet they say, affirmed Adam to have been as tall as a high palm tree,ⁿ but this would be too much in proportion, if that were really the print of his foot, which is pretended to be such, on the top of a mountain in the

¹ Vide Rivin Serpent. Seduct p 56 ² R. Moses Haddarshan, in Beresbit rabbah
³ Jallalo'ddin ⁴ Irenæus, Lact Greg Nyssen, &c ⁵ Vid Marrace in Ale p 24.
⁶ Vide ibid p 22. ⁷ Vide ib ⁸ D Herbelot, Bibl. Orient p 55 ⁹ Yahya.

earth,* and a provision for a season. And Adam learned words of prayer from his LORD, and GOD turned unto him, for he is easy to be reconciled and merciful. We said, Get ye all down from hence, hereafter shall there come unto you a direction from me,² and whoever shall follow my direction, on them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved, but they who shall be unbelievers, and accuse our signs^b of falsehood, they shall be the companions of hell fire, therein shall they remain for ever. O children of Israel,¹ remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and perform your covenant with me, and I will perform my covenant with you, and revere me and believe in the revelation which I have sent down, confirming that which is with you, and be not the first who believe not therein, neither exchange my signs for a small price,[†] and fear me. Clothe not the truth with vanity, neither conceal the truth against your own knowledge, observe the stated times of prayer, and pay your legal alms, and bow down yourselves with those who bow down. Will ye command men to do justice, and forget your own souls? yet ye read the book of the law do ye not therefore understand? Ask help with perseverance and prayer, this indeed is grievous unless to the humble, who seriously think they shall meet their LORD, and that to him they shall return. O children of Israel, remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and that I have preferred you above all nations, dread the day wherein one soul shall not make satisfaction for another soul, neither shall any intercession be accepted from them, nor shall any compensation be received, neither shall they be helped. Remember when we delivered you from the people of Pharaoh, who grievously oppressed you, they slew your male children, and let your females live therein was a great trial from your LORD. And when we divided the sea for you and delivered you, and drowned Pharaoh's people while ye looked on.^k And when we treated with Moses forty nights,

isle of Ceylon thence named Pico de Adam and by the Arab writers Rahûn, being somewhat above two spans long⁷ (though others say it is seventy cubits long, and that when Adam set one foot here, he had the other in the sea),⁸ and too little, if Eve were of so enormous a size, as it is said, that when her head lay on one hill near Mecca, her knees rested on two others in the plain, about two musket shots asunder.⁹

* "We said to them, Get ye down. You have been mutual enemies. The earth shall be your habitation, and your inheritance till the time —Savary

² God here promises Adam that his will should be revealed to him and his posterity which promise the Mohammedans believe was fulfilled at several times by the ministry of several prophets from Adam himself, who was the first, to Mohammed, who was the last. The number of books revealed unto Adam they say was ten¹

^b This word has various significations in the Koran, sometimes, as in this passage, it signifies divine revelation or scripture in general, sometimes the verses of the Koran in particular, and at other times visible miracles. But the sense is easily distinguished by the context.

¹ The Jews are here called upon to receive the Koran as verifying and confirming the Pentateuch, particularly with respect to the unity of God and the mission of Mohammed.² And they are exhorted not to conceal the passages of their law, which bear witness to those truths nor to corrupt them by publishing false copies of the Pentateuch, for which the writers were but poorly paid³

[†] "Corrupt not my doctrine for vile gain. Fear me"—Savary

^k See the story of Moses and Pharaoh more particularly related chap vii. and xx. &c

⁷ Monconys, Voyage, part I. p. 372, &c. See Knox's Account of Ceylon. ⁸ Anciennes Relations des Indes, &c. p. 3. ⁹ Monconys, ubi sup. ¹ Vide Hottinger, Hist. Orient. p. 11. Reland, de Relig. Mohammed p. 21. ² Yahya. ³ Jallalo ddin.

then ye took the calf¹ for your God, and did evil, yet afterwards we forgave you, that peradventure ye might give thanks And when we gave Moses the book of the law, and the distinction between good and evil, that peradventure ye might be directed. And when Moses said unto his people, O my people, verily ye have injured your own souls,* by your taking the calf for your God, therefore be turned unto your creator, and slay those among you who have been guilty of that crime,² this will be better for you in the sight of your Creator and thereupon he turned unto you, for he is easy to be reconciled, and merciful. And when ye said, O Moses we will not believe thee, until we see God manifestly, therefore a punishment came upon you, while ye looked on, then we raised you to life after ye had been dead, that peradventure ye might give thanks³ And we caused clouds to overshadow you, and manna and quails⁴ to descend upon you, saying, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food and they injured not us,⁵ but injured their own souls And when we said, Enter into this city,⁶ and eat of the provisions thereof plentifully as ye will, and enter the gate worshipping, and say, Forgiveness⁷ we will

¹ The person who cast this calf, the Mohammedans say was (not Aaron but) al Sameri, one of the principal men among the children of Israel some of whose descendants, it is pretended, still inhabit an island of that name in the Arabian Gulf⁴ It was made of the rings⁵ and bracelets of gold, silver, and other materials which the Israelites had borrowed of the Egyptians for Aaron, who commanded in his brother's absence having ordered Sameri to collect those ornaments from the people who carried on a wicked commerce with them, and to keep them together till the return of Moses, al Sameri, understanding the founder's art, put them all together into a furnace, to melt them down into one mass which came out in the form of a calf⁶ The Israelites, accustomed to the Egyptian idolatry paying a religious worship to this image, al Sameri went further, and took some dust from the footsteps of the horse of the angel Gabriel, who marched at the head of the people and threw it into the mouth of the calf which immediately began to low and became animated⁷ for such was the virtue of that dust.⁸ One writer says that all the Israelites adored this calf, except only 12 000⁹

* "O my people, why did ye give yourselves up to wickedness, by worshipping a calf?"—*Savary*

² In this particular the narration agrees with that of Moses, who ordered the Levites to slay every man his brother¹ but the scripture says *there fell of the people that day about 3000* (the Vulgate says 23 000) *men*² whereas the commentators of the Koran make the number of the slain to amount to 70,000 and add, that God sent a dark cloud which hindered them from seeing one another lest the sight should move those who executed the sentence to compassion³

³ The persons here meant are said to have been seventy men, who were made choice of by Moses and heard the voice of God talking with him But not being satisfied with that, they demanded to see God, whereupon they were all struck dead by lightning, and on Moses's intercession restored to life⁴

⁴ The eastern writers say, these quails were of a peculiar kind to be found nowhere but in Yaman, from whence they were brought by a south wind in great numbers to the Israelites camp in the desert⁵ The Arabs call these birds *Salwa*, which is plainly the same with the Hebrew *Salwim*, and say they have no bones, but are eaten whole⁶

† "Your murmurs have been injurious only to yourselves"—*Savary*

⁵ Some commentators suppose it to be Jericho others, Jerusalem

⁶ The Arabic word is *Hittaton*, which some take to signify that profession of the unity of God, so frequently used by the Mohammedans, *La ilaha illa 'llaho There is no god but God*.

⁴ Geogr Nubiens. p 45 ⁵ Koran, c. 7 ⁶ See Exod xxxii 24 ⁷ Koran, c. 7

⁸ Jallalo'ddin, Vide D Herbelot Bibl Orient p 650 ⁹ Abu'lfeza. ¹ Exod.

xxxii 28, 27 ² Ibid 28. ³ Jallalo'ddin, &c. ⁴ Ismael Ebnah. ⁵ See

Psalm lxxviii. 26. ⁶ Vide D Herbelot Bibl Orient. p 477

pardon you your sins, and gave increase unto the well doers. But the ungodly changed the expression into another,* different from what had been spoken unto them, and we sent down upon the ungodly indignation from heaven,* because they had transgressed. And when Moses asked drink for his people, we said, Strike the rock¹ with thy rod, and there gushed thereout twelve fountains* according to the number of the tribes, and all men knew their respective drinking place. Eat and drink of the bounty of God and commit not evil on the earth, acting unjustly. And when ye said, O Moses, we will by no means be satisfied with one kind of food, pray unto thy Lord therefore for us, that he would produce for us of that which the earth bringeth forth, herbs and cucumbers, and garlic, and lentils, and onions,* Moses answered,* Will ye exchange that which is better, for that which is worse? Get ye down into Egypt, for there shall ye find what ye desire and they were smitten with vileness and misery, and died on themselves indignation from God. This they suffered, because they believed not in the signs of God, and killed the prophets unjustly, this, because they rebelled and transgressed. Surely those who

* According to Jallalo ddin, instead of *Hittaton* they cried *Habbat fi shairat* i e a grain in an ear of barley and in ridicule of the divine command to enter the city in an humble posture they indecently crept in upon their breech

* A pestilence which carried off near 70 000 of them⁷

* The commentators say this was a stone which Moses brought from Mount Sinai and the same that fled away with his garments which he laid upon it one day, while he washed, they add that Moses ran after the stone naked till he found himself ere he was aware in the midst of the people who on this accident were convinced of the falsehood of a report which had been raised of their prophet, that he was bursten, or as others write an hermaphrodite⁸

They describe it to be a square piece of white marble, shaped like a man's head wherein they differ not much from the accounts of European travellers, who say this rock stands among several lesser ones, about 100 paces from Mount Horeb and appears to have been loosened from the neighbouring mountains, having no coherence with the others that it is a huge mass of red granite, almost round on one side, and flat on the other twelve feet high, and as many thick, but broader than it is high and about sixty feet in circumference⁹

* Marracci thinks this circumstance looks like a Rabbinical fiction or else that Mohammed confounds the water of the rock at Horeb, with the twelve wells at Elim,¹ for he says, several who have been on the spot, affirm there are but three orifices whence the water issued² But it is to be presumed that Mohammed had better means of information in this respect, than to fall into such a mistake for the rock stands within the borders of Arabia, and some of his countrymen must needs have seen it, if he himself had not as it is most probable he had. And in effect he seems to be in the right. For one who went into those parts in the end of the fifteenth century tells us expressly that the water issued from twelve places of the rock according to the number of the tribes of Israel *egressæ sunt aquæ largissimæ in duodecim locis petra, juxta numerum duodecim tribuum Israel*³ A late curious traveller⁴ observes that there are twenty four holes in the stone, which may be easily counted, that is to say, twelve on the flat side, and as many on the opposite round side every one being, a foot deep, and an inch wide, and he adds, that the holes on one side do not communicate with those on the other, which a less accurate spectator not perceiving (for they are placed horizontally, within two feet of the top of the rock) might conclude they pierced quite through the stone, and so reckon them to be but twelve

* See Numb xi 5, &c

* Moses replied Do ye wish to enjoy a more advantageous lot? Return to Egypt, you will find there that which you desire —Savary

¹ Jallalo ddin ² Jallalo ddin, Yahya. ³ Breydenbach, Itinerar charta m p 1 Sicard dans les Mémoires des Missions vol vii p 14 ⁴ Laod xv 27 Numb. xxiii 9 ⁵ Marracci Prodr part iv p 80. ⁶ Breydenbach. ubi sup ⁷ Sicard, ubi sup

believe, and those who Judaize, and Christians, and Sabians,* whoever believeth in God, and the last day, and doth that which is right, they shall have their reward with their Lord, *there shall come* no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved. *Call to mind* also when we accepted your covenant, and lifted up the mountain of *Sinai* over you,^a saying, Receive the law which we have given you, with a resolution to keep it, and remember that which is contained therein, that ye may beware. After this ye again turned back, so that if it had not been for God's indulgence and mercy towards you, ye had certainly been destroyed. Moreover ye know *what befell* those of your nation who transgressed on the sabbath day,^a We said unto them, Be ye *changed into apes*, driven away from the society of men. And we made them an example unto those who were contemporary with them, and unto those who came after them, and a warning to the pious. And when Moses said unto his people verily God commandeth you to sacrifice a cow,^b they answered, Dost thou make a

^a From these words which are repeated in the fifth chapter several writers^b have wrongly concluded that the Mohammedans hold it to be the doctrine of their prophet, that every man may be saved in his own religion provided he be sincere and lead a good life. It is true some of their doctors do agree this to be the purport of the words^c but then they say the latitude hereby granted was soon revoked for that this passage is abrogated by several other in the Koran which expressly declare that none can be saved who is not of the Mohammedan faith and particularly by those words of the third chapter, *Whoever followeth any other religion than Islam (i. e. the Mohammedan) it shall not be accepted of him, and at the last day he shall be of those who perish?* However, others are of opinion that this passage is not abrogated but interpret it differently, taking the meaning of it to be that no man, whether he be a Jew a Christian, or a Sabian shall be excluded from salvation, provided he quit his erroneous religion and become a Moslem, which they say is intended by the following words *Whoever believeth in God and the last day, and doth that which is right*. And this interpretation is approved by Mr. Reland who thinks the words here import no more than those of the apostle *In every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness is accepted of him*,^d from which it must not be inferred that the religion of nature or any other is sufficient to save, without faith in Christ.^e

^b The Mohammedan tradition is that the Israelites refusing to receive the law of Moses, God tore up the mountain by the roots, and shook it over their heads, to terrify them into a compliance.^f

^c The story to which this passage refers is as follows.—In the days of David some Israelites dwelt at Ailah or Elath on the Red Sea, where on the night of the sabbath the fish used to come in great numbers to the shore, and stay there all the sabbath, to tempt them but the night following they returned into the sea again. At length some of the inhabitants, neglecting God's command caught the fish on the sabbath and dressed and ate them and afterwards cut canals from the sea for the fish to enter, with sluices which they shut on the sabbath, to prevent their return to the sea. The other part of the inhabitants who strictly observed the sabbath used both persuasion and force to stop this impiety but to no purpose, the offenders growing only more and more obstinate, whereupon David cursed the sabbath breakers, and God transformed them into apes. It is said that one going to see a friend of his that was among them found him in the shape of an ape moving his eyes about wildly and asking him whether he was not such a one the ape made a sign with his head that it was he, whereupon the friend said to him, Did not I advise you to desist? at which the ape wept. They add that these unhappy people remained three days in this condition, and were afterwards destroyed by a wind which swept them all into the sea.^g

^d The occasion of this sacrifice is thus related. A certain man at his death left his son, then a child, a cow calf, which wandered in the desert till he came to age,

^e Selden de Jure Nat et Gentium sec. Hebr. 1. 6, c. 12. Angel a S. Joseph Gazophylac. Persic. p. 365. Nic. Cusanus in Cribratione Alcorani, l. 3, c. 2 &c.
^f See Chardin's Voyages, vol. II. p. 326, 331. ^g Abu Iksam Hebatallah de Abrogante et Abrogato. ^h Acts x. 35. ⁱ Vide Reland de Rel. Moham. p. 128, &c. ^j Jallaloddin. ^k Abu Ifteda.

jest of us? Moses said, God forbid that I should be *one* of the foolish. They said, Pray for us unto thy LORD, that he would show us what *cow* it is. Moses answered, He saith, She is neither an old cow, nor a young heifer, but of a middle age between both. Do ye therefore that which ye are commanded. They said, Pray for us unto thy LORD, that he would show us what colour she is of. Moses answered, He saith, She is a red cow,* intensely red, her colour rejoiceth the beholders. They said, Pray for us unto thy LORD, that he would *further* show us what *cow* it is, for *several* cows with us are like one another, and we, if God please, will be directed. Moses answered, He saith, She is a cow not broken to plough the earth, or water the field, a sound one,* there is no blemish in her. They said, Now hast thou brought the truth. Then they sacrificed her, yet they wanted but little of leaving it undone.⁴ And when ye slew a man, and contended among yourselves concerning him, God brought forth *to light* that which ye concealed. For we said, Strike *the dead body* with part of *the sacrificed cow* * so God raiseth the dead to life, and showeth you his signs, that peradventure ye may understand. Then were your hearts hardened after this, even as stones, or exceeding *them* in hardness. For from some stones have rivers bursted forth, others have been rent in sunder, and water hath issued from them, and others have fallen down for fear of God. But God is not regardless of that which ye do. Do ye therefore desire that *the Jews* should believe you? yet a part of them heard the word of God, and then perverted it, after they had understood it, against their own conscience. And when they meet the true believers, they say, We believe. but when they are privately assembled together, they say, Will ye acquaint them

at which time his mother told him that the heifer was his, and bid him fetch her, and sell her for three pieces of gold. When the young man came to the market with his heifer an angel in the shape of a man accosted him, and bid him six pieces of gold for her, but he would not take the money till he had asked his mother's consent, which when he had obtained he returned to the market place and met the angel, who now offered him twice as much for the heifer, provided he would say nothing of it to his mother. but the young man refusing, went and acquainted her with the additional offer. The woman perceiving it was an angel bid her son go back and ask him what must be done with the heifer. whereupon the angel told the young man that, in a little time the children of Israel would buy that heifer of him at any price. And soon after it happened that an Israelite, named Hammiel, was killed by a relation of his, who to prevent discovery, conveyed the body to a place considerably distant from that where the fact was committed. The friends of the slain man accused some other persons of the murder before Moses, but they denying the fact, and there being no evidence to convict them, God commanded a cow of such and such particular marks to be killed, but there being no other which answered the description except the orphan's heifer, they were obliged to buy her for as much gold as her hide would hold, according to some for her full weight in gold and as others say, for ten times as much. This heifer they sacrificed, and the dead body being by divine direction, struck with a part of it, revived and standing up, named the person who had killed him, after which it immediately fell down dead again.⁵ The whole story seems to be borrowed from the red heifer, which was ordered by the Jewish law to be burnt, and the ashes kept for purifying those who happened to touch a dead corpse,⁶ and from the heifer directed to be slain for the expiation of an uncertain murder. See Deut. xxi. 1—9.

* The epithet in the original is *yellow*; but this word we do not use in speaking of the colour of cattle.

* 'That hath not suffered the approach of the male'—*Savary*.

⁴ Because of the exorbitant price which they were obliged to pay for the heifer.

* i. e. Her tongue, or the end of her tail.⁵

¹ Abu Ifda.

² Numb. xix.

³ Jallalo ddin

with what GOD has revealed unto you, that they may dispute with you concerning it in the presence of your LORD! Do ye not therefore* under stand? Do not they know that GOD knoweth that which they conceal as well as that which they publish? But there are illiterate men among them, who know not the book of *the law*,† but only lying stories, although they think otherwise. And woe unto them, who transcribe *corruptly* the book of *the law* with their hands, and then say, This is from GOD that they may sell it for a small price. Therefore woe unto them because of that which their hands have written, and woe unto them for that which they have gained. They say, The fire of *hell* shall not touch us but for a *certain* number of days.[‡] Answer, Have ye received any promise from GOD to that purpose? for GOD will not act contrary to his promise. or do ye speak concerning GOD that which ye know not? Verily whoso doeth evil,[§] and is encompassed by his iniquity, they *shall be* the companions of *hell* fire, they shall remain therein for ever. but they who believe and do good works, they shall be the companions of paradise, they shall continue therein for ever. Remember also, when we accepted the covenant of the children of Israel, saying, Ye shall not worship *any other* except GOD, and ye shall show kindness to your parents and kindred, and to orphans, and to the poor, and speak that which is good unto men, and be constant at prayer, and give alms. Afterwards ye turned back, except a few of you, and retired afar off. And when we accepted your covenant, saying, Ye shall not shed your brother's blood, nor dispossess one another of your habitations, then ye confirmed it and were witnesses *thereto*. Afterwards ye were they who slew one another and turned several of your *brethren* out of their houses, mutually assisting each other against them with injustice and enmity, but if they come captives unto you, ye redeem them. yet it is *equally* unlawful for you to dispossess them. Do ye therefore believe in part of the book of *the law*, and reject other part thereof? But whoso among you doth this shall have no other reward than shame in this life, and on the day of resurrection they

* "See we not the consequences thereof? — *Savary*

† "Among them the vulgar know the Pentateuch only by tradition. They have but a blind belief — *Savary*

‡ Mohammed again accuses the Jews of corrupting their scripture

§ That is says Jallaloddin forty, being the number of days that their forefathers worshipped the golden calf after which they gave out that their punishment should cease. It is a received opinion among the Jews at present, that no person be he ever so wicked or of whatever sect shall remain in hell above eleven months, or at most a year, except Dathan and Abiram, and atheists, who will be tormented there to all eternity.

¶ By *evil* in this case the commentators generally understand polytheism or idolatry, which sin the Mohammedans believe, unless repented of in this life, is unpardonable, and will be punished by eternal damnation, but all other sins they hold will at length be forgiven. This therefore is that irremissible impiety, in their opinion, which in the New Testament is called *the sin against the Holy Ghost*

¶ This passage was revealed on occasion of some quarrels which arose between the Jews of the tribes of Koreidha, and those of al Aws, al Nadhir, and al Khazraj, and came to that height that they took arms and destroyed one another's habitations, and turned one another out of their houses, but when any were taken captive, they redeemed them. When they were asked the reason of their acting in this manner they answered, That they were commanded by their law to redeem the captives, but that they fought out of shame, lest their chiefs should be despised.

¶ Vide Bartolocci Biblioth. Rabbini. tom. 2, p. 128, et t. 3, p. 421. § Jallaloddin.

shall be sent to a most grievous punishment, for God is not regardless of that which ye do. These are they who have purchased this present life, at the price of that which is to come, wherefore their punishment shall not be mitigated, neither shall they be helped. We formerly delivered the book of the law unto Moses, and caused apostles to succeed him, and gave evident miracles to Jesus the son of Mary, and strengthened him with the holy spirit.^{*} Do ye therefore, whenever an apostle cometh unto you with that which your souls desire not, proudly reject him, and accuse some of imposture, and slay others? *The Jews* say, Our hearts are uncircumcised. but God hath cursed them with their infidelity,^{*} therefore few shall believe. And when a book came unto them from God, confirming the scriptures which were with them, although they had before prayed for assistance against those who believed not,[†] yet when that came unto them which they knew to be from God, they would not believe therein. therefore the curse of God shall be on the infidels. For a vile price have they sold their souls, that they should not believe in that which God hath sent down,[‡] out of envy, because God sendeth down his favours to such of his servants as he pleaseth. therefore they brought on themselves indignation on indignation, and the unbelievers shall suffer an ignominious punishment. When one saith unto them, Believe in that which God hath sent down, they answer, We believe in that which hath been sent down unto us.[§] and they reject what hath been revealed since, although it be the truth, confirming that which is with them. Say, Why therefore have ye slain the prophets of God in times past, if ye be true believers? Moses formerly came unto you with evident signs, but ye afterwards took the calf for your God and did wickedly. And when we accepted your covenant, and lifted the mount un of Sinai over you,[¶] saying, Receive the law which we have given you, with a resolution to perform it, and hear, they said, We have heard, and have rebelled and they were made to drink down the calf into their hearts.^{||} for their unbelief. Say, A grievous thing hath your faith commanded you, if ye be true believers?^{||} Say, if the future mansion with God be prepared pecu-

^{*} We must not imagine Mohammed here means the Holy Ghost in the Christian acception. The commentators say this spirit was the angel Gabriel, who sanctified Jesus, and constantly attended on him.[§]

^{*} "God hath cursed them because of their perfidy. O how small is the number of the true believers. —Savary

[†] The Jews in expectation of the coming of Mohammed (according to the tradition of his followers) used this prayer O God, help us against the unbelievers, by the prophet who is to be sent in the last times.[§]

[‡] The Koran

[§] The Pentateuch

[¶] See before, p. 9

^{||} Moses took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and strewed it upon the water (of the brook that descended from the mount) and made the children of Israel drink of it.^{||}

^{||} Mohammed here infers from their forefathers disobedience in worshipping the calf at the same time that they pretended to believe in the law of Moses, that the faith of the Jews in his time was as vain and hypocritical, since they rejected him who was foretold therein as an impostor.^{||}

liarly for you, exclusive of the rest of mankind, wish for death, if ye say truth but they will never wish for it, because of that which their hand have sent before them,* God knoweth the wicked-doers, and thou shalt surely find them of all men the most covetous of life, even *more* than the idolaters one of them would desire his life to be prolonged a thousand years, but none shall reprove himself from punishment, that his life may be prolonged God seeth that which they do Say, Whoever is an enemy to Gabriel^a (for he hath caused *the Koran* to descend on thy heart, by the permission of God, confirming that which was before *revealed*, a direction, and good tidings to the faithful), whosoever is an enemy to God, or his angels, or his apostles, or to Gabriel, or Michael, verily God is an enemy to the unbelievers And now we have sent down unto thee evident^b signs,^c and none will disbelieve them but the evil doers Whenever they make a covenant, will some of them reject it? yea the greater part of them do not believe And when there came unto them an apostle from God, confirming that *scripture* which was with them, some of those to whom the scriptures were given cast the book of God behind their backs, as if they knew it not and they followed *the device* which the devils devised against the kingdom of Solomon,^d and Solomon was not an unbeliever, but the devils believed not, they taught men sorcery, and that which was sent down to the two angels at Babel,* Harut and Marut^e yet those two taught no man until

* That is, by reason of the wicked forgeries which they have been guilty of in respect to the scriptures An expression, much like that of St Paul where he says, *that some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment*¹

^a The commentators say, that the Jews asked, what angel it was that brought the divine revelations to Mohammed and being told that it was Gabriel, they replied that he was their enemy and the messenger of wrath and punishment but if it had been Michael they would have believed in him, because that angel was their friend and the messenger of peace and plenty And on this occasion, they say, this passage was revealed⁴

That Michael was really the protector or guardian angel of the Jews we know from scripture⁵ and it seems that Gabriel was as the Persians call him *the angel of revelations*, being frequently sent on messages of that kind,⁶ for which reason, it is probable Mohammed pretended he was the angel from whom he received the Koran

^b The revelations of the book

^c The devils having by God's permission tempted Solomon without success they made use of a trick to blot his character For they wrote several books of magic and hid them under that prince's throne and after his death told the chief men that if they wanted to know by what means Solomon had obtained his absolute power over men, gnomes and the winds they should dig under his throne which having done they found the aforesaid books, which contained impious superstitions The better sort refused to learn the evil arts therein delivered, but the common people did and the priests published this scandalous story of Solomon which obtained credit among the Jews, till God say the Mohammedans, cleared that *king by the mouth of their prophet*, declaring that Solomon was no idolater⁷

* "He (the devil) taught unto men magic and the science of the two angels, Harut and Marut who are condemned to remain at Babylon —*Savary*

^d Some say only that these were two magicians or angels sent by God to teach men magic, and to tempt them⁸ But others tell a longer fable, that the angels expressing their surprise at the wickedness of the sons of Adam, after prophets had been sent to them with divine commissions, God bid them choose two out of their own number to be sent down to be judges on earth Whereupon they pitched upon Harut and Marut, who executed their office with integrity for some time, till Zohara, or the planet Venus, descended and appeared before them in the shape of a beautiful woman, bringing a com

¹ 1 Tim. v 24 ⁴ Jallalo'ddin al Zamakh Yahya. ⁵ Dan xii 1 ⁶ Ibid ch viii. 16 and ix. 21, Luke i. 19, 26. See Hyde de Rel. Vet. Persar p 263.
⁷ Yahya. Jallalo'ddin. ⁸ Jallalo'ddin.

they had said, Verily we are a temptation, therefore be not an unbeliever. So men learned from those two a *charm* by which they might cause division between a man and his wife,* but they hurt none thereby, unless by God's permission, and they learned that which would hurt them, and not profit them, and yet they knew that he who bought that *art* should have no part in the life to come, and woful is the *price* for which they have sold their souls, if they knew it. But if they had believed, and feared God, verily the reward *they would have had* from God would have been better, if they had known it. O true believers, say not to our apostle, Raîna, but say Ondhorna,† and hearken: the infidels shall suffer a grievous punishment. It is not the desire of the unbelievers, either among those unto whom the scriptures have been given, or among the idolaters, that any good should be sent down unto you from your LORD. But God will appropriate his mercy unto whom he pleaseth, for God is exceeding beneficent. Whatever verse we shall abrogate, or cause *thee* to forget, we will bring a better than it, or one like unto it. Dost thou not know that God is almighty? Dost thou not know that unto God belongeth the kingdom of heaven and earth? neither have ye any protector or helper except God. Will ye require of your apostle according to that which was formerly required of Moses?‡ but he that hath exchanged faith for infidelity, hath already erred from the straight way. Many of those unto whom the scriptures have been given, desire to render you again unbelievers, after ye have believed, out of envy from their souls, even after the truth is become manifest unto them, but forgive *them*, and avoid *them*, till God shall send his command, for God is omnipotent. Be constant in prayer, and give alms, and what good ye have sent before for your souls, ye shall find it with God, surely God seeth that which ye do. They say, Verily none shall enter paradise, except they who are Jews or Christians.‡ this is their wish. Say, Produce your proof of

plaint against her husband (though others say she was a real woman). As soon as they saw her they fell in love with her, and endeavoured to prevail on her to satisfy their desires: but she flew up again to heaven, whither the two angels also returned: but were not admitted. However, on the intercession of a certain pious man, they were allowed to choose whether they would be punished in this life, or in the other, whereupon they chose the former: and now suffer punishment accordingly in Babel, where they are to remain till the day of judgment. They add that if a man has a fancy to learn magic, he may go to them, and hear their voice: but cannot see them.¶

This story Mohammed took directly from the Persian Magi, who mention two rebellious angels of the same names now hung up by the feet, with their heads downwards, in the territory of Babel.¹ And the Jews have something like this, of the angel Shamhozaï, who, having debauched himself with women, repented, and by way of penance, hung himself up between heaven and earth.²

* They taught the difference between man and woman.—*Savary*

† Those two Arabic words have both the same signification, viz. *Look on us*, and are a kind of salutation. Mohammed had a great aversion to the first, because the Jews frequently used it in derision: it being a word of reproach in their tongue.³ They alluded, it seems, to the Hebrew verb רָאָה *ruá*, which signifies to be bad or mischievous.

‡ Namely to see God manifestly.⁴

§ This passage was revealed on occasion of a dispute which Mohammed had with the Jews of Medina, and the Christians of Najran, each of them asserting that those of their religion only should be saved.⁵

¹ Yahya, &c. ² Vide Hyde, ubi sup. cap. 12. ³ Bereshit rab. ah. in Genes. vi. 2. ⁴ Jallalo ddin. ⁵ See before p. 9. ⁶ Jallalo ddin.

this, if ye speak truth. Nay, but he who resigneth himself^a to God, and doth that which is right,^b he shall have his reward with his LORD there shall *come* no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved. The Jews say, The Christians are *grounded* on nothing,^c and the Christians say, The Jews are *grounded* on nothing, yet they *both* read the scriptures. So likewise say they who know not *the scripture*, according to their saying. But God shall judge between them on the day of the resurrection, concerning that about which they *now* disagree. Who is more unjust than he who prohibiteth the temples of God,^d that his name should be remembered therein, and who hasteth to destroy them? Those men cannot enter therein, but with fear they shall have shame in this world, and in the next a grievous punishment. To God *belongeth* the east and the west, the fore, whithersoever ye turn yourselves to pray, there is the face of God, for God is omnipresent and omniscient. They say, God hath begotten children. ^e God forbid! To him *belongeth* whatever is in heaven, and on earth, all is possessed by him, the Creator of heaven and earth, and when he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be, and it is. And they who know not *the scriptures* say, Unless God speak unto us, or thou show us a sign, *we will not believe*. So said those before them, according to their saying their hearts resemble each other. We have already shown manifest signs unto people who firmly believe, we have sent thee in truth, a bearer of good tidings, and a preacher, and thou shalt not be questioned concerning the companions of hell. But the Jews will not be pleased with thee, neither the Christians, until thou follow their religion, say, The direction of God is the *true* direction. And verily if thou follow their desires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, thou shalt find no patron or protector against God. They to whom we have given the book of *the Koran*, and who read it with its true reading, they believe therein, and whoever believeth not therein, they shall perish. O children of Israel, remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and that I have preferred you before all nations, and dread the day wherein *one* soul shall not make satisfaction for *another* soul, neither shall any compensation be accepted from them, nor shall any intercession avail, neither shall they be helped. Remember when the LORD tried Abraham by *certain* words,^f which he

^a Literally, *resigneth his face* &c

^b That is, asserteth the unity of God *

^c The Jews and Christians are here accused of denying the truth of each others religion, notwithstanding they read the scriptures. Whereas the Pentateuch bears testimony to Jesus and the gospel bears testimony to Moses.⁷

^d Or hindereth men from paying their adorations to God in those sacred places. This passage, says Jallaloeddin was revealed on news being brought that the Romans had spoiled the temple of Jerusalem, or else when the idolatrous Arabs obstructed Mohammed's visiting the temple of Mecca in the expedition of al Hodeibiya, which happened in the sixth year of the Hejra.⁸

^e This is spoken not only of the Christians and of the Jews (for they are accused of holding Ozair or Ezra, to be the son of God), but also the pagan Arabs, who imagined the angels to be daughters of God

^f God tried Abraham chiefly by commanding him to leave his native country, and to offer his son. But the commentators suppose the trial here meant related only to

fulfilled God said, Verily I will constitute thee a model of religion^{5*} unto mankind, he answered, And also of my posterity, God said, My covenant doth not comprehend the ungodly And when we appointed the *holy house*¹ of Mecca to be a place of resort for mankind, and a place of security, and said, Take the station of Abraham¹ for a place of prayer, and we covenanted with Abraham and Ismael, that they should cleanse my house for those who should compass it,† and those who should be devoutly assiduous *there*, and those who should bow down and worship. And when Abraham said, LORD make this a territory of security, and bounteously bestow fruits on its inhabitants, such of them as believe in God and the last day, God answered, And whoever believeth not, I will bestow on him little,‡ afterwards I will drive him to the punishment of *hell fire*, an ill journey shall it be! And when Abraham and Ismael raised the foundations of the house, *saying*, LORD, accept *it* from us, for thou art he who heareth and knoweth LORD, make us also resigned² unto thee, and of our posterity a people resigned unto thee, and *show* us our holy ceremonies, and be turned unto us, for thou art easy to be reconciled, and merciful LORD, send them likewise an apostle from among them, who may declare thy signs unto them, and teach them the book of the *Koran* and wisdom, and may purify them, for thou art mighty and wise Who will be averse to the religion of Abraham, but he whose mind is infatuated? Surely we have chosen him in this world, and in that which is to come he shall be one of the righteous. When his LORD said unto him, Resign thyself unto me, he answered, I have resigned myself unto the LORD of all creatures. And Abraham bequeathed this religion to his children, and Jacob *did the same*, *saying*, My children, verily God hath chosen this religion for you, therefore die not, unless ye also be resigned. Were ye present when Jacob was at the point of death? when

some particular ceremonies such as circumcision, pilgrimage to the Caaba, several rites of purification and the like³

* I have rather expressed the meaning than truly translated the Arabic word *Imam* which answers to the Latin *Antistes*. This title the Mohammedans give to their priests, who begin the prayers in their Mosques, and whom all the congregation follow

* 'I will establish thee the leader of the people'—*Savary*

¹ That is, the Caaba which is usually called by way of eminence, *the House*. Of the sanctity of this building and other particulars relating to it, see the Preliminary Discourse, sect. iv

¹ A place so called within the inner enclosure of the Caaba, where they pretend to show the print of his foot in a stone¹

† Purify my temple² from the idols which are around it, and from those which are within it and from their worshippers —*Savary*

‡ 'I will extend replied the Lord my gifts even to the unbelievers but they shall enjoy little They shall be condemned to the flames, and deplorable shall be their end'—*Savary*

² The Arabic word is *Moslemûna*, in the singular *Moslem*, which the Mohammedans take as a title peculiar to themselves. The Europeans generally write and pronounce it *Musulman*.

³ Jallalo ddin ¹ See the Prelim Disc sect. iv

² The descendants of Abraham and of Ishmael lost the belief of an only God They still revered the temple of Mecca as the work of those two patriarchs, but around it and within it they had placed idols to which they paid divine worship Mahomet overthrew them, and restored the worship of the only true God.—*Savary*

he said to his sons, Whom will ye worship after me? They answered, We will worship thy God, and the God of thy fathers Abraham, and Ismael, and Isaac, one God, and to him will we be resigned. That people are now passed away, they have what they have gained¹ and ye shall have what ye gain, and ye shall not be questioned concerning that which they have done. They say, Become Jews or Christians that ye may be directed. Say, Nay, *we follow* the religion of Abraham the orthodox, who was no idolater. Say, We believe in God, and that which hath been sent down unto us, and that which hath been sent down unto Abraham, and Ismael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and that which was delivered unto Moses, and Jesus, and that which was delivered unto the prophets from their Lord. We make no distinction between any of them, and to God are we resigned. Now if they believe according to what ye believe, they are surely directed, but if they turn back, they are in schism. God shall support thee against them, for he is in the hearer, the wise. The baptism of God^m *have we received*, and who is better than God to baptize? him do we worship. Say, Will ye dispute with us concerning God,ⁿ who is our Lord, and your Lord? we have our works, and ye have your works, and unto him are we sincerely devoted. Will ye say, truly Abraham, and Ismael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes were Jews or Christians? Say, Are ye wiser, or God? And who is more unjust than he who hideth the testimony which he hath *received* from God?^o But God is not regardless of that which ye do. That people are passed away, they have what they have gained, and ye shall have what ye gain, nor shall ye be questioned concerning that which they have done [* II] The foolish men will say, What hath turned them from their Keblah, towards which they formerly *prayed*?^p Say unto God *belongeth* the east and the west he directed whom he pleaseth into the right way. Thus have we placed you, *O Arabians*,^q an

¹ Or deserved. The Mohammedan notion, as to the imputation of moral actions to man which they call *gain* or *acquisition*, is sufficiently explained in the Preliminary Discourse.

^m By *baptism* is to be understood the religion which God instituted at the beginning, because the signs of it appear in the person who professes it, as the signs of water appear in the clothes of him that is baptized.³

ⁿ These words were revealed because the Jews insisted, that they first received the scriptures that their Keblah was more ancient and that no prophets could arise among the Arabs, and therefore if Mohammed was a prophet he must have been of their nation.⁴

^o The Jews are again accused of corrupting and suppressing the prophecies in the Pentateuch relating to Mohammed.

^p At first, Mohammed and his followers observed no particular rite in turning their faces towards any certain place, or quarter of the world, when they prayed, it being declared to be perfectly indifferent.⁵ Afterwards when the prophet fled to Medina, he directed them to turn towards the temple of Jerusalem (probably to ingratiate himself with the Jews) which continued to be their Keblah for six or seven months, but either finding the Jews too intractable or despairing otherwise to gain the pagan Arabs who could not forget their respect to the temple of Mecca, he ordered that prayers for the future should be towards the last. This change was made in the second year of the Hejra,⁶ and occasioned many to fall from him, taking offence at his inconstancy.⁷

^q This seems to be the sense of the words though the commentators⁸ will have the meaning to be, that the Arabians are here declared to be a most *just* and *good* nation.

³ Jallalo ddin ⁴ Idem ⁵ See before, p 15 ⁶ Vide Abulf Vit. Moham p 54

⁷ Jallalo ddin. ⁸ Jallalo ddin, Yahya, &c.

intermediate nation,* that ye may be witness against *the rest of mankind*, and that the apostle may be a witness against you. We appointed thee Keblah towards which thou didst formerly *pray*, only that we might know him who followeth the apostle, from him who turneth back on the heels,[†] though this *change* seem a great matter, unless unto those whom God nath directed. But God will not render your faith of none effect,[‡] for God is gracious and merciful unto man. We have seen thee turn about thy face towards heaven *with uncertainty*, but we will cause thee to turn thyself towards a Keblah that will please thee. Turn, therefore, thy face towards the holy temple of *Mecca*, and wherever ye be, turn your faces towards that *place*. They to whom the scripture hath been given, know this to be truth from their LORD, God is not regardless of that which ye do. Verily although thou shouldest show unto those to whom the scripture hath been given all kinds of signs, yet they will not follow thy Keblah, neither shalt thou follow their Keblah, nor will one part of them follow the Keblah of the other. And if thou follow their desires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, verily thou wilt become *one of the ungodly*. They to whom we have given the scripture, know *our apostle*, even as they know their own children, but some of them hide the truth, against their own knowledge. Truth is from thy LORD, therefore thou shalt not doubt. Every sect hath a certain tract of *heaven* to which they turn themselves in *prayer*, but do ye strive to run after good things wherever ye be, God will bring you all back *at the resurrection*, for God is almighty. And from what place soever thou comest forth, turn thy face towards the holy temple, for this is truth from thy LORD, neither is God regardless of that which ye do. From what place soever thou comest forth, turn thy face towards the holy temple, and wherever ye be, thitherward turn your faces, lest men have matter of dispute against you, but as for those among them who are unjust doers, fear them not, but fear me, that I may accomplish my grace upon you, and that ye may be directed. As we have sent unto you an apostle from among you,[§] to rehearse our signs unto you, and to purify you, and to teach you the book of *the Koran* and wisdom, and to teach you that which ye knew not: therefore remember me, and I will remember you, and give thanks unto me, and be not unbelievers. O *true* believers, beg assistance with patience and prayer, for God is with the patient. And say not of those who are slain in fight for the religion of God,^{||} that *they are dead*, yea, *they are living*[¶] but ye do not understand. We will surely prove you *by afflicting you* in some measure with fear, and hunger, and

* "We have established you O chosen people, to bear witness against the rest of the nation, as your apostle will bear it against you."—*Savary*

† i. e. Returneth to Judaism

‡ Or will not suffer it to go without its reward, while ye prayed towards Jerusalem.

§ That is, of your own nation.

¶ The original words are literally, *who are slain in the way of God* by which expression, frequently occurring in the Koran, is always meant war undertaken against unbelievers for the propagation of the Mohammedan faith

|| The souls of martyrs, (for such they esteem those who die in battle against infidels,) says Jallaledin, are in the crops of green birds, which have liberty to fly wherever they please in paradise, and feed on the fruits increef.

decrease of wealth, and *loss* of lives, and *scarcity* of fruits but bear good tidings unto the patient, who when a misfortune befalleth them, say, We are God's, and unto him shall we surely return.⁷ Upon them shall be blessings from their LORD and mercy, and they are the rightly directed. Moreover Safa and Merwah are *two* of the monuments of God whoever therefore goeth on pilgrimage to the temple of *Mecca* or visiteth it,⁸ it shall be no crime in him if he compass them both.⁹ And as for him who voluntarily performeth a good work, verily God is grateful and knowing. They who conceal any of the evident signs, or the direction which we have sent down, after what we have manifested unto men in the scripture, God shall curse them, and they who curse shall curse them.¹⁰ But as for those who repent and amend, and make known *what they concealed*, I will be turned unto them, for I am easy to be reconciled and merciful. Surely they who believe not, and die in their unbelief, upon them shall be the curse of God, and of the angels, and of all men, they shall remain under it for ever, their punishment shall not be alleviated, neither shall they be regarded.¹¹ Your God is one GOD, there is no GOD but He, the most merciful. Now in the creation of heaven and earth, and the vicissitude of night and day, and in the ship which saileth in the sea, *loaden* with what is profitable for man kind, and in the *rain* water which God sendeth from heaven, quickening thereby the dead earth, and replenishing the same with all sorts of cattle, and in the change of winds, and the clouds that are compelled to do service¹² between heaven and earth, are signs to people of understanding yet some men take idols beside God, and love them as with the love *due to* God, but the true believers are more fervent in love towards God. Oh

7 An expression frequently in the mouths of the Mohammedans when under any great affliction or in any imminent danger

* He who shall have performed the pilgrimage of Mecca, and shall have visited the holy house, shall be exempted from offering an expiatory victim provided that he maketh the circuit of those two mountains. He who goeth beyond what the precept requireth shall experience the gratitude of the Lord. — *Savary*

8 Safa and Merwa are two mountains near Mecca, whereon were anciently two idols, to which the pagan Arabs used to pay a superstitious veneration.⁹ Jallalo ddin says this passage was revealed because the followers of Mohammed made a scruple of going round these mountains, as the idolaters did. But the true reason of his allowing this relic of ancient superstition seems to be the difficulty he found in preventing it. Abu l Kasem Hebatollah thinks these last words are abrogated by those other, *Who will reject the religion of Abraham, except he who hath infatuated his soul?*¹ So that he will have the meaning to be quite contrary to the letter, as if it had been, *it shall be no crime in him if he do not compass them*. However, the expositors are all against him² and the ceremony of running between these two hills is still observed at the pilgrimage.³

* That is, the angels, the believers and all things in general.⁴ But Yahya interprets it, of the curses which will be given to the wicked when they cry out because of the punishment of the sepulchre,⁵ by all who hear them, that is, by all creatures except men and geni.

⁹ Or, as Jallalo ddin expounds it, God will not wait for their repentance.

* The original word signifies properly *that are pressed or compelled to do personal service without hire*; which kind of service is often exacted by the eastern princes of their subjects, and is called by the Greek and Latin writers, *Angaria*. The scripture often mentions this sort of compulsion or force.⁶

⁷ See the Prelim. Disc. sect. i ¹ See before p 16 ² Vide Marrace. in Alo p 60, &c ³ See the Prelim Disc sect iv ⁴ Jallalo ddin. ⁵ See Prelim. Disc. sect. iv ⁶ Matt. v 41, xxvii 32, &c.

that they who act unjustly did perceive,^d when they behold their punishment, that all power belongeth unto God, and that he is severe in punishing! When those who have been followed shall separate themselves from their followers,^e and shall see the punishment, and the cords of *relation* between them shall be cut in sunder, the followers shall say, If we could return *to life*, we would separate ourselves from them, as they have *now* separated themselves from us. So God will show them their works, they shall sigh grievously, and shall not come forth from the fire of *hell*. O men, eat of that which is lawful and good on the earth, and tread not in the steps of the devil, for he is your open enemy. Verily he commandeth you evil and wickedness, and that ye should say that of God which ye know not. And when it is said unto them *who believe not*, Follow that which God hath sent down, they answer, Nay, but we will follow that which we found our fathers practise. What? though their fathers knew nothing, and were not *rightly* directed? The unbelievers are like unto one who crieth aloud to that which heareth not so much as *his* calling,^f or the sound of *his* voice. They are deaf, dumb, and blind, therefore do they not understand. O true believers, eat of the good things which we have bestowed on you for food, and return thanks unto God, if ye serve him. Verily he hath forbidden you *to eat* that which dieth of itself, and blood and swine's flesh, and that on which any other name but God's hath been invocated.^g But he who is forced by necessity, not lusting, nor returning *to transgress*, it shall be no crime in him *if he eat of those things*, for God is gracious and merciful. Moreover they who conceal *any part* of the scripture which God hath sent down unto them, and sell it for a small price, they shall swallow into their bellies nothing but fire, God shall not speak unto them on the day of resurrection, neither shall he purify them, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment. These are they who have sold direction for error and pardon for punishment, but how great will their suffering be in the fire! This *they shall endure*, because God sent down the book of the *Koran* with truth, and they who disagree concerning that book are certainly in a wide mistake. It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces *in prayer* towards the east and the west, but righteousness is of him who believeth in God and the last day, and the angels, and the scriptures, and the prophets, who giveth money for God's sake unto his kindred, and unto orphans, and the needy, and the stranger, and those who ask, and for redemption of captives, who is constant at prayer, and giveth alms, and of those who perform their covenant, when they have covenanted, and who behave themselves patiently in adversity, and hardships, and in time of violence.

^d Or it may be translated *Although the ungodly will perceive* &c. But some copies instead of *yara*, in the third person, read *ta a*, in the second, and then it must be rendered, *Oh if thou didst see when the ungodly behold their punishment*, &c.

That is, when the broachers or heads of new sects shall at the last day forsake or wash their hands of their disciples as if they were not accomplices in their superstitions.

^e The unbelievers are like unto him who heareth the sound of the voice without comprehending any thing. Deaf, dumb, and blind, they have no understanding. — *Savary*

^f For this reason whenever the Mohammedans kill any animal for food they always say *Bismillah*, or *In the name of God*, which if it be neglected, they think it not lawful to eat of it.

these are they who are true, and these are they who fear God O true believers, the law of retaliation is ordained you for the slain the free *shall die* for the free, and the servant for the servant, and a woman for a woman ^a but he whom his brother shall forgive may be prosecuted, ^{*} and obliged to make satisfaction according to what is just, and a fine shall be set on him ^b with humanity This is indulgence from your LORD, and mercy And he who shall transgress after this, *by killing the murderer*, shall suffer a grievous punishment And in this law of retaliation ye have life, O ye of understanding, that peradventure ye may fear It is ordained you, when any of you is at the point of death, if he leave any goods, *that he bequeath a legacy* to his parents, and kindred, according to what shall be reasonable ¹ This is a duty incumbent on those who fear God But he who shall change *the legacy*, after he hath heard it *bequeathed by the dying person*, surely the sin thereof shall be on those who change it, for God is he who heareth and knoweth Howbeit he who apprehendeth from the testator any mistake or injustice, and shall compose *the matter* between them, that shall be no crime in him, for God is gracious and merciful O true believers, a fast is ordained you, as it was ordained unto those before you, that ye may fear God A certain number of days *shall ye fast* but he among you who shall be sick, or on a journey, *shall fast an equal number of other days*. And those who can ^b keep it, and do not, must redeem *their neglect* by maintaining of a poor man ¹ And he who voluntarily dealeth better *with the poor man than he is obliged*, this shall be

^a This is not to be strictly taken, for according to the Sonna a man is also to be put to death for the murder of a woman Reard is also to be had to difference in religion, so that a Mohammedan though a slave is not to be put to death for an infidel though a freeman But the civil magistrates do not think themselves always obliged to conform to this last determination of the Sonna

^{*} 'He who forgiveth the murderer of his brother shall have the right of requiring a reasonable reparation which shall be thankfully paid —Savary

^b This is the common practice in Mohammedan countries particularly in Persia, ^{*} where the relations of the deceased may take their choice either to have the murderer put into their hands to be put to death or else to accept of a pecuniary satisfaction

¹ That s the legacy was not to exceed a third part of the testator's substance, nor to be given where there was no necessity But this injunction is abrogated by the law concerning inheritances

^{*} The expositors differ much about the meaning of this passage thinking it very improbable that people should be left entirely at liberty either to fast or not on compounding for it in this manner Jallalo ddin therefore supposes the negative particle *not* to be understood and that this is allowed only to those who are *not able* to fast, by reason of age or dangerous sickness but afterwards he says that in the beginning of Mohammedism it was free for them to choose whether they would fast or maintain a poor man, which liberty was soon after taken away and this passage abrogated by the following *Therefore let him who shall be present in this month, fast the same month* Yet this abrogation he says, does not extend to women with child, or that give suck lest the infant suffer

Al Zamakhshari having first given an explanation of Ebn Abbas, who by a different interpretation of the Arabic word *Yotkūnah* which signifies *can* or *are able* to fast, renders it, *Those who find great difficulty therein*, &c adds an exposition of his own by supposing something, to be understood according, to which the sense will be, *Those who can fast* and yet have a legal excuse to break it, *must redeem it* &c.

¹ According to the usual quantity which a man eats in a day, and the custom of the country ^{*}

better for him. But if ye fast it will be better for you, if ye knew it. The month of Ramadan *shall ye fast*^m, in which the Korân was sent down from heaven,ⁿ a direction unto men, and declarations of direction, and the distinction *between good and evil*. Therefore, let him among you who shall be presentⁿ in this month, fast the same month, but he who shall be sick, or on a journey, *shall fast the like* number of other days. God would *make this* an ease unto you, and would not *make it* a difficulty unto you, that ye may fulfil the number of *days*, and glorify God, for that he hath directed you, and that ye may give thanks. When my servants ask thee concerning me, Verily I am near, I will hear the prayer of him that prayeth, when he prayeth unto me but let them hearken unto me, and believe in me, that they may be rightly directed. It is lawful for you, on the night of the fast, to go in unto your wives,^o they are a garment^p unto you, and ye are a garment unto them. God knoweth that ye defraud yourselves *therein*, wherefore he turneth unto you, and forgiveth you. Now, therefore, go in unto them, and earnestly desire that which God ordaineth you, and eat and drink, until ye can plainly distinguish a white thread from a black thread by the daybreak then keep the fast until night, and go not in unto them, but be constantly present in the places of worship. These are the prescribed bounds of God, therefore draw not near them to *transgress them*. Thus God declareth his signs unto men, that ye may fear *him*. Consume not your wealth among yourselves in vain, nor present it unto judges that ye may devour part of mens substance unjustly, against your own consciences. They will ask thee concerning the phases of the moon. Answer, They are times appointed unto men, and to *show the season of* the pilgrimage to Mecca. It is not righteousness that ye enter *your* houses by the back parts thereof,^q but righteousness is of him who feareth God. Therefore enter *your* houses by their doors, and fear God, that ye may be happy. And fight for the religion of God against those who fight against you, but transgress not *by attacking them first*, for God loveth not the transgressors. And kill them wherever ye find them, and turn them out of that whereof they have dispossessed you, for temptation to *idolatry* is more grievous than slaughter, yet fight not against them in the holy temple, until they attack you therein, but if they attack you, slay them *there*. This shall be the reward of infidels. But if they desist, God is gracious and merciful. Fight therefore against them, until there be no temptation to *idolatry*, and the religion be Gods, but if they desist, then let there be n

^m See the Prelim Disc sect iv

ⁿ i. e. At home, and not in a strange country, where the fast cannot be performed, or on a journey

^o In the beginning of Mohammedism during the fast they neither lay with their wives nor ate nor drank after supper. But both are permitted by this passage¹

^p A metaphorical expression, to signify the mutual comfort a man and his wife find in each other

^q Some of the Arabs had a superstitious custom after they had been at Mecca, (in pilgrimage, as it seems) on their return home not to enter their house by the old door, but to make a hole through the back part for a passage, which practice is here reprehended.

hostility, except against the ungodly. A sacred month for a sacred month,^{*} and the holy limits of Mecca, if they attack you therein, do ye also attack them therein in retaliation, and whoever transgresseth against you by so doing, do ye transgress against him in like manner as he hath transgressed against you, and fear God, and know that God is with those who fear him. Contribute out of your substance towards the defence of the religion of God, and throw not yourselves with your own hands into perdition,[†] and do good, for God loveth those who do good. Perform the pilgrimage of Mecca, and the visitation of God, and, if ye be besieged, send that offering which shall be the easiest, and shave not your heads,[‡] until your offering reacheth the place of sacrifice. But, whoever among you is sick, or is troubled with any distemper of the head, must redeem the shaving his head, by fasting, or alms, or some offering.[§] When ye are secure from enemies, he who tarrieth[¶] in the visitation of the temple of Mecca until the pilgrimage, shall bring that offering which shall be the easiest. But he who findeth not any thing to offer, shall fast three days in the pilgrimage and seven when ye are returned: they shall be ten days complete. This is incumbent on him whose family shall not be present at the holy temple. And fear God, and know that God is severe in punishing. The pilgrimage must be performed in the known months.^{**} whosoever, therefore, purposeth to go on pilgrimage therein, let him not know a woman, nor transgress, nor quarrel in the pilgrimage. The good which ye do, God knoweth it. Make provision for your journey, but the best provision is piety and fear me, O ye of understanding. It shall be no crime in you, if ye seek an increase from your LORD, by trading during the pilgrimage. And when ye go in procession^{††} from Arafat^{‡‡} remember God near the holy monument,^{§§} and remember him for that he hath directed you, although ye were before

^{*} As to these sacred months wherein it was unlawful for the ancient Arabs to attack one another, see the Prelim Disc. sect vii.

[†] i. e. Be not accessory to your own destruction by neglecting your contributions towards the wars against infidels, and thereby suffer them to gather strength.

[‡] For this was a sign they had completed their vow, and performed all the ceremonies of the pilgrimage.²

[§] That is, either by fasting three days, or feeding six poor people, or sacrificing a sheep.

[¶] This passage is somewhat obscure. Yahya interprets it of him who marries a wife during the visitation, and performs the pilgrimage the year following. But Jallaloddin expounds it of him who stays within the sacred enclosures in order to complete the ceremonies, which (as it should seem) he had not been able to do within the prescribed time.

^{**} i. e. Shawal, Dhulkaada and Dhulhajja. See the Prelim Disc. sect iv.

^{††} The original word signifies to rush forward impetuously, as the pilgrims do when they proceed from Arafat to Mozdalifa.

^{‡‡} A mountain near Mecca, so called because Adam there met and knew his wife after a long separation.³ Yet others say that Gabriel, after he had instructed Abraham in all the sacred ceremonies, coming to Arafat there asked him if he knew the ceremonies which had been shown him, to which Abraham answering in the affirmative, the mountain had thence its name.⁴

^{§§} In Arabic *al Musher al haram*. It is a mountain in the farther part of Mozdalifa, where it is said Mohammed stood praying and praising God, till his face became extremely shining.⁵ Bobovius calls it *korkh*,⁶ but the true name seems to be Kazah, the variation being occasioned only by the different pointing of the Arabic letters.

² Jallaloddin ³ See before p. 5 note f.

⁴ Al Hasan.

⁵ Jallaloddin.

⁶ Bobov de Peregr. Meccana, p. 15.

this of *the number* of those who go astray Therefore go in procession from whence the people go in procession, and ask pardon of God, for God is gracious and merciful And when ye have finished your holy ceremonies, remember God, according as ye remember your fathers, or with a more reverent commemoration. There are some men who say, O LORD, give us *our portion* in this world, but such shall have no portion in the next life and there are others who say, O LORD, give us good in this world, and also good in the next world, and deliver us from the torment of hell fire. They shall have a portion of that which they have gained God is swift in taking an account ^b Remember God the *appointed* number of days, ^c but if any haste to depart from the value of Mina in two days, it shall be no crime in him. And if any tarry longer, it shall be no crime in him, in him who feareth God Therefore fear God, and know that unto him ye shall be gathered. There is a man who causeth thee to marvel ^d by his speech concerning this present life, and calleth God to witness that which is in his heart, yet he is most intent in opposing thee, and when he turneth away from thee, he hasteth to act corruptly in the earth, and to destroy that which is sown, and springeth up ^e but God loveth not corrupt doing And if one say unto him, Fear God, pride seizeth him, together with wickedness, but hell shall be his reward, and an unhappy couch shall it be There is also a man who selleth his soul for the sake of those things which are pleasing unto God, ^f and God is gracious unto his servants. O true believers, enter into the true religion wholly, and follow not the steps of Satan, for he is your open enemy If ye have shipped after the declarations of *our will* have come unto you, know that God is mighty and wise Do the *infidels* expect less than that God should come down to them overshadowed with clouds, and the angels also? but the thing is decreed, and to God shall *all* things return. Ask the children of Israel how many evident signs we have showed them, and whoever shall change the grace of God after it shall have come unto him, verily God will be severe in punishing him The present life was ordained for those who believe not, ^g and they laugh the faithful to scorn, but they who fear God shall be above them, on the day of the resurrection for God is bountiful unto whom he pleaseth without measure Mankind was of one faith, and God sent prophets bearing good tidings, and denouncing threats, and sent down with them the scripture in

^b For he will judge all creatures, says Jallalo'ddin, in the space of half a day

^c e Three days after slaying the sacrifices

^d This person was al Ahinas Ebn Shoraik a fair spoken dissembler who swore that he believed in Mohammed, and pretended to be one of his friends, and to condemn this world. But God here reveals to the prophet his hypocrisy and wickedness ^f

^e Setting fire to his neighbour's corn and killing his asses by night ^g

^f The person here meant was one Soheib who being persecuted by the idolaters of Mecca, forsook all he had and fled to Medina. ^g

^h The life of this world is strewed with flowers for the unbelievers They make a scoff of the faithful. Those who have the fear of the Lord shall be raised above them at the day of resurrection. God dispenseth as he pleaseth his innumerable gifts —Savary

truth, that it might judge between men of that concerning which they disagreed and none disagreed concerning it, except those to whom the same *scriptures* were delivered, after the declarations of GODS *will* had come unto them, out of envy among themselves. And GOD directed those who believed, to that truth concerning which they disagreed, by his will for GOD directeth whom he pleaseth into the right way Did ye think ye should enter paradise, when as yet no such thing had happened unto you, *as hath happened* unto those who have been before you? They suffered calamity, and tribulation, and were afflicted, so that the apostle, and they who believed with him, said, When *will* the help of GOD come? Is not the help of GOD nigh? They will ask thee what they shall bestow *in alms* Answer, The good which ye bestow, *let it be given* to parents, and kindred, and orphans, and the poor, and the stranger Whatsoever good ye do, GOD knoweth it War is enjoined you *against* the Infidels, but this is hateful unto you yet perchance ye hate a thing which is better for you, and perchance ye love a thing which is worse for you but GOD knoweth and ye know not They will ask thee concerning the sacred month, *whether they may* war therein Answer, To war therein is grievous, but to obstruct the way of GOD, and infidelity towards him, and to *keep men* from the holy temple, and to drive out his people from thence, is more grievous in the sight of GOD, and the temptation to *idolatry* is more grievous than to kill *in the sacred months* They will not cease to war against you, until they turn you from your religion if they be able but whoever among you shall turn back from his religion, and die an infidel, their works shall be vain in this world, and the next, they shall be the companions of *hell* fire, they shall remain therein for ever But they who believe, and who fly for the sake of religion, and fight in GODS cause, they shall hope for the mercy of GOD, for GOD is gracious and merciful They will ask thee concerning wine^a and lots^b Answer, In both there is great sin, and *also some* things of use unto men,^c but their sinfulness is greater than their use They will ask thee also what they shall bestow *in alms* Answer, What ye have to spare Thus GOD sheweth *his* signs unto you, that peradventure ye might seriously think of this present world, and of the next They will also ask thee concerning orphans Answer, To deal righteously with them is best, and if ye intermeddle with *the management of what belongs* to them, *do them no wrong*, they are your brethren GOD knoweth the corrupt dealer from the righteous,

^a Under the name of *wine* all sorts of strong and inebriating liquors are comprehended¹

^b The original word *al Meiser*, properly signifies a particular game performed with arrows, and much in use with the pagan Arabs But by *lots* we are here to understand all games whatsoever which are subject to chance or hazard, as dice, cards &c.²

^c From these words some suppose that only drinking to excess and to frequent gaming are prohibited³ And the moderate use of wine they also think is allowed by these words of the 16th chapter *And of the fruits of palm trees and grapes ye obtain inebriating drink, and also good nourishment* But the more received opinion is, that both drinking wine or other strong liquors in any quantity, and playing at any game of chance are absolutely forbidden.⁴

¹ See the Prelim. Disc. sect. v. ² See *ibid.* ³ Vide Jallalo'ddin et al. Zamakhshari. ⁴ See the Prelim. Disc. ubi sup.

and if God please, he will surely distress you,^k for God is mighty and wise. Marry not *women who are idolaters*, until they believe verily a maid servant who believeth, is better than an idolatress, although she please you more. And give not *women who believe* in marriage to the idolaters, until they believe for verily a servant, who is a true believer, is better than an idolater, though he please you more. They invite unto *hell* fire, but God inviteth unto paradise and pardon through his will, and declareth his signs unto men, that they may remember. They will ask thee also concerning the courses of women. Answer, They are a pollution therefore separate yourselves from women in their courses, and go not near them, until they be cleansed. But when they are cleansed, go in unto them as God hath commanded you,^l for God loveth those who repent, and loveth those who are clean. Your wives are your tillage, go in therefore unto your tillage in what manner soever ye will ^m and do first some act *that may be profitable* unto your souls,ⁿ and fear God, and know that ye must meet him, and bear good tidings unto the faithful. Make not God the object of your oaths,^o that ye will deal justly and be devout, and make peace among men,^p for God is he who heareth and knoweth. God will not punish you for an inconsiderate word^q in your oaths, but he will punish you for that which your hearts have assented unto. God is merciful and gracious. They who vow to *abstain* from their wives are *allowed* to wait four months ^r but if they go back *from their vow*, verily God is gracious and merciful,^s and if they resolve on a divorce, God is he who heareth and knoweth. The *women who are divorced* shall wait concerning themselves until they have their courses thrice,^t and it shall not be

^k *via* By his curse, which will certainly bring to nothing what ye shall wrong the orphans of

^l But not while they have their courses nor by using preposterous venery ⁵

^m That is in any posture either standing sitting lying forward or backwards. And this passage it is said was revealed to answer the Jews who pretended that if a man lay with his wife backwards he would get a more witty child ⁶ It has been imagined that these words allow that preposterous lust which the commentators say is forbidden by the preceding, but I question whether this can be proved

ⁿ ² ^e Perform some act of devotion or charity

^o So as to swear frequently by him. The word translated *object*, properly signifies a butt to shoot at with arrows ⁷

^p Some commentators ⁸ expound this negatively, *That ye will not deal justly nor be devout* &c. For such wicked oaths, they say were customary among the idolatrous inhabitants of Mecca which gave occasion to the following saying of Mohammed *When you swear to do a thing and afterwards find it better to do otherwise, do that which is better and make void your oath.*

^q When a man swears inadvertently, and without design

^r That is they may take so much time to consider, and shall not by a rash oath, be obliged actually to divorce them

^s ² ^e If they be reconciled to their wives within four months, or after, they may retain them and God will dispense with their oath

^t This is to be understood of those only with whom the marriage has been consummated for as to the others there is no time limited. Those who are not quite past childbearing (which a woman is reckoned to be after her courses cease and she is fifty five lunar years, or about fifty three solar years old) and those who are too young to have children are allowed three months only, but they who are with child must wait till they be delivered.⁹

⁵ Ebn Abbas Jallalo'ddin ⁶ Jallalo'ddin Yahya, Al Zamakhshari Vide Lucret. de Rer. Nat. l. iv. v. 1258, &c. ⁷ Jallalo'ddin. ⁸ Idem Yahya. ⁹ Jallalo'ddin.

lawful for them to conceal that which God hath created in their wombs,^a if they believe in God and the last day, and their husbands will act more justly to bring them back at this time, if they desire a reconciliation. The women ought also to behave towards their husbands in like manner as their husbands should behave towards them, according to what is just but the men ought to have a superiority over them. God is mighty and wise. Ye may divorce *your wives* twice, and then either retain *them* with humanity, or dismiss *them* with kindness. But it is not lawful for you to take away any thing of what ye have given them, unless both fear that they cannot observe the ordinances of God.^x And if ye fear that they cannot observe the ordinances of God, it shall be no crime in either of them on account of that for which *the wife* shall redeem herself.^y These are the ordinances of God, therefore transgress them not, for whoever transgresseth the ordinances of God, they are unjust doers. But if *the husband* divorce her a *third time*, she shall not be lawful for him again, until she marry another husband.* But if he *also* divorce her, it shall be no crime in them, if they return to each other, if they think they can observe the ordinances of God, and these are the ordinances of God, he declareth them to people of understanding. But when ye divorce women and they have fulfilled their prescribed time, either retain them with humanity, or dismiss them with kindness, and retain them not by violence so that ye transgress,^z for he who doth this, surely injureth his own soul. And make not the signs of God a jest but remember God's favour towards you, and that he hath sent down unto you the book of the Koran, and wisdom, admonishing you thereby, and fear God, and know that God is omniscient. But when ye have divorced *your wives*, and they have fulfilled their prescribed time, hinder them not from marrying their husbands, when they have agreed among themselves according to what is honourable. This is given in admonition unto him among you who believeth in God and the last day. This is most righteous for you, and most pure. God knoweth, but ye know not. Mothers after they are

^a That is they shall tell the real truth whether they have their courses or be with child or not and shall not, by deceiving, their husband obtain a separation from him before the term be accomplished lest the first husband's child should by that means, go to the second or the wife in case of the first husband's death should set up her child as his heir, or demand her maintenance during the time she went with such child and the expenses of her lying in, under pretence that she waited not her full prescribed time.¹

^x For if there be a settled aversion on either side, their continuing together may have very ill and perhaps fatal consequences.

^y *e* If she prevail on her husband to dismiss her by releasing part of her dowry.

^z 'The Mahometan who has thrice sworn to divorce his wife, religion punishes by not allowing him to take her again till she has shared the bed of another man. The faulty person who is thus unpleasantly circumstanced, endeavours to elude the law. He chooses a friend on whose discretion he can reckon shuts him up with his wife in the presence of witnesses, and tremblingly awaits the result. The trial is a dangerous one. If, when he quits the room the obliging friend declares that he divorces her, the first husband has a right to resume her, but if, having forgotten friendship in the arms of love, he should say that he acknowledges her as his wife he takes her away with him, and the marriage is valid.'—*Savary*

¹ *viz* By obliging them to purchase their liberty with part of their dowry.

divorced shall give suck unto their children two full years, to him who desireth the time of giving suck to be completed, and the father shall be obliged to maintain them and clothe them *in the mean time*, according to that which shall be reasonable. No person shall be obliged beyond his ability. A mother shall not be compelled to *what is unreasonable* on account of her child, nor a father on account of his child. And the heir of the father shall be obliged to do in like manner. But if they chose to wear the child before the end of two years, by common consent, and on mutual consideration, it shall be no crime in them. And if ye have a mind to provide a nurse for your children, it shall be no crime in you, in case ye fully pay what ye offer her, according to that which is just. And fear God, and know that God seeth whatsoever ye do. Such of you as die, and leave wives, *their wives* must wait concerning themselves four months and ten days,^a and when they shall have fulfilled their term, it shall be no crime in you, for that which they shall do with themselves,^b according to what is reasonable. God well knoweth that which ye do. And it shall be no crime in you, whether ye make public overtures of marriage unto such women, *within the said four months and ten days*, or whether ye conceal such your designs in your minds. God knoweth that ye will remember them.* But make no promise unto them privately, unless ye speak honourable words, and resolve not on the knot of marriage until the prescribed time be accomplished, and know that God knoweth that which is in your minds, therefore beware of him, and know that God is gracious and merciful. It shall be no crime in you, if ye divorce your wives, so long as ye have not touched them, nor settled any dowry on them. And provide for them (he who is at his ease must provide according to his circumstances, and he who is straitened according to his circumstances) necessities, according to what shall be reasonable. *This is a duty incumbent* on the righteous. But if ye divorce them before ye have touched them, and have already settled a dowry on them, *ye shall give them* half of what ye have settled, unless they release any part, or he release part in whose hand the knot of marriage is,^c and if ye release the whole, it will approach nearer unto piety. And not forget liberality among you, for God seeth that which ye do. Carefully observe the appointed prayers, and the middle prayer,^d and be assiduous therein, with devotion towards God. But if ye fear any danger, pray on foot or on

^a That is to say, before they marry again, and this not only for decency sake, but that it may be known whether they be with child by the deceased or not.

^b That is, if they leave off their mourning weeds, and look out for new husbands.

* "The desire of marrying a wife, whether you show it openly, or conceal it in your own breasts, shall not render you guilty in the sight of God. He knoweth that ye cannot prevent yourselves from thinking of women but make to them no promise in secret, unless ye veil your love in decorous language"—*Savary*.

^c i. e. Unless the wife agree to take less than half her dowry, or unless the husband be so generous as to give her more than half, or the whole, which is here approved of as most commendable.

^d Yabya interprets this from a tradition of Mohammed, who being asked which was the middle prayer, answered, The evening prayer, which was instituted by the prophet Solomon. But Jallaloddin allows a greater latitude, and supposes it may be the afternoon prayer, the morning prayer, the noon prayer, or any other.

horseback, and when ye are safe remember GOD, how he hath taught you what as yet ye knew not. And such of you as shall die and leave wives, ought to bequeath their wives a year's maintenance, without putting them out of *their houses* but if they go out *voluntarily*, it shall be no crime in you, for that which they shall do with themselves, according to what shall be reasonable, GOD is mighty and wise. And unto those who are divorced, a reasonable provision *is also due, this is a duty incumbent* on those who fear GOD. Thus GOD declareth his signs unto you, that ye may understand. Hast thou not considered those, who left their habitations, (and they were thousands) for fear of death? * And GOD said unto them, Die, then he restored them to life, for GOD is gracious towards mankind, but the greater part of men do not give thanks. Fight for the religion of GOD, and know that GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. Who is he that will lend unto GOD on good usury? † verily he will double it unto him manifold, for GOD contracteth and extendeth *his hand* as he pleaseth, and to him shall ye return. Hast thou not considered the assembly of the children of Israel, after the *time* of Moses, when they said unto their prophet Samuel, Set a king over us that we may fight for the religion of GOD. *The prophet answered,* * If ye are enjoined to go to war, will ye be near refusing to fight? They answered, And what should ail us that we should not fight for the religion of GOD, seeing we are dispossessed of our habitations, and *deprived* of our children? But when they were enjoined to go to war, they turned back, except a few of them. and GOD knew the ungodly. And their prophet said unto them, Verily GOD hath set Talut, ‡ king over you. they answered, How shall he reign over us seeing we are more worthy of the kingdom than he, neither is he possessed of great riches? Samuel said Verily GOD hath chosen him before you, and hath caused him to increase in knowledge and stature, † for

* These were some of the children of Israel, who abandoned their dwellings because of a pestilence, or as others say, to avoid serving in a religious war but as they fled, GOD struck them all dead in a certain valley. About eight days or more after, when their bodies were corrupted the prophet Ezekiel the son of Buri happening to pass that way, at the sight of their bones, wept, whereupon GOD said to him, *Call to them, O Ezekiel, and I will restore them to life.* And accordingly on the prophet's call they all arose, and lived several years after but they retained the colour and stench of dead corpses as long as they lived and the clothes they wore changed as black as pitch which qualities they transmitted to their posterity. ‡ As to the number of these Israelites, the commentators are not agreed, they who reckon least say they were 3000 and they who reckon most, 70,000. This story seems to have been taken from Ezekiel's vision of the resurrection of dry bones. †

Some of the Mohammedan writers will have Ezekiel to have been one of the judges of Israel, and to have succeeded Othniel the son of Caleb. They also call this prophet *Ebn al qayz*, or *the son of the old woman*, because they say his mother obtained him by her prayers in her old age. †

† *viz* By contributing towards the establishment of his true religion.

* "Will you be ready to go forth to fight (said the prophet to them) when the time shall be come? And who, replied they, could prevent us from marching under the banner of the faith?"—*Savary*

‡ So the Mohammedans name Saul.

† "The Lord, replied Samuel, hath chosen him to be your leader. He hath enlightened his mind, and strengthened his arm."—*Savary*

‡ Jallalo ddin, Yahya, Abu'l'feda, &c
Abu Ishak, &c.

* Ezek xxxvii 1—10

† Al Thalabi,

GOD giveth his kingdom unto whom he pleaseth, GOD is bounteous and wise. And their prophet said unto them, Verily the sign of his kingdom shall be, that the ark shall come unto you ^b therein shall be tranquillity from your Lord,¹ and the relics^c which have been left by the family of Moses and the family of Aaron, the angels shall bring it Verily this shall be a sign unto you, if ye believe. And when Talut departed with his soldiers he said, Verily GOD will prove you by the river for he who drinketh thereof shall not be on my side (but he who shall not taste thereof he shall be on my side), except he who drinketh a draught out of his hand And they drank thereof, except a few of them.¹ And when they had passed *the river*, he and those who believed with him, they said We have no strength to day, against Jalut^m and his forces But they who considered that they should meet GOD *at the resurrection*, said, How often hath a small army discomfited a great one, by the will of GOD! and GOD is with those who patiently persevere. And when they went forth to battle against Jalut and his forces, they said, O LORD, pour on us patience, and confirm our feet, and help us against the unbelieving people. Therefore they discomfited them by the will of GOD, and David slew Jalut And GOD gave him the kingdom and wisdom, and taught him his will,² and if GOD had not prevented men, the one by the other, verily the earth had been corrupted but GOD is beneficent towards his creatures These are the signs of GOD we rehearse them unto thee with truth, and thou art surely *one* of those who have been sent by GOD [* III] These are the apostles, we have preferred some of them before others, some of them hath GOD spoken unto and hath exalted the degree of others of them And we gave unto Jesus the son of Mary many first signs, and strengthened him with the holy spirit^o And if GOD had pleased, they who came after those *apostles* would not have con-

^b This ark says Jallaloeddin contained the *mages* of the prophets and was sent down from heaven to Adam and at length came to the Israelites, who put great confidence therein and continually carried it in the front of their army, till it was taken by the Amalekites But on this occasion the angels brought it back in the sight of all the people and placed it at the feet of Talut who was there upon unanimously acknowledged for their king.

This relation seems to have arisen from some imperfect tradition of the taking and sending back the ark by the Philistines⁵

¹ That is, because of the great confidence the Israelites placed in it, having won several battles by its miraculous assistance I imagine, however, that the Arabic word *Sakinat* which signifies *tranquillity* or *security of mind*, and is so understood by the commentators may not improbably mean the *divine presence* or *glory* which used to appear on the ark and which the Jews expressed by the same word *Shechinah*.

^c These were the shoes and rod of Moses the mitre of Aaron a pot of manna, and the broken pieces of the two tables of the law⁶

² The number of those who drank out of their hands was about 313⁷ It seems that Mohammed has here confounded Saul with Gideon, who, by the divine direction, took with him against the Midianites such of his army only as lapped water out of their hands, which were 300 men.⁸

⁵ Or Goliath.

⁶ Or *what he pleased* to teach him Yahya most rationally understands hereby the divine revelations which David received from God, but Jallaloeddin the art of making coats of mail (which the Mohammedans believe was that prophet's peculiar trade) and the knowledge of the language of birds.

⁷ See before, p. 12, Note k.

¹ 1 Sam. iv v and vi.

² Jallaloeddin.

³ Idem. Yahya.

⁴ Judges vii

tended among themselves, after manifest signs had been shown unto them. But they fell to variance, therefore some of them believed, and some of them believed not, and if God had so pleased, they would not have contended among themselves, but God doth what he will. O true believers, give *alms* of that which we have bestowed unto you, before the day cometh wherein there shall be no merchandising, nor friendship, nor intercession. The infidels are unjust doers. God! there is no God but he,^p the living, the self subsisting neither slumber nor sleep seizeth him, to him *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven, and on earth. Who is he that can intercede with him, but through his good pleasure? He knoweth that which is past, and that which is to come unto them, and they shall not comprehend any thing of his knowledge, but so far as he pleaseth. His throne is extended over heaven and earth,^q and the preservation of both is no burden unto him. He is the high the mighty. Let there be no violence in religion.^r Now is right direction manifestly distinguished from deceit: whoever therefore shall deny Tagut,^s and believe in God, he shall surely take hold on a strong handle, which shall not be broken, God is he who heareth and seeth. God is the patron of those who believe, he shall lead them out of darkness into light: but *as to* those who believe not, their pations are Tagut, they shall lead them from the light into darkness, they shall be the companions of *hell* fire, they shall remain therein for ever. Hast thou not considered him who disputed with Abraham concerning his LORD^t because GOD had given him the kingdom? When Abraham said: My LORD is he who giveth life, and killeth: he answered: I give life, and I kill. Abraham said, Verily God bringeth the sun from the east, now do thou bring it from the west. Whereupon the infidel was confounded, for God directeth not the ungodly people. Or *hast thou not considered* how he *behaved* who passed by a city which had been destroyed, even to *her* foundations?^u He said, How shall God quicken this *city*, after she hath been

^p The following seven lines contain a magnificent description of the divine majesty and providence: but it must not be supposed the translation comes up to the dignity of the original. This passage is justly admired by the Mohammedans who recite it in their prayers: and some of them wear it about them engraved on an agate or other precious stone.^b

^q His throne, in Arabic called *Corsi* is by the Mohammedans supposed to be God's tribunal, or seat of justice being placed under that other called *al Arsh* which they say is his imperial throne. The *Corsi* allegorically signifies the divine providence which sustains and governs the heaven and the earth and is infinitely above human comprehension.^c

^r This passage was particularly directed to some of Mohammed's first proselytes who having sons that had been brought up in idolatry or Judaism, would oblige them to embrace Mohammedism by force.^d

^s This word properly signifies *an idol* or whatever is worshipped besides God particularly the two idols of the Meccans, *Allat* and *al Uzza*, and also the devil, or any seducer.

^t This was Nimrod who, as the commentators say to prove his power of life and death by ocular demonstration, caused two men to be brought before him at the same time, one of whom he slew and saved the other alive. As to this tyrant's persecution of Abraham see chap. 21, and the notes thereon.

^u The person here meant was Ozair or Ezra, who riding on an ass by the ruins of Jerusalem after it had been destroyed by the Chaldeans, doubted in his mind by what means God could raise the city and its inhabitants again, whereupon God

* Vide Bobov de Prec Moham p 5 et Reland. Dissert de Gemmis Arab pp. 235 239. ^a Vide D Herbelot, Bibl Orient Art. *Corsi*. ^b Jallaloddin.

And God caused him to die for an hundred years, and afterwards raised him to life. And God said, How long hast thou tarried *here*? He answered, A day, or part of a day. God said, Nay, thou hast tarried *here* a hundred years. Now look on thy food and thy drink, they are not yet corrupted, and look on thine ass and this *have we done* that we might make thee a sign unto men. And look on the bones of *thine ass*, how we raise them, and afterwards clothe them with flesh. And when *this* was shown unto him, he said, I know that God is able to do all things. And when Abraham said, O LORD, show me how thou wilt raise the dead,² God said, Dost thou not yet believe? He answered, Yea, but *I ask this* that my heart may rest at ease. God said, take therefore four birds, and divide them,³ then lay a part of them on every mountain, then call them, and they shall come swiftly unto thee and know that God is mighty and wise. The similitude of those who lay out their substance for advancing the religion of God, is as a grain of *corn* which produceth seven ears, and in every ear an hundred grains, for God giveth twofold unto whom he pleaseth. God is bounteous and wise. They who lay out their substance for the religion of God, and afterwards follow not what they have *so* laid out by reproaches or mischief,⁴ they shall have their reward with their LORD, upon them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved. A fair speech, and to forgive,⁵ is better than alms followed by mischief. God is rich and merciful. O true believers, make not your alms of none effect by reproaching, or mischief, as he who layeth out what he hath to appear unto men to men *to give alms*, and believeth not in God and the last day. The likeness of such a one is as a flint covered with earth, on which a violent rain falleth, and leaveth it hard. They cannot prosper in any thing which they have gained, for God directeth not the unbelieving people. And the

caused him to die, and he remained in that condition 100 years at the end of which God restored him to life, and he found a basket of figs and a cruise of wine he had with him, not in the least spoiled or corrupted but his ass was dead the bones only remaining, and these, while the prophet looked on were raised and clothed with flesh becoming an ass again, which being inspired with life, began immediately to bray.³

This apocryphal story may perhaps have taken its rise from Nehemiah's viewing of the ruins of Jerusalem.⁴

² The occasion of his request of Abraham is said to have been on a doubt proposed to him by the devil in human form how it was possible for the several parts of the corpse of a man which lay on the sea shore and had been partly devoured by the wild beasts, the birds, and the fish, to be brought together at the resurrection.⁵

³ These birds, according to the commentators were an eagle (a dove, say others), a peacock, a raven, and a cock which Abraham cut to pieces and mingled their flesh and feathers together, or, as some tell us pounded all in a mortar and dividing the mass into four parts, laid them on so many mountains, but kept the heads, which he had preserved whole, in his hand. Then he called them each by their name, and immediately one part flew to the other till they all recovered their first shape and then came to be joined to their respective heads.⁶

This seems to be taken from Abraham's sacrifice of birds mentioned by Moses,⁷ with some additional circumstances.

⁴ i. e. Either by reproaching the person whom they have relieved, with what they have done for him, or by exposing his poverty to his prejudice.⁸

⁵ "Humanity in words and actions is better than alms after injustice."—*Savary*

² Jallalo ddin, Yahya, &c. See D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Ozair
³ il. 12, &c. ⁴ See D'Herbelot, p. 12. ⁵ Jallalo ddin. See D'Herbelot, ubi supra.
⁶ Gen. xv. ⁷ Jallalo ddin.

likeness of those who lay out their substance from a desire to please God, and for an establishment for their souls, is as a garden on a hill, on which a violent rain falleth, and it bringeth forth its fruits twofold, and if a violent rain falleth not on it, yet the dew *falleth thereon* and God seeth that which ye do. Doth any of you desire to have a garden of palm trees and vines,^a through which rivers flow, wherein he may have all *kinds* of fruits, and that he may attain to old age, and have a weak offspring? then a violent fiery wind shall strike it, so that it shall be burned.* Thus God declareth his signs unto you, that ye may consider. O true believers, bestow *alms* of the good things which ye have gained, and of that which we have produced for you out of the earth, and choose not the bad thereof, to give it *in alms*, such as ye would not accept yourselves, otherwise than by connivance^b and know that God is rich and worthy to be praised. The devil threateneth you with poverty, and commandeth you filthy covetousness, but God promiseth you pardon from himself and abundance. God is bounteous and wise. He giveth wisdom unto whom he pleaseth, and he unto whom wisdom is given hath received much good but none will consider, except the *wise* of heart. And whatever alms ye shall give, or *whatever* vow ye shall vow, verily God knoweth it, but the ungodly shall have none to *help them*. If ye make your alms to appear, it is well, but if ye conceal them, and give them unto the poor, *this will be* better for you, and will atone for your sins and God is well informed of that which ye do. The direction of them belongeth not unto thee, but God directeth whom he pleaseth. The good that ye shall give *in alms shall redound* unto yourselves, and ye shall not give unless out of desire of *seeing* the face of God.* And what good thing ye shall give *in alms*, it shall be repaid you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly, unto the poor who are wholly employed in fighting for the religion of God, and cannot go to and fro on the earth, whom the ignorant man thinketh rich, because of their modesty thou shalt know them by this mark, they ask not men with importunity, and what good ye shall give *in alms*, verily God knoweth it. They who distribute *alms* of their substance night and day, in private and in public, shall have their reward with the LORD, on them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved. They who devour usury shall not arise *from the dead*, but as he ariseth whom Satan hath infected by a touch^d *this shall happen to them* because they say, Truly selling is but as usury and

^a This garden is an emblem of alms given out of hypocrisy, or attended with reproaches which perish and will be of no service hereafter to the giver^o

^b Who among you would desire to possess a garden planted with palm trees, adorned with vines, intersected by rivulets, and enriched with all the fruits of the earth, and to be then seized by old age to leave infants in the cradle and to see this garden devastated by a whirlwind of flame? Thus doth God reveal his mysteries unto you that you may turn your thoughts unto him — *Savary*

^c That is, on having some amends made by the seller of such goods, either by abatement of the price or giving something else to the buyer to make up the value

^d For the sake of a reward hereafter and not for any worldly consideration¹

^e *vis* Like demontacs or possessed persons that is, in great horror and distraction of mind, and convulsive agitation of body

yet God hath permitted selling and forbidden usury. He therefore who, when there cometh unto him an admonition from his Lord, abstaineth from usury for the future, shall have what is past forgiven him, and his affair belongeth unto God. But whoever returneth to usury, they shall be the companions of hell fire, they shall continue therein for ever. God shall take his blessing from usury, and shall increase alms for God loveth no infidel, or ungodly person. But they who believe, and do that which is right, and observe the stated times of prayer, and pay their legal alms, they shall have their reward with their Lord: there shall come no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved. O true believers, fear God, and remit that which remaineth of usury,* if ye really believe, but if ye do it not, hearken unto war, which is declared against you from God and his apostle: yet if ye repent, ye shall have the capital of your money. Deal not unjustly with others, and ye shall not be dealt with unjustly. If there be any debtor under a difficulty of paying his debt, let his creditor wait till it be easy for him to do it, but if ye remit it as alms, it will be better for you, if ye knew it. And fear the day wherein ye shall return unto God, then shall every soul be paid what it hath gained, and they shall not be treated unjustly. O true believers, when ye bind yourselves one to the other in a debt for a certain time, write it down, and let a writer write between you according to justice, and let not the writer refuse writing according to what God hath taught him, but let him write, and let him who oweth the debt dictate, and let him fear God his Lord, and not diminish aught thereof. But if he who oweth the debt be foolish, or weak, or be not able to dictate himself, let his agent† dictate according to equity, and call to witness two witnesses of your neighbouring men, but if there be not two men, let there be a man and two women of those whom ye shall choose for witnesses: if one of those women should mistake, the other of them will cause her to recollect. And the witnesses shall not refuse, whensoever they shall be called. And disdain not to write it down, be it a large debt, or be it a small one, until its time of payment: this will be more just in the sight of God, and more right for bearing witness, and more easy, that ye may not doubt. But if it be a present bargain which ye transact between your selves, it shall be no crime in you, if ye write it not down. And take witnesses when ye sell one to the other, and let no harm be done to the writer, nor to the witness, which if ye do, it will surely be injustice in you: and fear God, and God will instruct you, for God knoweth all things. And if ye be on a journey, and find no writer, let pledges be taken: but if one of you trust the other, let him who is trusted return what he is trusted with, and fear God his Lord. And conceal not the testimony, for he who concealeth it hath surely a wicked heart. God knoweth that which ye do. Whatever is in heaven and on earth is God's, and whether ye manifest

* Or the interest due before usury was prohibited. For this some of Mohammed's followers exacted of their debtors, supposing they lawfully might.‡

† Whoever manages his affairs, whether his father, heir, guardian or interpreter.‡

that which is in your minds, or conceal it, God will call you to account for it, and will forgive whom he pleaseth, and will punish whom he pleaseth, for God is almighty. The apostle believeth in that which hath been sent down unto him from his LORD and the faithful also. Every one of them believeth in God, and his angels, and his scriptures, and his apostles. We make no distinction at all between his apostles.⁵ And they say, We have heard, and do obey. *we implore* thy mercy, O LORD, for unto thee must we return. God will not force any soul beyond its capacity: it shall have the good which it gaineth, and it shall suffer the evil which it gaineth. O LORD, punish us not, if we forget, or act sinfully. O LORD, lay not on us a burden like that which thou hast laid on those who have been before us,⁶ neither make us, O LORD, to bear what we have not strength to bear, but be favourable unto us, and spare us, and be merciful unto us. Thou art our patron, help us therefore against the unbelieving nations.

CHAPTER III

INTITLED, THE FAMILY OF IMRAM,¹ REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

AL M². There is no God but God, the living, the self subsisting. He hath sent down unto thee the book of the *Korân* with truth, confirming that which was *revealed* before it, for he had formerly sent down the law, and the gospel, a direction unto men, and he had also sent down the distinction *between good and evil*. Verily those who believe not the signs of God shall suffer a grievous punishment, for God is mighty, able to revenge. Surely nothing is hidden from God, of that which is on earth, or in heaven. It is he who formeth you in the wombs, as he pleaseth, there is no God but he the mighty, the wise. It is he who hath sent down unto thee the book, wherein are some verses clear to be understood, they are the foundation of the book, and others are parabolical.³ But they whose hearts are perverse will follow that which is parabolical therein, out of love of schism, and a desire of the interpretation thereof,

⁵ But this, say the Mohammedans, the Jews do who receive Moses but reject Jesus and the Christians who receive both those prophets, but reject Mohammed.

⁶ That is, on the Jews, who, as the commentators tell us, were ordered to kill a man by way of atonement, to give one fourth of their substance in alms, and to cut off an unclean ulcerous part,⁴ and were forbidden to eat fat or animals that divide the hoof, and were obliged to observe the sabbath, and other particulars wherein the Mohammedans are at liberty.

¹ This name is given in the Koran to the father of the Virgin Mary. See below, p. 39.

² For the meaning of these letters, the reader is referred to the Preliminary Discourse, sect. iii.

³ This passage is translated according to the exposition of al Zamakhshari and Heidawi, which seems to be the truest.

The contents of the koran are here distinguished into such passages as are to

yet none knoweth the interpretation thereof, except God. But they who are well grounded in the knowledge say, We believe therein, the whole is from our LORD, and none will consider except the prudent.* O LORD, cause not our hearts to swerve from truth, after thou hast directed us and give us from thee mercy, for thou art he who giveth. O LORD, thou shalt surely gather mankind together, unto a day of resurrection there is no doubt of it, for GOD will not be contrary to the promise. As for the infidels, their wealth shall not profit them any thing, nor their children, against GOD they shall be the fuel of hell fire. According to the wont of the people of Pharaoh, and of those who went before them, they charged our signs with a lie, but GOD caught them in their wickedness, and GOD is severe in punishing. Say unto those who believe not, Ye shall be overcome, and thrown together into hell, and an unhappy couch shall it be. Ye have already had a miracle shown you in two armies, which attacked each other^m one army fought for God's true religion, but the other were infidels, they saw the faithful twice as many as themselves in their eye sight, for God strengtheneth with his help whom he pleaseth. Surely herein was an example unto men of understanding. The love and eager desire of wives, and children and sums heaped up of gold and silver, and excellent horses, and cattle, and land, is prepared for men this is the provision of the present life,† but unto GOD shall be the most excellent return. Say, Shall I declare unto you better things than this? For those

be taken in the literal sense and such as require a figurative acceptation. The former being plain and obvious to be understood, compose the fundamental part, or as the original expresses it, *the mother* of the book and contain the principal doctrines and precepts, agreeably to and consistently with which those passages which are wrapt up in metaphors, and delivered in enigmatical, allegorical style, are always to be interpreted?

* "This language is that of the wise '—Savary

^m The sign or miracle here meant was the victory gained by Mohammed in the second year of the Hejra over the idolatrous Meccans headed by Abu Sofian in the valley of Bedr which is situate near the sea between Mecca and Medina. Mohammed's forces consisted of no more than three hundred and nineteen men but the enemies army of near a thousand, notwithstanding which odds he put them to flight, having killed seventy of the principal Koreish, and taken as many prisoners, with the loss of only fourteen of his own men^s. This was the first victory obtained by the prophet and though it may seem no very considerable action, yet it was of great advantage to him and the foundation of all his future power and success. For which reason it is famous in the Arabian history and more than once vaunted in the Koran¹ as an effect of the divine assistance. The miracle, it is said, consisted in three things. 1 Mohammed, by the direction of the angel Gabriel, took a handful of gravel and threw it towards the enemy in the attack saying, *May their faces be confounded* whereupon they immediately turned their backs and fled. But, though the prophet seemingly threw the gravel himself yet it is told in the Koran,¹ that it was not he, but God, who threw it, that is to say by the ministry of his angel. 2 The Mohammedan troops seemed to the Infidels to be twice as many in number as themselves which greatly discouraged them. And 3 God sent down to their assistance first a thousand and afterwards three thousand angels, led by Gabriel, mounted on his horse Haizûm, and according to the Koran² these celestial auxiliaries really did all the execution though Mohammed's men imagined themselves did it, and fought stoutly at the same time.

† "Such are the enjoyments of this earthly life, but the asylum which is prepared by God is far more delectable '—Savary

¹ See the Prelim Disc sect. iii. ^s See Elmacin p 5 Hottinger Hist Orient. l. 2 c. 4. Abulfed Vit Moham p 56, &c. Prideaux's Life of Moham p 71 &c.
² See this chap below, and chaps 8 and 32. ¹ Chap 8, not far from the beginning.
³ Ibid.

who are devout *are prepared* with their LORD gardens through which rivers flow, therein shall they continue for ever and *they shall enjoy* wives free from impurity, and the favour of GOD, for GOD regardeth *his* servants, who say, O LORD, we do sincerely believe, forgive us therefore our sins, and deliver us from the pain of *hell* fire the patient and the lovers of truth, and the devout, and the almsgivers, and those who ask pardon *early* in the morning GOD hath borne witness that there is no GOD but he, and the angels, and *those who are* endowed with wisdom, *pr fess the same*, who executeth righteousness, there is no GOD but he, the mighty, the wise Verily the *true* religion in the sight of GOD is Islam,^a and they who had received the scriptures dissented not *therefrom*, until after the knowledge of *God's unity* had come unto them, out of envy among themselves, but whosoever believeth not in the signs of GOD, verily GOD will be swift in *bringing him to* account If they dispute with thee, say, I have resigned myself unto GOD, and he who followeth me *doth the same* and say unto them who have received the scriptures, and to the ignorant,^o Do ye profess *the religion of Islam*? now if they embrace Islam, they are surely directed, but if they turn their backs, verily unto thee *belongeth* preaching *only*, for GOD regardeth his servants And unto those who believe not in the signs of GOD, and slay the prophets without a cause, and put those men to death who teach justice, denounce unto them a painful punishment These are they whose works perish in this world, and in that which is to come, and they shall have none to help them Hast thou not observed those unto whom part of the scripture was given?^p They were called unto the book of GOD, that it might judge between them,^q then some of them turned their backs, and retired afar off This *they did*

^a The proper name of the Mohammedan religion, which signifies the *resigning* or *devoting one's self* entirely to GOD and his service This they say is the religion which all the prophets were sent to teach being founded on the unity of GOD^b

^b *e* The pagan Arabs, who had no knowledge of the scriptures^c

^c That is the Jews

^d This passage was revealed on occasion of a dispute Mohammed had with some Jews which is differently related by the commentators

Al Beidawi says that Mohammed going one day into a Jewish synagogue, Naim Ebn Amru and al Hareth Ebn Zeid asked him what religion he was of? To which he answering Of the religion of Abraham they replied Abraham was a Jew, but on Mohammed's proposing that the Pentateuch might decide the question, they would by no means agree to it

But Jallaloeddin tells us That two persons of the Jewish religion having committed adultery their punishment was referred to Mohammed who gave sentence that they should be stoned according to the law of Moses This the Jews refused to submit to, alleging there was no such command in the Pentateuch but on Mohammed's appealing to the book, the said law was found therein Whereupon the criminals were stoned to the great mortification of the Jews

It is very remarkable that this law of Moses concerning the stoning of adulterers is mentioned in the New Testament^e (though I know some dispute the authenticity of that whole passage), but it is not now to be found, either in the Hebrew or Samaritan Pentateuch or in the Septuagint, it being only said that such *shall be put to death*^f This omission is insisted on by the Mohammedans as one instance of the corruption of the law of Moses by the Jews

It is also observable that there was a verse once extant in the Koran, commanding

^b Jallaloeddin, Al Beidawi ^c Idem ^d John viii 5 ^e Lev xx 10 ^f See Whiston's Essay towards restoring the true Text of the Old Test. p 99, 100.

because they said, the fire of hell shall by no means touch us, but for a certain number of days ^r and that which they had falsely devised hath deceived them in their religion. How then will it be with them, when we shall gather them together at the day of judgment,^s of which there is no doubt, and every soul shall be paid that which it hath gained, neither shall they be treated unjustly? Say, O God, who possessest the kingdom, thou givest the kingdom unto whom thou wilt, and thou takest away the kingdom from whom thou wilt thou exaltest whom thou wilt, and thou humblest whom thou wilt in thy hand is good, for thou art almighty Thou makest the night to succeed the day thou bringest forth the living out of the dead, and thou bringest forth the dead out of the living,^t and providest food for whom thou wilt without measure. Let not the faithful take the infidels for their protectors, rather than the faithful he who doth this shall not be *protected* of God at all, unless ye fear any danger from them But God warneth you to beware of himself, for unto God must ye return Say, Whether ye conceal that which is in your breasts, or whether ye declare it, God knoweth it, for he knoweth whatever is in heaven, and whatever is on earth God is almighty On the last day every soul shall find the good which it hath wrought, present, and the evil which it hath wrought, it shall wish that between itself and that were a wide distance but God warneth you to beware of himself,^u for God is gracious unto his servants Say, If ye love God, follow me then God shall love you, and forgive you your sins, for God is gracious and merciful Say, Obey God, and his apostle, but if ye go back, verily God loveth not the unbelievers. God hath surely chosen Adam, and Noah, and the family of Abraham, and the family of Imran ^v

adulterers to be stoned, and the commentators say the words only are abrogated, the sense or law still remaining in force ^w

^x It is forty, the time their forefathers worshipped the calf ^y Al Beidawi adds, that some of them pretended their punishment was to last but seven days that is a day for every thousand years which they supposed the world was to endure, and that they imagined they were to be so mildly dealt with, either by reason of the intercession of their fathers the prophets, or because God had promised Jacob that his offspring should be punished but slightly

^z The Mohammedans have a tradition, that the first banner of the infidels that shall be set up, on the day of judgment, will be that of the Jews, and that God will first reproach them with their wickedness, over the heads of those who are present, and then order them to hell ^a

As a man from seed, and a bird from an egg, and *vice versa*.

^b "The Lord exhorteth you to dread his anger He looketh on his servants with a propitious eye — Savary

^c Or Amran, is the name of two several persons, according to the Mohammedan tradition One was the father of Moses and Aaron and the other was the father of the Virgin Mary,^d but he is called by some Christian writers Joachim The commentators suppose the first, or rather both of them, to be meant in this place however, the person intended in the next passage, it is agreed was the latter, who besides Mary the mother of Jesus, had also a son named Aaron,^e and a sister named Isha (or Elizabeth), who married Zacharias, and was the mother of John the Baptist whence that prophet and Jesus are usually called by the Mohammedans the two sons of the aunt, or the cousins german.

From the identity of names it has been generally imagined by Christian writers^f that

⁷ See the Prelim Disc. sect. 3. ⁸ See before p 11 ⁹ Al Beidawi, ¹ Jal-ialuddin. ² Al Zamakhshari, al Beidawi ³ Koran, c 19 ⁴ Vide Reland, de Rel. Moh p 211 Murrace in Ale. p 115, &c. Pridcaux, Letter to the Deists, p. 185.

CHAP. II.

above the rest of the world, a race descending the one from the other, God is he who heareth and knoweth. Remember when the wife of Imran^a said, LORD, verily I have vowed unto thee that which is in my womb, to be dedicated to thy service⁷ accept it therefore of me, for thou art he who heareth and knoweth. And when she was delivered of it, she said, LORD, verily I have brought forth a female (and God well knew what she had brought forth), and a male is not as a female,^{**} I have called her MARY, and I commend her to thy protection, and also her issue, against Satan driven away with stones.^a Therefore the LORD accepted her with a gracious acceptance,^b and caused her to bear an excellent offspring And

the Koran here confounds Mary the mother of Jesus with Marv or Miriam the sister of Moses and Aaron, which intolerable anachronism, if it were certain is sufficient of itself to destroy the pretended authority of this book. But though Mohammed may be supposed to have been ignorant enough in ancient history and chronology, to have committed so gross a blunder, yet I do not see how it can be made out from the words of the Koran. For it does not follow because two persons have the same name, and have each a father and brother who bare the same names that they must therefore necessarily be the same person besides, such a mistake is inconsistent with a number of other places in the Koran whereby it manifestly appears that Mohammed well knew and asserted that Moses preceded Jesus several ages. And the commentators accordingly fail not to tell us, that there had passed about one thousand eight hundred years between Amran the father of Moses, and Amian the father of the Virgin Mary they also make them the sons of different persons the first they say was the son of Yeshar, or Izhar (though he was really his brother)^b the son of Kahath, the son of Levi, and the other was the son of Matthan^c whose genealogy they trace, but in a very corrupt and imperfect manner up to David, and thence to Adam⁷

It must be observed that though the Virgin Mary is called in the Koran^d the sister of Aaron, yet she is no where called the sister of Moses however some Moham medan writers have imagined that the same individual Mary the sister of Moses was miraculously preserved alive from his time till that of Jesus Christi, purposely to become the mother of the latter^e

^a The Imran here mentioned was the father of the Virgin Mary, and his wife's name was Hannah or Ann, the daughter of Fakudh. This woman, say the commentators, being aged, and barren, on seeing a bird feed her young ones, became very desirous of issue and begged a child of God, promising to consecrate it to his service in the temple whereupon she had a child but it proved a daughter¹

⁷ The Arabic word is *free*, but here signifies particularly one that is *free* or detached from all worldly desires and occupations, and wholly devoted to God's service²

^{**} Because a female could not minister in the temple as a male could³

^a "God knew to what she had given birth. Obvious characters distinguish the two sexes"—*Savary*

^b This expression alludes to a tradition that Abraham when the devil tempted him to disobey God in not sacrificing his son drove the fiend away by throwing stones at him, in memory of which the Mohammedans at the pilgrimage of Mecca, throw a certain number of stones at the devil, with certain ceremonies in the valley of Mina⁴

It is not improbable that the pretended immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary is intimated in this passage. For according to a tradition of Mohammed every person that comes into the world is touched at his birth by the devil and therefore cries out Mary and her son only excepted, between whom and the evil spirit God placed a veil, so that his touch did not reach them⁵. And for this reason, they say, neither of them were guilty of any sin, like the rest of the children of Adam⁶ which peculiar grace they obtained by virtue of this recommendation of them by Hannah to God's protection.

^b Though the child happened not to be a male yet her mother presented her to the priests who had care of the temple, as one dedicated to God, and they having

^a Exod vi. 18 ^b Al Zamakh al Beidawi ⁷ Vide Reland, ubi sup D Herbelot, Bibl Orient. p. 583 ^c Chap 19 ^d Vide Guadagnol, Apolog pro Isl. Christ. contra Ahmed Ebn Zein al Abedin, p. 279 ^e Al Beidawi, al Thalabi ^f Jallalo'ddin, al Zamakhshari ^g Jallalo'ddin. ^h See the Prelim Disc. sect. iv ⁱ Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidawi. ^k Kitada.

Zacharias took care of *the child*, whenever Zacharias went into the chamber to her, he found provisions with her ^a and he said, O Mary, whence hadst thou this? she answered, This is from God for God provideth for whom he pleaseth without measure.^d There Zacharias called on his LORD, and said, LORD, give me from thee a good offspring, for thou art the hearer of prayer And the angels^e called to him, while he stood praying in the chamber, *saying*, Verily God promiseth thee a son named John, who shall bear witness to the Word^f which cometh from God, an honourable person, chaste,^g and one of the righteous prophets. He answered, LORD, how shall I have a son, when old age hath overtaken me,^h and my wife is barren? The angel said, So God doth that which he pleaseth Zacharias answered, LORD, give me a sign. The angel said, Thy sign shall be, that thou shalt speak unto no manⁱ for three days, otherwise than by gesture, remember thy LORD often, and praise him evening and morning And when the angels said, O Mary, verily God hath chosen thee, and hath purified thee and hath chosen thee above *all* the women of the world O Mary, be devout towards thy LORD, and worship, and bow down with those who bow down. This is a secret history, we reveal it unto thee, although thou wast not present with them when they threw in their rods to cast lots which of them should have the education of Mary,^k neither wast thou with them, when they strove among themselves. When the angels said, O Mary, verily God sendeth thee good

received her she was committed to the care of Zacharias as will be observed by and bye and he built her an apartment in the temple and supplied her with necessaries

^a The commentators say that none went into Mary's apartment but Zacharias himself and that he locked seven doors upon her yet he found she had always winter fruits in summer and summer fruits in winter⁸

^d There is a story of Fatema Mohammed's daughter that she once brought two loaves and a piece of flesh to her father who returned them to her and having called for her again when she uncovered the dish it was full of bread and meat and on Mohammed's asking her whence she had it she answered in the words of this passage, *This is from God, for God provideth for whom he pleaseth without measure* Whereupon he blessed God, who thus favoured her as he had the most excellent of the daughters of Israel⁹

^e Though the word be in the plural yet the commentators say it was the angel Gabriel only The same is to be understood where it occurs in the following passages

^f That is Jesus who al Beidawi says, is so called because he was conceived by the word or command of God without a father

^g The original word signifies one who refrains not only from women but from all other worldly delights and desires Al Beidawi mentions a tradition that during his childhood some boy invited him to play but he refused, saying that he was not created to play

^h Zacharias was then ninety nine years old and his wife eighty-nine¹

ⁱ Though he could not speak to any body else yet his tongue was at liberty to praise God as he is directed to do by the following words

^k When Mary was first brought to the temple, the priests, because she was the daughter of one of their chiefs disputed among themselves who should have the education of her Zacharias insisted that he ought to be preferred because he had married her aunt but the others not consenting that it should be so they agreed to decide the matter by casting of lots, whereupon twenty seven of them went to the river Jordan and threw in their rods (or arrows without heads or feathers such as the Arabs used for the same purpose), on which they had written some passages of the law but they all sunk, except that of Zacharias which floated on the water, and he had thereupon the care of the child committed to him²

⁷ Jallalo'ddin Al Beidawi Vide Lud. de Dieu, in not ad Hist Christi Xaverii, p. 542. ⁸ Al Beidawi Vide de Dieu, ubi sup p 548 ⁹ Al Beidawi. ¹ Idem.

² Idem. Jallalo'ddin, &c

tidings, *that thou shalt bear the Word proceeding from himself, his name shall be CHRIST JESUS the son of Mary, honourable in this world and in the world to come, and one of those who approach near to the presence of God*, and he shall speak unto men in the cradle,¹ and when he is grown up,^m and he shall be *one of the righteous* she answered, LORD, how shall I have a son, since a man hath not touched me? *the angel said, So God createth that which he pleaseth, when he decreeth a thing he only saith unto it, Be, and it is* God shall teach him the scripture, and wisdom, and the law, and the gospel, and *shall appoint him his apostle to the children of Israel, and he shall say, Verily I come unto you with a sign from your LORD, for I will make before you, of clay, as it were the figure of a bird,*ⁿ then I will breathe thereon, and it shall become a bird, by the permission of God,^o and I will heal him that hath been blind from his birth, and the leper and I will raise the dead^p by the permission of God and I will prophesy unto you what ye eat, and what ye lay up for store in your houses. Verily herein will be a sign unto you, if ye believe And I come to confirm the law which was *revealed* before me, and to allow unto

¹ Besides an instance of this given in the Koran itself³ which I shall not here anticipate a Mohammedan writer (of no very great credit indeed) tells two stories, one of Jesus's speaking while in his mother's womb to reprove her cousin Joseph for his unjust suspicions of her,⁴ and another of his giving an answer to the same person soon after he was born For Joseph being sent by Zacharias to seek Mary (who had gone out of the city by night to conceal her delivery) and having found her, began to expostulate with her but she made no reply whereupon the child spoke these words *Rejoice, O Joseph, and be of good cheer for God hath brought me forth from the darkness of the womb to the light of the world and I shall go to the children of Israel, and invite them to the obedience of God*⁵

These seem all to have been taken from some fabulous traditions of the eastern Christians one of which is preserved to us in the spurious gospel of the *Infancy of Christ* where we read that Jesus spoke while yet in the cradle and said to his mother *Verily I am Jesus the Son of God the word which thou hast brought forth, as the angel Gabriel did declare unto thee, and my Father hath sent me to save the world*⁶

^m The Arabic word properly signifies a man of full age, that is, between thirty or thirty four and fifty-one, and the passage may relate to Christ's preaching here on earth But as he had scarce attained this age when he was taken up into heaven, the commentators choose to understand it of his second coming⁷

ⁿ Some say it was a bat,⁸ though others suppose Jesus made several birds or different sorts⁹

This circumstance is also taken from the following fabulous tradition, which may be found in the spurious gospel above mentioned Jesus being seven years old, and at play with several children of his age, they made several figures of birds and beasts for their diversion, of clay and each preferring his own workmanship Jesus told them that he would make his walk and leap, which accordingly, at his command, they did He made also several figures of sparrows and other birds which flew about or stood on his hands as he ordered them, and also ate and drank when he offered them meat and drink The children telling this to their parents, were forbidden to play any more with Jesus, whom they held to be a sorcerer¹

^o The commentators observe that these words are added here, and in the next sentence lest it should be thought Jesus did these miracles by his own power, or was God²

^p Jallalo ddn mentions three persons whom Christ restored to life, and who lived several years after and had children, viz Lazarus, the widow's son, and the publican (I suppose he means the ruler of the synagogue's) daughter He adds, that he also raised Shem the son of Noah, who as another writes³ thinking he had been called to judgment, came out of his grave with his head half grey, whereas men did not grow grey in his days, after which he immediately died again

³ Chap 19 ⁴ Vide Sikii notas in Evang Infant. p 5 ⁵ Al Kessai, apud eundem. ⁶ Evang Infant. p 5 ⁷ Jallalo ddn Al Beidawi. ⁸ Jallalo ddn. ⁹ Al Thalabi. ¹ Evang Infant. p 111, &c. ² Al Beidawi, &c. ³ Al Thalabi.

you as lawful part of that which hath been forbidden you ^q and I come unto you with a sign from your LORD,* therefore fear GOD, and obey me. Verily GOD is my LORD, and your LORD therefore serve him. This is the right way But when Jesus perceived their unbelief, he said, Who *will* be my helpers towards GOD? The apostles^r answered, We *will* be the helpers of GOD, we believe in GOD, and do thou bear witness that we are true believers. O LORD, we believe in that which thou hast sent down, and we have followed thy apostle, write us down therefore with those who bear witness of him. And the Jews devised a stratagem against him,^s but GOD devised a stratagem against them,^t and GOD is the best deviser of

^q Such as the eating of fish that have neither fins nor scales, the cawl and fat of animals and camels flesh and to work on the sabbath These things, say the commentators being arbitrary institutions in the law of Moses, were abrogated by Jesus as several of the same kind instituted by the latter have been since abrogated by Mohammed⁴

* "God has given unto me the power of miracles —Savary

^r In Arabic *al Hawāryūn*, which word they derive from *Hāra*, to be white, and suppose the apostles were so called either from the candour and sincerity of their minds or because they were princes and wore white garments or else because they were by trade fullers⁶ According to which last opinion, their vocation is thus related That as Jesus passed by the sea side he saw some fullers at work, and accosting them said *Ye cleanse these cloths, but cleanse not your hearts*, upon which they believed on him But the true etymology seems to be from the Ethiopic verb *Hawrya* to go whence *Hawārya* signifies one that is sent, a messenger or apostle⁶

^s ^t They laid a design to take away his life

† The Jews were treacherous unto Jesus God frustrated their treachery He is more powerful than the deceivers —Savary

^t This stratagem of God's was the taking of Jesus up into heaven and stamping his likeness on another person who was apprehended and crucified in his stead For it is the constant doctrine of the Mohammedans that it was not Jesus himself who underwent that ignominious death but somebody else in his shape and resemblance⁷ The person crucified some will have to be a spy that was sent to entrap him, others that it was one Titian who by the direction of Judas, entered in at a window of the house where Jesus was to kill him and others that it was Judas himself who agreed with the rulers of the Jews to betray him for thirty pieces of silver and led those who were sent to take him

They add⁸ that Jesus after his crucifixion in *effigie* was sent down again to the earth to comfort his mother and disciples, and acquaint them how the Jews were deceived and was then taken up a second time into heaven

It is supposed by several that this story was an original invention of Mohammeds but they are certainly mistaken, for several sectaries held the same opinion long before his time The Basilidians⁹ in the very beginning of Christianity, denied that Christ himself suffered but that Simon the Cyrenean was crucified in his place The Cerinthians before them and the Carpocratians next (to name no more of those, who affirmed Jesus to have been a mere man) did believe the same thing, that it was not himself but one of his followers very like him, that was crucified Photinus tells us,¹ that he read a book entitled *The journeys of the apostles*, relating the acts of Peter, John, Andrew Thomas, and Paul, and among other things contained therein, this was one, that Christ was not crucified, but another in his stead, and that therefore he laughed at his crucifiers, or those who thought they had crucified him²

I have in another place³ mentioned an apocryphal gospel of Barnabas, a forgery originally of some nominal Christians, but interpolated since by Mohammedans, which gives this part of the history of Jesus with circumstances too curious to be omitted It is therein related, that the moment the Jews were going to apprehend Jesus in the garden he was snatched up into the third heaven, by the ministry of four angels, Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, and Uriel, that he will not die till the end

⁴ Al Beidawī, Jallāliddīn ⁵ Idem. ⁶ Vide Ludolfi Lexic. Æthiop. col. 40 et Golii notas ad cap. 61 Korani, p. 205 ⁷ See Koran, c. iv ⁸ Vide Marracci in Act. p. 113, &c. et in Prodr. part. i. p. 63, &c. ⁹ Irenæus, l. 1, c. 23, &c. Epiphanius Hæres. 24 num. 3 ¹ Photinus, Bibl. Cod. 114 col. 291. ² Tolandus Nazarenus, p. 17, &c. ³ Prelim. Disc. sect. iv

stratagems. When God said, O Jesus, verily I will cause thee to die,¹ and I will take thee up unto me,² and I will deliver thee from the unbelievers, and I will place those who follow thee above the unbelievers, until the day of resurrection³ then unto me shall ye return, and I will judge between you of that concerning which ye disagree. Moreover, as for the infidels, I will punish them with a grievous punishment in this world, and in that which is to come, and there shall be none to help them. But they who believe, and do that which is right, he shall give them their reward for God loveth not the wicked doers. These signs and this prudent admonition do we rehearse unto thee. Verily the likeness of Jesus in the sight of God is as the likeness of Adam, he created him out of the dust, and then said unto him, Be, and he was.⁴ *This is the truth from thy LORD, be not therefore one of those who doubt, and whoever*

of the world, and that it was Judas who was crucified in his stead. God having permitted that traitor to appear so like his master, in the eyes of the Jews, that they took and delivered him to Pilate. That this resemblance was so great that it deceived the Virgin Mary and the apostles themselves, but that Jesus Christ afterwards obtained leave of God to go and comfort them. That Barnabas having then asked him why the divine goodness had suffered the mother and disciples of so holy a prophet to believe even for one moment that he had died in so ignominious a manner, Jesus returned the following answer "O Barnabas believe me that every sin how small soever is punished by God with great torment because God is offended with sin. My mother therefore and faithful disciples having loved me with a mixture of earthly love the just God has been pleased to punish this love with their present grief that they might not be punished for it hereafter in the flames of hell. And as for me though I have myself been blameless in the world yet other men having called me God, and the son of God, therefore God that I might not be mocked by the devils at the day of judgment, has been pleased that in this world I should be mocked by men with the death of Judas making every body believe that I died upon the cross. And hence it is that this mocking is still to continue till the coming of Mohammed the messenger of God, who coming into the world, will undeceive every one who shall believe in the law of God, from this mistake."

¹ It is the opinion of a great many Mohammedans that Jesus was taken up into heaven without dying which opinion is consonant to what is delivered in the spiritual gospel above mentioned. Wherefore several of the commentators say that there is a *hysteron proteron* in these words *I will cause thee to die and I will take thee up unto me* and that the copulative does not import order or that he died before his assumption, the meaning being this *viz* that God would first take Jesus up to heaven and deliver him from the infidels and afterwards cause him to die which they suppose is to happen when he shall return into the world again before the last day.⁵ Some, thinking the order of the words is not to be changed interpret them figuratively and suppose their signification to be that Jesus was lifted up while he was asleep or that God caused him to die a spiritual death to all worldly desires. But others acknowledge that he actually died a natural death and continued in that state three hours, or, according to another tradition, seven hours, after which he was restored to life, and then taken up to heaven.⁶

² Some Mohammedans say this was done by the ministry of Gabriel, but others that a strong whirlwind took him up from mount Olivet.⁷

³ That is they who believe in Jesus (among whom the Mohammedans reckon themselves) shall be for ever superior to the Jews, both in arguments and in arms. And accordingly, says al Beidawi to this very day the Jews have never prevailed either against the Christians or Moslems, nor have they any kingdom or established government of their own.

⁴ He was like to Adam in respect of his miraculous production by the immediate power of God.⁸

⁵ "In the sight of the Highest, Jesus is a man like unto Adam. Adam was created out of the dust. God said unto him, Be! and he was."—*Savary*

⁴ See the Menagiana, tom iv p 326 &c. ⁵ See the Prelim Disc. sect. Al Beidawi. ⁷ Al Thalabi. See 2 Kings ii. 1, 11. ⁸ al-Mal'udin &c.

shall dispute with thee, concerning him," after the knowledge which hath been given thee, say *unto them*, Come, let us call together our sons and your sons, and our wives and your wives, and ourselves and yourselves, then let us make imprecations, and lay the curse of God on those who lie.^b Verily this is a true history and there is no God, but God, and God is most mighty and wise. If they turn back, God well knoweth the evil doers. Say, O ye who have received the scripture, come to a just determination between us and you,^c that we worship not *any* except God, and associate no creature with him, and that the one of us take not the other for lords,^d beside God. But if they turn back, say, Bear witness that we are true believers. O ye to whom the scriptures have been given, why do ye dispute concerning Abraham,^e since the Law and the Gospel were not sent down until after him? Do ye not therefore understand? Behold ye are they who dispute concerning that which ye have some knowledge in, why therefore do you dispute concerning that which ye have no knowledge of?^f God knoweth, but ye know not. Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian, but he was of the true religion, one resigned *unto God*, and was not of the number of the idolaters. Verily the men who are the nearest of *kin* unto Abraham are they who follow him, and this prophet, and they who believed *on him*. God is the patron of the faithful. Some of those who have received the scriptures desire to seduce you,^g but they seduce themselves only, and they perceive it not. O ye who have received the scriptures, why do ye not believe in the signs of God, since ye are witnesses of them? O ye who have received the scriptures, why do you clothe truth with vanity, and knowingly hide the truth?^h And some of those to whom the scriptures were given say, Believe in that which hath been sent down unto those who believe, in the beginning of the

* Namely, Jesus.

^b To explain this passage the commentators tell the following story. That some Christians, with their bishop named Abu Hareth, coming, to Mohammed as ambassadors from the inhabitants of Najran and entering into some disputes with him touching religion and the history of Jesus Christ they agreed the next morning to abide the trial here mentioned as a quick way of deciding which of them were in the wrong. Mohammed met them accordingly, accompanied by his daughter Fatuma his son in law Ali, and his two grandsons Hasan and Ho ein and desired them to wait till he had said his prayers. But when they saw him kneel down their resolution failed them, and they durst not venture to curse him but submitted to pay him tribute.^o

^c That is, to such terms of agreement as are indisputably consonant to the doctrine of all the prophets and scriptures, and therefore cannot be reasonably rejected.¹

^d Besides other charges of idolatry on the Jews and Christians Mohammed accused them of paying too implicit an obedience to their priest and monks, who took upon them to pronounce what things were lawful, and what unlawful and to dispense with the laws of God.²

^e *Viz.* By pretending him to have been of your religion.

^f *e* Ye perversely dispute even concerning those things which ye find in the Law and the Gospel, whereby it appears that they were both sent down long after Abraham's time why then will ye offer to dispute concerning such points of Abraham's religion of which your scriptures say nothing, and of which ye consequently can have no knowledge?³

^g This passage was revealed when the Jews endeavoured to pervert Hodheifa, Anmâr, and Moâdh to their religion.⁴

^h The Jews and Christians are again accused of corrupting the scriptures, and stifling the prophecies concerning Mohammed.

^o Jallalo'ddin Al Reidawi. ¹ Idem. ² Idem. ³ Al Reidawi. ⁴ Idem.

day, and deny it in the end thereof, that they may go back from their faith,¹ and believe him only who followeth your religion Say, Verily the true direction is the direction of God, that there may be given unto some other a revelation like unto what hath been given unto you Will they dispute with you before your LORD? Say, Surely excellence is in the hand of God, he giveth it unto whom he pleaseth, God is bounteous and wise he will confer peculiar mercy on whom he pleaseth, for God is endued with great beneficence There is of those who have received the scriptures, unto whom if thou trust a talent, he will restore it unto thee,² and there is also of them, unto whom if thou trust a dinar, he will not restore it unto thee, unless thou stand over him continually with great urgency¹ This they do, because they say, We are not obliged to observe justice with the heathen but they utter a lie against God, knowingly Yea, whoso keepeth his covenant, and feareth God, God surely loveth those who fear him But they who make merchandise of God's covenant, and of their oaths, for a small price shall have no portion in the next life, neither shall God speak to them or regard them on the day of resurrection, nor shall he cleanse them, but

¹ The commentators to explain this passage say, that Caab Ebn al Ashraf and Maloc Ebn al Scif (two Jews of Medina) advised their companions when the Kebla was changed,² to make as if they believed it was done by the divine direction and to pray towards the Caaba in the morning but that in the evening they should pray as formerly towards the temple of Jerusalem that Mohammed's followers, imagining that the Jews were better judges of this matter than themselves, might imitate their example But others say these were certain Jewish priests or Khaibar who directed some of their people to pretend in the morning that they had embraced Mohammedism, but in the close of the day to say that they had looked into their books of scripture, and consulted their Rabbins, and could not find that Mohammed was the person described and intended in the law, by which trick they hoped to raise doubts in the minds of the Mohammedans³

² As an instance of this, the commentators bring Abdallah Ebn Salam, a Jew, very intimate with Mohammed,⁴ to whom one of the Koreish lent 1200 ounces of gold, which he very punctually paid at the time appointed⁵

³ Al Beidawi produces an example of such a piece of injustice in one Phineas Ebn Azûra, a Jew, who borrowed a *dinâr*, which is a gold coin worth about ten shillings, of a Koreishite and afterwards had the conscience to deny it.

But the person more directly struck at in this passage was the above mentioned Caab Ebn al Ashraf, a most inveterate enemy of Mohammed and his religion of whom Jallaloddin relates the same story as al Beidawi does of Phineas This Caab after the battle of Bedr went to Mecca, and there, to excite the Koreish to revenge themselves, made and recited verses lamenting the death of those who were slain in that battle, and reflecting very severely on Mohammed and he afterwards returned to Medina, and had the boldness to repeat them publicly there also at which Mohammed was so exceedingly provoked, that he proscribed him, and sent a party of men to kill him, and he was circumvented and slain by Mohammed Ebn Moslema in the third year of the Hejra.⁶ Dr Prideaux¹ has confounded the Caab we are now speaking of, with another very different person of the same name, and a famous poet, but who was the son of Zohair and no Jew, as a learned gentleman has already observed.² In consequence of which mistake the doctor attributes what the Arabian historians write of the latter, to the former, and wrongly affirms that he was not put to death by Mohammed.

Some of the commentators however suppose that in the former part of this passage the Christians are intended who, they say, are generally people of some honour and justice, and in the latter part the Jews, who they think are more given to cheating and dishonesty³

⁴ See before, c. 2. p. 17. ⁵ Al Beidawi. ⁶ See Prideaux's Life of Moham p. 33. ¹ Al Beidawi. Jallaloddin. ² Al Jannabi. Elmacin. ³ Life of Moham p. 78, &c. ⁴ Vide Gagar, in Not. ad Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 64, et 122. Al Beidawi.

they shall suffer a grievous punishment And there are certainly some of them who read the scriptures perversely, that ye may think *what they read* to be really in the scriptures, yet it is not in the scripture, and they say, This is from GOD, but it is not from GOD and they speak that which is false concerning GOD, against their own knowledge. It is not fit for a man, that GOD should give him a book of *revelations*, and wisdom, and prophecy, and then he should say unto men Be ye worshippers of me besides GOD, but *he ought to say*, Be ye perfect in knowledge and in works, since ye know the scriptures, and exercise yourselves therein ^m GOD hath not commanded *you* to take the angels and the prophets for *your* lords Will he command *you* to become infidels, after ye have been true believers? And remember when GOD accepted the covenant of the prophets, ⁿ saying, *This* verily is the scripture and the wisdom which I have given you here after shall an apostle come unto you, confirming the truth of that *scripture* which is with you, ye shall surely believe in him, and ye shall assist him GOD said, Are ye firmly resolved, and do ye accept my covenant on this *condition*? They answered, We are firmly resolved GOD said Be ye therefore witnesses, and I also bear witness with you and whosoever turneth back after this, they are surely the transgressors Do they, therefore, seek any other religion but GOD's? since to him is resigned whosoever is in heaven or on earth, voluntarily or of force and to him shall they return. Say, We believe in GOD, and that which hath been sent down unto us, and that which was sent down unto Abraham, and Ismael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and that which was delivered to Moses, and Jesus, and the prophets, from their Lord, we make no distinction between any of them, and to him are we resigned Whoever followeth any other religion than Islam, it shall not be accepted of him and in the next life he shall be of those who perish ^o How shall GOD direct men who have become infidels after they had believed, and borne witness that the apostle was true, and manifest declarations of *the divine will* had come unto them? for GOD directed not the ungodly people Their reward shall be that on them *shall fall* the curse of GOD, and of angels, and of all mankind they shall remain under the same for ever, their torment shall not be mitigated, neither shall they be regarded, except those who repent after this, and amend, for GOD is gracious and merciful. Moreover they who become infidels after they have believed, and yet increase in infidelity, their repentance shall in no wise be accepted, and they are those who go astray Verily they who believe not, and die in their unbelief, the world full of gold

^m This passage was revealed, say the commentators, in answer to the Christians who insisted that Jesus had commanded them to worship him as God Al Beidawi adds that two Christians, named Abu Rafé al Koradhi and al Seyd al Najrani offered to acknowledge Mohammed for their Lord, and to worship him, to which he answered, *GOD forbid that we should worship any besides GOD*

ⁿ Some commentators interpret this of the children of Israel themselves, of whose race the prophets were But others say the souls of all the prophets, even of those who were not then born, were present on Mount Sinai, when GOD gave the law to Moses and that they entered into the covenant here mentioned with him A story borrowed by Mohammed from the Talmudists, and therefore most probably his true meaning in this place

^o See before, chap 2, p 9, note 7

shall in no wise be accepted from any of them, even though he should give it for his ransom, they shall suffer a grievous punishment, and they shall have none to help them * [IV] Ye will never attain unto righteousness until ye give in alms of that which ye love and whatever ye give, God knoweth it All food was permitted unto the children of Israel, except what Israel forbade unto himself,^p before the Pentateuch was sent down ^q Say unto the Jews, Bring hither the Pentateuch and read it, if ye speak truth Whoever therefore contriveth a lie against God after this, they will be evil doers Say, God is true follow ye therefore the religion of Abraham the orthodox, for he was no idolater Verily the first house appointed unto men to worship in was that which is in Becca,^r blessed, and a direction to all creatures ^s Therein are manifest signs ^t the place where Abraham stood, and whoever entereth therein, shall be safe And it is a duty towards God, incumbent on those who are able to go thither,^u to visit this house, but whosoever disbelieveth, verily God needeth not the service of any creature Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, why do ye not believe in the signs of God? Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, why do ye keep back from the way of God, him who believeth? Ye seek to make it crooked, and yet are witnesses that it is the right but God will not be unmindful of what ye do O true believers, if ye obey some of

^p This passage was revealed on the Jews reproaching Mohammed and his followers with their eating of the flesh and milk of camels,^q which they said was forbidden Abraham, whose religion Mohammed pretended to follow In answer to which he tells them that God ordained no distinction of meats before he gave the law to Moses though Jacob voluntarily abstained from the flesh and milk of camels, which some commentators say was the consequence of a vow made by that patriarch when afflicted with the sciatica that if he were cured he would eat no more of that meat which he liked best, and that was camels flesh but others suppose he abstained from it by the advice of physicians only ^s

This exposition seems to be taken from the children of Israel's not eating of the sinew on the hollow of the thigh because the angel with whom Jacob wrestled a Peniel touched the hollow of his thigh in the sinew that shrank ^t

^q Wherein the Israelites, because of their wickedness and perverseness, were forbidden to eat certain animals which had been allowed their predecessors ^r

^s Mohammed received this passage when the Jews said that their Kuba, or the temple of Jerusalem was more ancient than that of the Mohammedans or the Caaba.⁸ Becca is another name of Mecca ⁹ Al Beidawi observes that the Arabs used the M and B promiscuously in several words

^t i. e. The Kibla towards which they are to turn their faces in prayer

^u Such as the stone wherein they show the print of Abraham's feet and the inviolable security of the place immediately mentioned that the birds light not on the roof of the Kaaba, and wild beasts put off their fierceness there, that none who came against it in a hostile manner ever prospered ^v as appeared particularly in the unfortunate expedition of Abrahah al Ashram ^w and other fables of the same stamp which the Mohammedans are taught to believe

^x According to an exposition of this passage attributed to Mohammed, he is supposed to be able to perform the pilgrimage, who can supply himself with provisions for the journey and a beast to ride upon Al Shafei has decided that those who have money enough if they cannot go themselves, must hire some other to go in their room Malec Ibn Ans thinks he is to be reckoned able, who is strong and healthy, and can bear the fatigue of the journey on foot, if he has no beast to ride, and can also earn his living by the way But Abu Hanifa is of opinion that both money sufficient and health of body are requisite to make the pilgrimage a duty ^y

^q See Lev xi 4 Deut xiv 7 ^r Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin ^s Gen xxxii 82 ^t Koran, c. 4 See the notes there ^u Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin ^v See the Prelim. Disc. sect 1 ^w Jallalo'ddin, al Beidawi. ^x See Koran, c. 105 ^y Al Beidawi.

those who have received the scripture, they will render you infidels, after ye have believed,^{*} and how can ye be infidels, when the signs of GOD are read unto you, and his apostle is among you? But he who cleaveth firmly unto GOD, is already directed into the right way O believers, fear GOD with his true fear, and die not unless ye also be true believers.^{*} And cleave all of *you* unto the covenant[†] of GOD, and depart not *from it*, and remember the favour of GOD towards you since ye were enemies, and he reconciled your hearts, and ye became companions and brethren by his favour and ye were on the brink of a pit of fire, and he delivered you thence. Thus GOD declareth unto you his signs, that ye may be directed Let there be people among you, who invite to the best *religion*, and command that which is just, and forbid that which is evil, and they shall be happy And be not as they who are divided, and disagree *in matters of religion*,^{*} after manifest proofs have been brought unto them they shall suffer a great torment On the day of *resurrection* some faces shall become white, and *other* faces shall become black.^{*} And unto them whose faces shall become black, GOD *will say*, Have ye returned unto *your* unbelief, after he had believed? therefore taste the punishment, for that ye have been unbelievers but they whose faces shall become white *shall be* in the mercy of GOD, therein shall they remain for ever These are the signs of GOD we recite them unto thee with truth GOD will not deal unjustly with *his* creatures And to GOD *belongeth* whatever is in heaven and on earth, and to GOD shall *all* things return Ye are the best nation that hath been raised up unto mankind ye command that which is just, and ye forbid that which is unjust, and ye believe in GOD And if they who have received the scriptures had believed, it had surely been the better for

^{*} This passage was revealed on occasion of a quarrel excited between the tribes of al Aws and al Khazraj by one Shas Lbn Kais a Jew, who passing by some of both tribes as they were sitting and discoursing familiarly together and being inwardly vexed at the friendship and harmony which reigned among them on their embracing Mohammedism, whereas they had been for 120 years before, most inveterate and mortal enemies, though descendants of two brothers, in order to set them at variance sent a young man to sit down by them, directing him to relate the story of the battle of Boah (a place near Medina), wherein, after a bloody fight, al Aws had the better of Al Khazraj, and to repeat some verses on that subject. The young man executed his orders whereupon those of each tribe began to magnify themselves, and to reflect on and irritate the other, till at length they called to arms, and great numbers getting together on each side, a dangerous battle had ensued, if Mohammed had not stepped in and reconciled them by representing to them how much they would be to blame if they returned to paganism, and revived those animosities which Islam had composed and telling them, that what had happened was a trick of the devil to disturb their present tranquillity.[†]

^{*} "O believers! have a righteous fear of God, and ye will die in the faith — *Savary* Literally, *Hold fast by the cord of God* That is *Secure yourselves by adhering to Islam*, which is here metaphorically expressed by a *cord*, because it is a sure means of saving those who profess it from perishing hereafter, as holding by a rope is to prevent one's falling into a well, or other like place It is said that Mohammed used for the same reason to call the Koran, *Habl Allah al matin*, i. e. *the sure cord of God*.[†]

[†] i. e. As the Jews and Christians, who dispute concerning the unity of God, the future state, &c.[‡]

[‡] See the Prelim. Disc. sect. iv

them there are believers among them,^b but the greater part of them are transgressors. They shall not hurt you, unless with a *slight* hurt, and if they fight against you, they shall turn their backs to you, and they shall not be helped.^c They are smitten with vileness wheresoever they are found, unless *they obtain security by entering into a treaty with God, and a treaty with men* ^d and they draw on themselves indignation from God, and they are afflicted with poverty. This *they suffer*, because they disbelieved the signs of God, and slew the prophets unjustly, this, because they were rebellious, and transgressed. Yet they are not *all* alike there are of those who have received the scriptures, upright people,^e they meditate on the signs of God^f in the night season, and worship, they believe in God, and the last day, and command that which is just, and forbid that which is unjust, and zealously strive *to excel* in good works, these are of the righteous. And ye shall not be denied *the reward of* the good which ye do,^g for God knoweth the pious. As for the unbelievers, their wealth shall not profit them at all, neither their children, against God they *shall be* the companions of hell fire, they shall continue therein for ever. The likeness of that which they lay out in this present life,^h is as a wind wherein there is a scorching cold it falleth on the standing corn of those men who have injured their own souls, and destroyeth it. And God dealeth not unjustly with them, but they injure their own souls. O true believers, contract not an intimate friendship *with any* besides yourselves ⁱ they will not fail to corrupt you. They wish for that which may cause you to perish, their hatred hath already appeared from out of their mouths, but what their breasts conceal is yet more inveterate. We have already shown you signs *of their ill will towards you*, if ye understand. Behold ye love them, and they do not love you ye believe in all the scriptures, and when they meet you, they say, We believe, but when they assemble privately together, they bite their fingers' ends out of wrath against you. Say *unto them*, Die in your wrath, verily God knoweth the innermost part of *your* breasts. If good happen unto you, it grieveth them, and if evil befall you, they rejoice at it. But if ye be patient, and fear God, their subtlety shall not hurt you at all, for God comprehendeth whatever they do. *Call to mind* when thou wentest forth

^b As Abdallah Ibn Salam and his companions⁷ and those of the tribe of al Aʿẓā and al Khazraj who had embraced Mohammedism

^c This verse al Beidawī says is one of those whose meaning is mysterious and relates to something future intimating the low condition to which the Jewish tribes of Koraishah Naḡīr, Banu Kainokah, and those who dwelt at Khaibar were afterwards reduced by Mohammed

^d ^e Unless they either profess the Mohammedan religion or submit to pay tribute

^e Those namely who have embraced Islam

^f That is the Koran

^g Some copies have a different reading in this passage, which they express in the third person *They shall not be denied*, &c

^h "Their alms are like unto an icy wind, which bloweth on the fields of the perverse, and destroyeth their productions — Savary

ⁱ ^e Of a different religion.

early from thy family, that thou mightest prepare the faithful a camp for war,¹ and God heard and knew it, when two companies of you were anxiously thoughtful, so that ye became fainthearted,² but God was the supporter of them both, and in God let the faithful trust. And God had already given you the victory at Bedr,¹ when ye were inferior in number, therefore fear God, that ye may be thankful. When thou saidst unto the faithful, Is it not enough for you, that your LORD should assist you with three thousand angels, sent down from heaven? Verily if ye persevere and fear God, and your enemies come upon you suddenly, your LORD will assist you with five thousand angels, distinguished by their horses and attire.^m And thus God designed only as good tidings for youⁿ that your hearts might rest secure, for victory is from God alone, the mighty, the wise. That he should cut off the uttermost part of the unbelievers, or cast them down, or that they should be overthrown and unsuccessful,^{*} is nothing to thee. It is no business of thine, whether God be turned unto them, or whether he punish them, they are surely unjust doers.^o To God belongeth whatsoever is in heaven and on earth he spareth whom

This was the battle of Ohod, a mountain about four miles to the north of Medina. The Koreish, to revenge their loss at Bedr² the next year being the third of the Hejra, got together an army of 3000 men among whom there were 200 horse, and 700 armed with coats of mail. These forces marched under the conduct of Abu Sofian and sat down at Dhu l-holeifa a village about six miles from Medina. Mohammed being much inferior to his enemies in number, at first determined to keep himself within the town, and receive them there but afterwards the advice of some of his companions prevailing, he marched out against them at the head of 1000 men (some say he had 1050 men, others but 900), of whom 100 were armed with coats of mail, but he had no more than one horse besides his own in his whole army. With these forces he formed a camp in a village near Ohod which mountain he contrived to have on his back, and the better to secure his men from being surrounded, he placed 50 archers in the rear, with strict orders not to quit their post. When they came to engage, Mohammed had the better at first but afterwards by the fault of his archers, who left their ranks for the sake of the plunder and suffered the enemies horse to encompass the Mohammedans and attack them in the rear, he lost the day, and was very near losing his life, being struck down by a shower of stones and wounded in the face with two arrows, on pulling out of which, his two foreteeth dropped out. Of the Moslems 70 men were slain, and among them Hamza the uncle of Mohammed and of the infidels 22.^o To excuse the ill success of this battle, and to raise the drooping courage of his followers, is Mohammed's drift in the remaining part of this chapter.

¹ These were some of the families of Banu Salma of the tribe of al Khazraj and Banu l-Hareth of the tribe of al Aws who composed the two wings of Mohammed's army. Some ill impression had been made on them by Abdallah Ebn Obba Solul then an infidel who having drawn off 300 men, told them that they were going to certain death, and advised them to return back with him, but he could prevail on but a few, the others being kept firm by the divine influence, as the following words intimate.¹

¹ See before p. 36

^m The angels who assisted the Mohammedans at Bedr rode, say the commentators on black and white horses, and had on their heads white and yellow sashes, the ends of which hung down between their shoulders.

ⁿ i. e. As an earnest of future success.

^o "He, at his pleasure, can overthrow the infidels put them to flight, or exterminate them."—Savary

^o This passage was revealed when Mohammed received the wounds above mentioned at the battle of Ohod, and cried out, *How shall that people prosper who have stained their prophet's face with blood, while he called them to their Lord?* The person who wounded him was Otha the son of Abbu Wakkas.²

¹ See before, p. 36

² Abulfeda, in Vita Moham p. 64, &c

Elmacin 1. 1

Fr deaux's Life of Moh p. 80

¹ Al-Baidawi

² Idem. Abul ed ubi supra.

rejoiceth, and he punisheth whom he pleaseth, for God is merciful. O true believers, devour not usury, doubling it twofold, but fear God, that ye may prosper, and fear the fire which is prepared for the unbelievers, and obey God, and his apostle, that ye may obtain mercy. And run with emulation to obtain remission from your LORD, and paradise, whose breath *equalleth* the heavens and the earth, which is prepared for the godly, who give alms in prosperity and adversity, who bridle their anger and forgive men for God loveth the beneficent.^p And who, after they have committed a crime, or dealt unjustly with their own souls, remember God, and ask pardon for their sins, (for who forgiveth sins except God?) and persevere not in what they have done knowingly, their reward shall be paid on from their LORD, and gardens wherein rivers flow, they shall remain therein for ever and how excellent is the reward of those who labour! There have already been before you examples of punishment of *infidels*,^q therefore go through the earth, and behold what hath been the end of those who accuse *God's apostles* of imposture. This *bool* is a declaration unto men, and a direction and an admonition to the pious. And be not dismayed, neither be ye grieved, for ye shall be superior to the unbelievers if ye believe. If a wound hath happened unto you in war,^a a like wound hath already happened unto the *unbelieving* people^r and we cause these days of *different success* interchangeably to succeed each other among men, that God may know those who believe, and may have martyrs from among you (God loveth not the workers of iniquity,) and that God might prove those who believe, and destroy the infidels. Did ye imagine that ye should enter paradise, when as yet God knew not those among you who fought strenuously in his cause, nor knew those who persevered with patience? Moreover ye did sometime wish for death before that ye met it,^s but ye have now seen it, and ye looked on, but *retreated from it*. Mohammed is no more than an apostle, the other apostles have already deceased before him, if he die, therefore, or be slain, will ye turn back on your heels?^t but he who turneth back on his heels

^p It is related of Hasan the son of Ali that a slave having once thrown a dish on him boiling hot as he sat at table and fearing his master's resentment fell on his knees and repeated these words *Paradise is for those who bridle their anger*. Hasan answered *I am not angry*. The slave proceeded—and for those who forgive men *I forgive you* said Hasan. The slave however finished the verse, adding, *for God loveth the beneficent*. Since it is so replied Hasan *I give you your liberty, and four hundred pieces of silver*.^s A noble instance of moderation and generosity.

^q God had given precepts before thy time. Go through the earth, and behold what has been the end of those who accused us of falsehood.—*Savary*

^a That is by your being worsted at Ohod

^r When they were defeated at Bedr. It is observable that the number of Mohammedans slain at Ohod was equal to that of the idolaters slain at Bedr, which was so ordered by God for a reason to be given elsewhere.⁴

^s Several of Mohammed's followers who were not present at Bedr, wished for an opportunity of obtaining, in another action the like honour as those had gained who fell martyrs in that battle yet were discouraged on seeing the superior numbers of the idolaters in the expedition of Ohod. On which occasion this passage was revealed.⁵

^t These words were revealed when it was reported in the battle of Ohod, that

³ Vide D Herbelot, Bibl Orient Art Hassan

⁵ Al Beidawi

⁴ In not ad cap 8.

will not hurt God at all, and God will surely reward the thankful. No soul can die unless by the permission of God, according to *what is written in the book containing the determination of things.*¹ And whoso chooseth the reward of this world, we will give him thereof but whoso chooseth the reward of the world to come, we will give him thereof and we will surely reward the thankful. How many prophets have encountered those who had many myriads of troops? and yet they desponded not in their mind for what had befallen them in fighting for the religion of God, and were not weakened, neither behaved themselves in an abject manner. God loveth those who persevere patiently. And their speech was no other than what they said, Our LORD forgive us our offences, and our transgressions in our business, and confirm our feet, and help us against the unbelieving people. And God gave them the reward of this world, and a glorious reward in the life to come, for God loveth the well doers. O ye who believe, if you obey the infidels, they will cause you to turn back on your heels, and ye will be turned back and perish ² but God is your LORD, and he is the best helper. We will surely cast a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers,³ because they have associated with God that concerning which he sent them down no power: their dwelling shall be the fire of hell, and the receptacle of the wicked shall be miserable. God had already made good unto you his promise, when ye destroyed them by his permission,⁴ until ye became fainthearted, and disputed concerning the command of the apostle, and were rebellious,⁵ after God had shown you what ye desired. Some of you chose this present world, and others of you

Mohammed was slain whereupon the idolaters cried out to his followers, *Since your prophet is slain return to your ancient religion, and to your friends* if Mohammed had been a prophet he had not been slain. It is related that a Moslem named Ans Ebn al Nadar uncle to Malce Lbn Ans hearing these words said aloud to his companions, *My friends though Mohammed be slain, certainly Mohammed's Lord liveth and dieth not therefore value not your lives since the prophet is dead but fight for the cause for which he fought*, then he cried out O God, I am excuse I before thee and acquitted in thy sight of what they say, and drawing his sword fought valiantly till he was killed.⁶

¹ Mohammed the more effectually to still the murmurs of his party on their defeat, represents to them that the time of every man's death is decreed and predetermined by God, and that those who fell in the battle could not have avoided their fate had they staid at home, whereas they had now obtained the glorious advantage of dying martyrs for the faith. Of the Mohammedan doctrine of absolute predestination I have spoken in another place.

² This passage was also occasioned by the endeavours of the Koraish to seduce the Mohammedans to their old idolatry as they fled in the battle of Ohod.

³ To this Mohammed attributed the sudden retreat of Abu Sohan and his troops without making any further advantage of their success only giving Mohammed a challenge to meet them next year at Bedr, which he accepted. Others say, that as they were on their march home they repented they had not utterly extirpated the Mohammedans and began to think of going back to Medina for that purpose but were prevented by a sudden consternation or panic fear which fell on them from God.⁸

⁴ i. e. In the beginning of the battle when the Moslems had the advantage putting the idolaters to flight, and killing several of them.

⁵ That is, till the bow men, who were placed behind to prevent their being surrounded seeing the enemy fly quitted their post contrary to Mohammed's express orders and dispersed themselves to seize the plunder, whereupon Khaled al Walid, perceiving their disorder, fell on their rear with the horse which he commanded,

chose the world to come.^b Then he turned you *to flight* from before them, that he might make trial of you (but he hath now pardoned you for GOD is endued with beneficence towards the faithful,) when ye went up *as ye fled*, and looked not back on any * while the apostle called you,^c in the uttermost part of you. Therefore *God* rewarded you with affliction on affliction, that ye be not grieved *hereafter* for the *spoils* which ye fail of, nor for that which befalleth you,^d for GOD is well acquainted with whatever ye do. Then he sent down upon you after affliction security, a soft sleep which fell on some part of you, other part were troubled by their own souls,^e † falsely thinking of GOD a foolish imagination saying, Will any thing of the matter *happen* unto us? ‡ Say, Verily, the matter *belongeth* wholly unto GOD. They concealed in their minds what they declared not unto thee, saying,^f If any thing of the matter had happened unto us,^h we had not been slain here. Answer, If ye had been in your houses, verily they would have gone forth to fight, whose slaughter was decreed, to the places where they died, and *this came to pass* that GOD might try what was in your breasts, and might discern what was in your hearts, for GOD knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts of men. Verily they among you who turned their backs on the day whereon the two armies met each other at *Ohod*, Satan caused them to slip, for some *crime* which they had committed ⁱ but now hath GOD forgiven them, for GOD is gracious and merciful. O true believers, be not as they who believed not, and said

and turned the fortune of the day. It is related that though Abda'llah Ebn Johair their captain did all he could to make them keep their ranks he had not ten that staid with him out of the whole fifty.^g

^b The former were they who tempted by the spoil quitted their post, and the latter they who stood firm by their leader.

* When you took to disorderly flight you no longer listened to the voice of the apostle who called you back to the combat. Heaven chastised you for your disobedience. Let not your disgrace and the loss of booty, render you inconsolable. All your actions are known unto GOD. —*Savary*

^c Crying aloud *Come hither to me O servants of God I am the apostle of God he who returneth back shall enter paradise*. But notwithstanding all his endeavours to rally his men, he could not get above thirty of them about him.

^d *e* GOD punished your avarice and disobedience by suffering you to be beaten by your enemies and to be discouraged by the report of your prophet's death that ye might be inured to patience under adverse fortune, and not repine at any loss or disappointment for the future.

^e After the action those who had stood firm in the battle were refreshed as they lay in the field by falling into an agreeable sleep, so that the swords fell out of their hands, but those who had behaved themselves ill were troubled in their minds, imagining they were now given over to destruction.¹

† 'After this disastrous event GOD caused security and slumber to descend upon a part of you. The others, disturbed in mind dared, in their wild imaginations to attribute falsehood unto GOD. Are these said they, the promises of the prophet? Answer to them The Highest is the author of this calamity. —*Savary*

^f That is Is there any appearance of success, or of the divine favour and assistance which we have been promised?²

^g *e* To themselves, or to one another in private.

^h If GOD had assisted us according to his promise, or, as others interpret the words, if we had taken the advice of Abda'llah Ebn Obba Soldi, and had kept within the town of Medina, our companions had not lost their lives.³

ⁱ viz For their covetousness in quitting their post to seize the plunder.

^g Al Beidawi. Vide Abulfed Vit Moh p 65, 66, et not. ih. Jallalo ddin. ² Idem. ³ Idem.

¹ Al Beidawi.

of their brethren, when they had journeyed in the land or had been at war, If they had been with us, those had not died, nor had these been slain *whereas what befell them was so ordained* that God might make it *matter of sighing* in their hearts. God giveth life, and causeth to die and God seeth that which ye do. Moreover if ye be slain, or die in defence of the religion of God, verily pardon from God, and mercy is better than what they heap together *of worldly riches*. And if ye die, or be slain, verily unto God shall ye be gathered. And as to the mercy *anted unto the disobedient* from God, thou, O Mohammed, hast been mild towards them, but if thou hadst been severe, and hard hearted, they had surely separated themselves from about thee. Therefore forgive them, and ask pardon for them and consult them in the affair *of war*, and after thou hast deliberated, trust in God, for God loveth those who trust in him. If God help you, none shall conquer you, but if he desert you, who is it that will help you after him? Therefore in God let the faithful trust. It is not *the part* of a prophet to defraud, for he who defraudeth shall bring with him what he hath defrauded *any one of* on the day of the resurrection.¹ Then shall every soul be paid what he hath gained, and they shall not be treated unjustly. Shall he therefore who followeth that which is well pleasing unto God be as he who bringeth on himself wrath from God, and whose receptacle is hell? an evil journey shall it be *thither*. I here shall be degrees *of rewards and punishments* with God, for God seeth what they do. Now hath God been gracious unto the believers, when he raised up among them an apostle of their own nation,^m who should recite his signs unto them, and purify them, and teach them the book *of the Koran* and wisdom,ⁿ whereas they were before in manifest error. After a misfortune had befallen you at Ohod (ye had already obtained two equal advantages^o) do ye say, Whence cometh this? Answer, This is from yourselves.^p for God is almighty. And what happened unto you, on the day whereon the two armies met, was certainly by the permission of God, and that he might know the ungodly. It was said unto them, Come, fight

* This passage was revealed, as some say, on the division of the spoil at Bedr, when some of the soldiers suspected Mohammed of having privately taken a scarlet carpet made all of silk and very rich which was missing.⁴ Others suppose the archers who occasioned the loss of the battle of Ohod left their station because they imagined Mohammed would not give them their share of the plunder, because as it is related, he once sent out a party as an advanced guard, and in the mean time attacking the enemy, took some spoils which he divided among those who were with him in the action, and gave nothing to the party that was absent on duty.⁵

¹ According to a tradition of Mohammed, whoever cheateth another will, on the day of judgment, carry his fraudulent purchase publicly on his neck.

^m Some copies instead of *mun anfasilum*, i. e. *of themselves*, read *mun anfasilum* i. e. *of the noblest among them*, for such was the tribe of Koreish, of which Mohammed was descended.⁶

ⁿ i. e. The Sonna.

^o viz In the battle of Bedr, where he slew seventy of the enemy, equalling the number of those who lost their lives at Ohod, and also took as many prisoners.⁷

^p It was the consequence of your disobeying the orders of the prophet, and abandoning your post for the sake of plunder.

⁴ Al Beidawi, Jallalo ddin

⁵ Al Beidawi

⁶ Idem

⁷ Idem.

⁸ See before, p. 36

for the religion of God, or drive back *the enemy* they answered, If we had known *ye went out* to fight, we had certainly followed you ^a They were on that day nearer unto unbelief than they were to faith, they spake with their mouths, what was not in their hearts but GOD perfectly knew what they concealed, who said of their brethren, *while themselves stayed at home*, If they had obeyed me, they had not been slain. Say, Then keep back death from yourselves, if ye say truth Thou shalt in no wise reckon those who have been slain *at Ohod*, in the cause of God, dead, nay, they are sustained alive with their LORD,^f rejoicing for what GOD of his favour hath granted them, and being glad for those, who coming after them, have not as yet overtaken them,^g because there shall no fear come on them neither shall they be grieved. They are filled with joy for the favour *which they have received* from God and *his* bounty, and for that GOD suffereth not the reward of the faithful to perish They who hearkened unto GOD and *his* apostle, after a wound had befallen them *at Ohod*,^h such of them as do good works, and fear God, shall have a great reward, unto whom *certain* men said, Verily the men of *Mecca* have already gathered *forces* against you, be ye therefore afraid of them ^u but *this* increased their faith, and they said, GOD is our support, and the most excellent patron

^a That is if we had conceived the least hopes of success when ye marched out of Medina to encounter the infidels, and had not known that ye went rather to certain destruction than to battle we had gone with you But this Mohammed here tells them was only a feigned excuse the true reason of their *staying* behind being their want of faith and firmness in their religion ^g

^f See before p 18

^g : e Rejoicing also for their sakes, who are destined to suffer martyrdom, but have not as yet attained it ^h

^h The commentators differ a little as to the occasion of this passage When news was brought to Mohammed, after the battle of Ohod that the enemy repenting of their retreat, were returning towards Medina, he called about him those who had stood by him in the battle and marched out to meet the enemy as far as Homara al Asad about eight miles from that town notwithstanding that several of his men were so ill of their wounds that they were forced to be carried but a panic fear having seized the army of the Koreish they changed their resolution and continued their march home, of which Mohammed having received intelligence he also went back to Medina and according to some commentators the Koran here approves the faith and courage of those who attended the prophet on this occasion Others say the persons intended in this passage were those who went with Mohammed the next year to meet Abu Sofian and the Koreish according to their challenge, at Bedr² where they waited some time for the enemy, and then returned home for the Koreish though they set out from Mecca yet never came so far as the place of appointment their hearts failing, them on their march which Mohammed attributed to their being struck with a terror from God ^u This expedition the Arabian histories call the *second or lesser expedition of Bedr*

^u The persons who thus endeavoured to discourage the Mohammedans were, according to one tradition, some of the tribe of Abd Kais, who going to Medina were bribed by Abu Sofian with a camel's load of dried raisins, and according to another tradition, it was Noam Ebn Masud al Ashjai who was also bribed with a she camel ten months gone with young (a valuable present in Arabia) This Noam, they say, finding Mohammed and his men preparing for the expedition, told them that Abu Sofian, to spare them the pains of coming so far as Bedr, would seek them in their own houses, and that none of them could possibly escape otherwise than by timely flight Upon which Mohammed, seeing his followers a little dispirited, swore that he would go himself though not one of them went with him And accordingly he set out with seventy horsemen, every one of them crying out *Hashia Allah*, i e *God is our support* ⁴

² Al Beidawi ¹ Vide Revel vi. 11 - See before, p 52, note y ³ Al Beidawi

⁴ Idem. Jallalo ddin.

Wherefore they returned with favour from God, and advantage ^x no evil befell them and they followed what was well pleasing unto God for God is endowed with great liberality Verily that devil ^y would cause you to fear his friends but be ye not afraid of them, but fear me, if ye be true believers. They shall not grieve thee, who emulously hasten unto infidelity, for they shall never hurt God at all God will not give them a part in the next life, and they shall suffer a great punishment. Surely those who purchase infidelity with faith ^z shall by no means hurt God at all, but they shall suffer a grievous punishment. And let not the unbelievers think, because we grant them lives long and prosperous, that it is better for their souls we grant them long and prosperous lives only that their iniquity may be increased, and they shall suffer an enormous punishment. God is not *disposed* to leave the faithful in the condition which ye are now in, ^a until he sever the wicked from the good, [†] nor is God *disposed* to make you acquainted with what is a hidden secret, but God chooseth such of his apostles as he pleaseth, *to reveal his mind unto* ^b believe therefore in God and his apostles, and if ye believe, and fear God, ye shall receive a great reward. And let not those who are covetous of what God of his bounty hath granted them imagine that *their avarice* is better for them nay, rather it is wiser for them That which they have covetously reserved shall be bound as a collar about their neck, ^b on the day of the resurrection unto God *belongeth* the inheritance of heaven and earth, and God is well acquainted with what ye do God hath already heard the saying of those who said, Verily God is poor, and we are rich ^c we will surely write down what they have said, and the slaughter which they have made of the prophets without a cause, and we will say *unto them*, Taste ye the pain of burning This *shall they suffer* for the evil which their hands have sent before them, and because God is not unjust towards mankind, who *also* say, Surely God hath commanded us, that we should not give credit to *any* apostle, until *one* should come unto us with a sacrifice, which should

^x While they staid at Bedr expecting the enemy, they opened a kind of fan there, and traded to a very considerable profit ^b

^y Meaning either Noam, or Abu Sohan himself

^z "Those who apostatize from interest do not limit the Highest Hell shall be their abode — *Savary*

That is he will not suffer the good and sincere among you to continue indiscriminately mixed with the wicked and hypocritical

[†] "God leaveth the believers in the state which they now are, only till he shall have discriminated the wicked from the righteous — *Savary*

^a This passage was revealed on the rebellious and disobedient Mohammedans telling Mohammed, that if he was a true prophet, he could easily distinguish those who sincerely believed from the dissemblers

^b Mohammed is said to have declared that whoever pays not his legal contributions of alms duly shall have a serpent twisted about his neck at the resurrection ⁷

^c It is related that Mohammed writing to the Jews of the tribe of Kainoka to invite them to Islam, and exhorting them among other things in the words of the Koran, ⁸ *to lend unto God on good usury* Phineas Ebn Azûra on hearing that expression said *Surely God is poor, since they ask to borrow for him* Whereupon Abu Becr, who was the bearer of that letter, struck him on the face, and told him that, if it had not been for the truce between them, he would have struck off his head and on Phineas's complaining to Mohammed of Abu Becr's ill usage, this passage was revealed ⁹

be consumed by fire.^d Say, Apostles have already come unto you before me,^e with plain proofs, and with the *miracle* which ye mention why therefore have ye slain them, if ye speak truth? If they accuse thee of imposture, the apostles before thee have also been accounted impostors who brought evident demonstrations, and the scriptures, and the book which enlighteneth *the understanding* Every soul shall taste of death, and ye shall have your reward on the day of resurrection, and he who shall be far removed from *hell* fire, and shall be admitted into paradise, shall be happy but the present life is only a deceitful provision.* Ye shall surely be proved in your possessions, and *in* your persons, and ye shall bear from those unto whom the scripture was delivered before you, and from the idolaters, much hurt but if ye be patient and fear *God*, this is a matter that is absolutely determined And when God accepted the covenant of those to whom the book *of the law* was given, *saying*, Ye shall surely publish it unto mankind, ye shall not hide it yet they threw it behind their backs, and sold it for a small price, but woeful *is the price* for which they have sold *it*^f Think not that they who rejoice at what they have done, and expect to be praised for what they have not done,^g think not, *O prophet*, that they shall escape from punishment, for they shall suffer a painful punishment, and unto God *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth God is almighty Now in the creation of heaven and earth, and the vicissitude of night and day, are signs unto

^d The Jews say the commentators insisted that it was a peculiar proof of the mission of all the prophets sent to them that they could by their prayers, bring down fire from heaven to consume the sacrifice and therefore they expected Mohammed should do the like And some Mohammedan doctors agree that God appointed this miracle as the test of all their prophets, except only Jesus and Mohammed,¹ though others say any other miracle was a proof full as sufficient as the bringing down fire from heaven²

The Arabian Jews seem to have drawn a general consequence from some particular instances of this miracle in the Old Testament³ And the Jews at this day say, that first the fire which fell from heaven on the altar of the tabernacle⁴ after the consecration of Aaron and his sons, and afterwards that which descended on the altar of Solomon's temple at the dedication of that structure⁵ was fed and constantly maintained there by the priests both day and night without being suffered once to go out till it was extinguished, as some think, in the reign of Manasses⁶ but according to the more received opinion when the temple was destroyed by the Chaldeans Several Christians⁷ have given credit to this assertion of the Jews with what reason I shall not here inquire, and the Jews in consequence of this notion might probably expect, that a prophet who came to restore God's true religion should rekindle for them this heavenly fire, which they had not been favoured with since the Babylonish captivity

* Among these the commentators reckon Zacharias and John the Baptist

^e "Human life is no more than a deceitful enjoyment. —*Savary*

^f *e* Dearly shall they pay hereafter for taking bribes to stifle the truth *Whoever concealeth the knowledge which God has given him, says Mohammed, God shall put on him a bridle of fire on the day of resurrection*

^g *e* Who think they have done a commendable deed in concealing and dissembling the testimonies in the Pentateuch concerning Mohammed, and in disobeying God's commands to the contrary It is said that Mohammed once asking some Jews concerning a passage in their law, they gave him an answer very different from the truth and were mightily pleased that they had, as they thought, deceived him Others however think this passage relates to some pretended Mohammedans who rejoiced in their hypocrisy, and expected to be commended for their wickedness.⁸

¹ Jallalo'ddin ² Al Beidawi ³ Lev ix. 24 1 Chron xxi. 26. 2 Chron. vii. 1 1 Kings xviii. 38 ⁴ Lev ix. 24. ⁵ 2 Chron vii. 1 ⁶ Ialmud, Zebachin, c. 6. ⁷ See Pridesaux's Connect. part 1, book 3, p. 158 ⁸ Al Beidawi

† use who are endued with understanding, who remember God standing and sitting, and *lying* on their sides,^b and meditate on the creation of heaven and earth, *saying*, O LORD, thou hast not created this in vain, far be it from thee therefore deliver us from the torment of *hell* fire O LORD, surely whom thou shalt throw into the fire, thou wilt also cover with shame nor shall the ungodly have any to help them. O LORD, we have heard a preacherⁱ inviting us to the faith *and saying*, Believe in your LORD and we believed. O LORD, forgive us therefore our sins, and expiate our evil deeds from us, and make us to die with the righteous. O LORD, give us also the reward which thou hast promised by thy apostles, and cover us not with shame on the day of resurrection, for thou art not contrary to the promise * Their LORD therefore answered them, *saying*, I will not suffer the work of him among you who worketh to be lost, whether he be male, or female ^k the one of you is from the other They therefore who have left their country, and have been turned out of their houses, and have suffered for my sake, and have been slain in battle, verily I will expiate their evil deeds from them, and I will surely bring them into gardens watered by rivers, a reward from God, and with God is the most excellent reward Let not the prosperous dealing of the unbelievers in the land deceive thee,^l *it is but a slender provision,*^m and then their receptacle shall be hell, an unhappy couch *shall it be* But they who fear the LORD shall have gardens through which rivers flow, they shall continue therein for ever this is the gift of God, † for what is with God shall be better for the righteous *than shortlived worldly prosperity* There are some of those who have received the scriptures, who believe in God, and that which hath been sent down unto you, and that which hath been sent down to them, submitting themselves unto God,ⁿ they sell not the signs of God for a small

^b viz At all times and in all postures Al Baidawi mentions a saying of Mohammed to one Imran Ebn Hosein, to this purpose *pray standing, if thou art able if not, sitting and if thou canst not sit up then as thou liest along* Af Shafai directs that the sick should pray lying on their right side

ⁱ Namely Mohammed with the Koran

* "Since thou failest not in thy promises — *Savary*

^k These words were added as some relate on Omm Salma, one of the prophet's wives, telling him that she had observed God often made mention of the men who fled their country for the sake of their faith but took no notice of the women^o

^l The original word properly signifies success in the affairs of life and particularly in trade It is said that some of Mohammed's followers observing the prosperity the idolaters enjoyed, expressed their regret that those enemies of God should live in such ease and plenty while themselves were perishing for hunger and fatigue, whereupon this passage was revealed¹

^m Because of its short continuance

† "They who fear the Lord shall dwell in the gardens of delights They shall dwell in them eternally They shall be the guests of the Lord Who is more able than he to load with favours the just? — *Savary*

ⁿ The persons here meant, some will have to be Abdallah Ebn Salam² and his companions others suppose they were forty Arabs of Najran or thirty two Ethiopians or else eight Greeks, who were converted from Christianity to Mohammedism and others say this passage was revealed in the ninth year of the Hijra when Mohammed on Gabriel's bringing him the news of the death of Ashama km. of Ethiopia who had embraced the Mohammedan religion some years before³ prayed for the soul of the departed, at which some of his hypocritical followers were

^o Al Baidawi.

¹ Idem.

² See before, p 45.

³ See the Prelim. Disc. sect. II.

price, these shall have their reward with their LORD, for GOD is swift in taking an account.* O true believers, be patient, and strive to excel in patience, and be constant-minded, and fear GOD, that ye may be happy

CHAPTER IV

INTITLED, WOMEN,^p REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

O MEN, fear your LORD, who hath created you out of one man, and out of him created his wife, and from them two hath multiplied many men and women * and fear GOD by whom ye beseech one another,^a and *respect women^r who have borne you*, for GOD is watching over you. And give the orphans *when they come to age* their substance, and render *them* not in exchange bad for good ^a and devour not their substance, *by adding it* to your own substance, for this is a great sin. And if ye fear that ye shall not act with equity towards orphans *of the female sex*,^{*} take in marriage of such *other* women as please you, two, or three, or four, *and not more^t*

displeased, and wondered that he should pray for a Christian proselyte whom he had never seen ^t

See before p 24 and the Preliminary Discourse, sect iv

^p This title was given to this chapter, because it chiefly treats of matters relating to women as, marriages, divorces, dower prohibited degrees &c

* "Mortals! fear the Lord who created you all from one man of whom he formed a woman and who has covered the earth with their posterity Fear the Lord in the name of whom ye beseech each other Revere the ties of consanguinity God observeth your actions —*Savary*

^a Saying I beseech thee for God's sake ^t

^r Literally *the wombs*

^s That is take not what ye find of value among their effects to your own use, and give them worse in its stead

* 'If ye fear to be unjust unto orphans, fear also to be unjust unto your wives Marry only two, three, or four ^t

^t The commentators understand this passage differently The true meaning seems to be, as it is here translated Mohammed advising his followers that if they found they should wrong the female orphans under their care, either by marrying them against their inclinations for the sake of their riches or beauty or by not using or maintaining them so well as they ought by reason of their having already several wives they should rather choose to marry other women to avoid all occasion of sin Others say that, when this passage was revealed, many of the Arabians, fearing trouble and temptation refused to take upon them the charge of orphans, and yet multiplied wives to a great excess and used them ill, or, as others write, gave themselves up to fornication which occasioned the passage. And according to these its meaning must be either that if they feared they could not act justly towards orphans, they had as great reason to apprehend they could not deal equitably with so many wives, and therefore are commanded to marry but a certain number, or else that since fornication was a crime as well as a wronging of orphans, they ought to avoid that also, by marrying, according to their abilities ^t

^a Al Beidawi. ^s Idem

^t "When this verse was sent down from heaven the greatest part of the Arabs had each of them eight or ten wives, and they often treated them badly Polygamy has always been established in the east. Mahomet restrained it within narrower bound. —*Savary*

^r Al Beidawi.

^s Idem. Jallalo'ddin.

But if ye fear that ye cannot act equitably towards so many, marry one only, or the slaves which ye shall have acquired.^u This will be easier, that ye swerve not from righteousness. And give women their dowry freely, but if they voluntarily remit unto you any part of it, enjoy it with satisfaction and advantage. And give not unto those who are weak of understanding the substance which God hath appointed you to preserve for them, but maintain them thereout, and clothe them, and speak kindly unto them. And examine the orphans^x until they attain the age of marriage^y but if ye perceive they are able to manage their affairs well, deliver their substance unto them, and waste it not extravagantly, or hastily,^z because they grow up.^a Let him who is rich abstain entirely from the orphans estates, and let him who is poor take thereof according to what shall be reasonable.^b And when ye deliver their substance unto them call witnesses thereof in their presence. God taketh sufficient account of your actions. Men ought to have a part of what their parents and kindred leave behind them when they die and women also ought to have a part of what their parents and kindred leave,^b whether it be little, or whether it be much, a determinate part is due to them. And when they who are of kin are present at the dividing of what is left, and also the orphans, and the poor, distribute unto them some part thereof, and if the estate be too small, at least speak comfortably unto them. And let those fear to abuse orphans, who if they leave behind them a weak offspring, are solicitous for them. Let them therefore fear God, and speak that which is convenient.^c Surely they who devour the possessions of orphans unjustly shall swallow down nothing but fire into their bellies, and shall broil in raging flames. God hath thus commanded you concerning your children. A male shall have as much as the share of two females,^d but if they be females only and above two in number, they shall have two third parts of what the deceased shall leave,^e and if there be but

^u For slaves requiring not so large a dowry, nor so good and plentiful a maintenance as free women, a man might keep several of the former, as easily as one of the latter.

^x & ^y Try whether they be well grounded in the principles of religion and have sufficient prudence for the management of their affairs. Under this expression is also comprehended the duty of a curator instructing his pupils in those respects.

^y Or age of maturity, which is generally reckoned to be fifteen, a decision supported by a tradition of their prophet, though Abu Hamifah thinks eighteen the proper age.^z

^a Beware of dissipating it by prodigality, or by hastening to entrust them with it, when they are too young. — *Savary*

^b & ^c Because they will shortly be of age to receive what belongs to them.

^d That is, no more than what shall make sufficient recompense for the trouble of their education.¹

^e This law was given to abolish a custom of the pagan Arabs, who suffered not women or children to have any part of their husbands or fathers inheritance, on pretence that they only should inherit who were able to go to war.¹

^z Either to comfort the children, or to assure the dying father they shall be justly dealt by.²

^a This is the general rule to be followed in the distribution of the estate of the deceased, as may be observed in the following cases.³

^b Or if there be two and no more, they will have the same share.

one, she shall have the half^f And the parents of *the deceased* shall have each of them a sixth part of what he shall leave, if he have a child, but if he have no child, and his parents be his heirs, then his mother shall have the third part^g And if he have brethren, his mother shall have a sixth part after the legacies^h which he shall bequeath, and his debts *be paid* Ye know not whether your parents or your children be of greater use unto you *This is an ordinance from God*, and God is knowing and wise Moreover ye may claim half of what your wives shall leave, if they have no issue, but if they have issue, then ye shall have the fourth part of what they shall leave, after the legacies which they shall bequeath, and the debts *be paid*. They also shall have the fourth part of what ye shall leave, in case ye have no issue, but if ye have issue, then they shall have the eighth part of what ye shall leave, after the legacies which ye shall bequeath, and your debts *be paid* And if a man or woman's *substance* be inherited by a distant relation,ⁱ and he or she have a brother or sister, each of them two shall have a sixth part of the estate^k But if there be more than this number, they shall be equal sharers in a third part, after payment of the legacies which shall be bequeathed, and the debts, without prejudice to the heirs *This is an ordinance from God* and God is knowing and gracious These are the statutes of God And whoso obeyeth God and his apostle, *God* shall lead him into gardens wherein rivers flow, they shall continue there in for ever, and this shall be great happiness. But whoso disobeyeth God and his apostle, and transgresseth his statutes, *God* shall cast him into *hell* fire, he shall remain therein for ever, and he shall suffer a shameful punishment. If any of your women be guilty of whoredom,^l produce four witnesses from among you against them, and if they bear witness *against them*, imprison them in *separate* apartments until death release them, or God affordeth them a way to *escape*^m And if two

^f And the remaining third part, or the remaining moiety of the estate which is not here expressly disposed of if the deceased leaves behind him no son, nor a father goes to the public treasury It must be observed, that Mr Selden is certainly mistaken, when, in explaining this passage of the Koran, he says, that where there is a son and an only daughter, each of them will have a moiety ^g for the daughter can have a moiety but in one case only that is, where there is no son for if there be a son, she can have but a third, according to the above mentioned rule

^h And his father consequently the other two thirds^g

^h By *legacies* in this and the following passages are chiefly meant those bequeathed to pious uses for the Mohammedans approve not of a person's giving away his substance from his family and near relations on any other account

ⁱ For this may happen by contract, or on some other special occasion

^k Here, and in the next case the brother and sister are made equal sharers, which is an exception to the general rule, of giving a male twice as much as a female, and the reason is said to be because of the smallness of the portions which deserve not such exactness of distribution for in other cases the rule holds between brother and sister, as well as other relations^g

^l Either adultery or fornication

^m Their punishment in the beginning of Mohammedism was to be immured till they died, but afterwards this cruel doom was mitigated, and they might avoid it

of you commit the like wickedness,² punish them both * but if they repent and amend, let them both alone, for GOD is easy to be reconciled and merciful. Verily repentance *will be accepted* with GOD from those who do evil ignorantly, and then repent speedily, unto them will GOD be turned for GOD is knowing and wise But no repentance *shall be accepted* from those who do evil until *the time* when death presenteth itself unto one of them, and he saith, Verily I repent now, nor unto those who die unbelievers, for them have we prepared a grievous punishment O true believers, it is not lawful for you to be heirs of women against their will,³ nor to hinder them from marrying others,⁴ that ye may take away part of what ye have given them *in dowry*, unless they have been guilty of a manifest crime ⁵ but converse kindly with them. And if ye hate them it may happen that ye may hate a thing wherein GOD hath placed much good If ye be desirous to exchange a wife for *another* wife,⁶ and ye have already given one of them a talent ⁷ take not away any thing therefrom ⁸ will ye take it by *slandering her*, and *doing her* manifest injustice? And how can ye take it, since the one of you hath gone in unto the other, and they have received from you a firm covenant? Marry not women whom your fathers have had to wife, (except what is already past) for this is uncleanness, and an abomination, and an evil way Ye are forbidden to *marry* your mothers, and your daughters, and your sisters, and your aunts both on the

by undergoing the punishment ordained in its stead by the Sonna according to which the maidens are to be scourged with a hundred stripes, and to be banished for a full year, and the married women to be stoned

² The commentators are not agreed whether the text speaks of fornication or so domy Al Zamakhshari, and from him al Beidawi supposes the former is here meant but Jallalo'ddin is of opinion that the crime intended in this passage must be committed between two men and not between a man and a woman, not only because the pronouns are in the masculine gender but because both are ordered to suffer the same slight punishment and are both allowed the same repentance and indulgence and especially for that a different and much severer punishment is appointed for the women in the preceding words Abul Kasem Hebatallah takes simple fornication to be the crime intended and that this passage is abrogated by that of the 24th chapter, where the man and the woman who shall be guilty of fornication are ordered to be scourged with a hundred stripes each

³ The original is, *Do them some hurt or damage* by which some understand that they are only to reproach them in public,⁶ or strike them on the head with their slippers,⁹ (a great indignity in the east,) though some imagine they may be scourged ¹

⁴ It was customary among the pagan Arabs when a man died, for one of his relations to claim a right to his widow which he asserted by throwing his garment over her and then he either married her himself, if he thought fit on assigning her the same dower that her former husband had done or kept her dower and married her to another, or else refused to let her marry unless she redeemed herself by quitting what she might claim of her husband's goods ⁵ This unjust custom is abolished by this passage

⁶ Some say these words are directed to husbands who used to imprison their wives without any just cause, and out of covetousness, merely to make them relinquish their dower or their inheritance ⁷

⁸ Such as disobedience ill behaviour immodesty, and the like ⁴

⁹ That is, by divorcing one, and marrying another

¹ i. e. Ever so large a dower

² See chap 2 p 27, 28.

fathers and on the mother's side, and your brother's daughters, and your sister's daughters, and your mothers who have given you suck, and your foster sisters, and your wives' mothers, and your daughters-in-law which are under your tuition, *born* of your wives unto whom ye have gone in, (but if ye have not gone into them, it shall be no sin in you to marry them,) and the wives of your sons who *proceed* out of your loins, and ye are also *forbidden* to take to wife two sisters,² except what is already passed for God is gracious and merciful. **[V]* Ye are also *forbidden* to take to wife free women who are married, except those women whom your right hands shall possess as slaves.³ This is ordained you from God. Whatever is beside this, is allowed you, that ye may with your substance provide *wives* for yourselves, acting that which is right, and avoiding whoredom. And for the advantage which ye receive from them, give them their reward,⁴ according to what is ordained but it shall be no crime in you to make any other agreement among yourselves,⁵ after the ordinance *shall be complied with*, for God is knowing and wise. Whoso among you hath not means sufficient that he may marry free women, who are believers, let him marry with such of your maid servants whom your right hands possess, as are true believers, for God well knoweth your faith. Ye are the one from the other⁶ therefore marry them with the consent of their masters, and give them their dower according to justice, *such as are modest*, not guilty of whoredom, nor entertaining lovers. And when they are married, if they be guilty of adultery, they shall suffer half the punishment which is appointed for the free women.⁷ This is allowed unto him among you, who feareth to sin by marrying free women, but if ye abstain from marrying slaves it will be better for you, God is gracious and merciful. God is willing to declare these things unto you, and to direct you according to the ordinances of those who have gone before you,⁸ and to be merciful unto you. God is knowing and wise. God desireth to be gracious unto you, but they who follow their lusts,⁹ desire that ye should turn aside from the

² The same was also prohibited by the Levitical law⁵

³ According to this passage it is not lawful to marry a free woman that is already married, be she a Mohammedan or not, unless she be legally parted from her husband by divorce but it is lawful to marry those who are slaves, or taken in war, after they shall have gone through the proper purifications though their husbands be living. Yet, according to the decision of Abu Hanifah, it is not lawful to marry such whose husbands shall be taken or in actual slavery with them.⁶

⁴ That is, assign them their dower

⁵ That is, either to increase the dower, or to abate some part or even the whole of it.

⁶ Being alike descended from Adam, and of the same faith⁷

⁷ The reason of this is because they are not presumed to have had so good education. A slave, therefore, in such a case is to have fifty stripes, and to be banished for half a year, but she shall not be stoned, because it is a punishment which cannot be inflicted by halves.⁸

⁸ viz Of the prophets, and other holy and prudent men of former ages.⁹

⁹ Some commentators suppose that these words have a particular regard to the Magians, who formerly were frequently guilty of incestuous marriages, their prophet Zerdusht having allowed them to take their mothers and sisters to wife, and also to the Jews, who likewise might marry within some of the degrees here prohibited.¹

truth with great deviation. GOD is minded to make *his religion* light unto you for man was created weak.^f O true believers, consume not your wealth among yourselves in vanity,^g unless there be merchandizing among you by mutual consent: neither slay yourselves,^h for GOD is merciful towards you: and whoever doth this maliciouslyⁱ and wickedly, he will surely cast him to be broiled in *hell* fire, and this is easy with GOD. If ye turn aside from the grievous sins,^k of those which ye are forbidden to commit, we will cleanse you from your *smaller* faults, and will introduce you into *paradise* with an honourable entry. Covet not that which GOD hath bestowed on some of you preferably to others.^l Unto the men *shall be given* a portion of what they shall have gained, and unto the women *shall be given* a portion of what they shall have gained.^m therefore ask GOD of his bounty: for GOD is omniscient. We have appointed unto every one kindred, to *inherit* part of what their parents and relations shall leave at their deaths. And unto those with whom your right hands have made an alliance, give their part of *the inheritance*,ⁿ for GOD is witness of all things. Men shall have the pre-eminence above women, because of those *advantages* wherein GOD hath caused the one of them to excel the other,^o and for that which they expend of their substance in *maintaining their wives*. The honest women *are* obedient, careful in the absence of their

^f Being unable to refrain from women: and too subject to be led away by carnal appetites.²

^g That is, employ it not in things prohibited by GOD, such as usury, extortion, rapine, gaming, and the like.³

^h Literally, *slay not your souls*, &c. says Jallalo ddin, by committing mortal sins or such crimes as will destroy them. Others however are of opinion that self murder, which the gentile Indians did and still do: often practise in honour of their idols, or else the taking away the life of any true believer, is hereby forbidden.⁴

ⁱ See Wisdom, xvi. 14. in the vulgate.

^k These sins, al Beidawi, from a tradition of Mohammed, reckons to be seven (equalling in number the sins called deadly by Christians), that is to say: idolatry, murder, falsely accusing modest women of adultery, wasting the substance of orphans, taking of usury, desertion in a religious expedition, and disobedience to parents. But Ebn Abbas says they amount to near seven hundred, and others suppose that idolatry only of different kinds, in worshipping idols or any creature either in opposition to, or jointly with the true GOD is here intended, that sin being generally esteemed by Mohammedans, and in a few lines after declared by the Koran itself, to be the only one which GOD will not pardon.⁵

^l Such as honour, power, riches and other worldly advantages. Some however understand this of the distribution of inheritances according to the preceding determinations, whereby some have a larger share than others.⁶

^m That is, they shall be blessed according to their deserts, and ought therefore, in case of displeasing GOD by envying of others, to endeavour to merit his favour by good works, and to apply to him by prayer.

ⁿ A precept conformable to an old custom of the Arabs, that where persons mutually entered into a strict friendship or confederacy, the surviving friend should have a sixth part of the deceased's estate. But this was afterwards abrogated, according to Jallalo ddin and Zamakhshari, at least as to infidels. The passage may likewise be understood of a private contract, whereby the survivor is to inherit a certain part of the substance of him that dies first.⁷

^o Such as superior understanding and strength, and the other privileges of the male sex, which enjoys the dignities in church and state, goes to war in defence of GOD's true religion, and claims a double share of their deceased ancestors' estates.⁸

² Al Beidawi, Jallalo ddin. ³ Idem. ⁴ Al Beidawi. ⁵ Idem. See before, chap. 2 p. 11. ⁶ Idem. Jallalo ddin. ⁷ Vide Al Beidawi. ⁸ Idem.

husbands,^p for that God preserveth *them*, by committing them to the care and protection of the men.* But those, whose perverseness ye shall be apprehensive of, rebuke, and remove them into separate apartments,^q and chastise them^r But if they shall be obedient unto you, seek not an occasion of quarrel against them for God is high and great And if ye fear a breach between the husband and wife, send a judge^s out of his family, and a judge out of her family if they shall desire a reconciliation, God will cause them to agree, for God is knowing and wise. Serve God, and associate no creature with him, and show kindness unto parents, and relations, and orphans, and the poor, and your neighbour who is of kin to you,^t and also your neighbour who is a stranger, and to your familiar companion, and the traveller, and the captives whom your right hands shall possess, for God loveth not the proud or vainglorious, who are covetous, and recommend covetousness unto men, and conceal that which God of his bounty hath given them,^u (we have prepared a shameful punishment for the unbelievers,) and who bestow their wealth in charity to be observed of men, and believe not in God, nor in the last day, and whoever hath Satan for a companion, an evil companion hath he! And what harm would befall them if they should believe in God, and the last day, and give alms out of that which God hath bestowed on them? since God knoweth them who do this Verily God will not wrong any one even the weight of an ant^x and if it be a good action, he will double it, and will recompense it in his sight with a great reward How will it be with the unbelievers when we shall bring a witness out of each nation against itself;^y and shall bring thee O Mohammed, a witness against these people?^z In that day they who have not believed, and have rebelled against the apostle of God, shall wish the earth was levelled with them,[†] and they shall not be able to hide any matter from God O true believers, come not to prayers when ye are

^p Both to preserve their husbands substance from loss or waste, and themselves from all degrees of immodesty^o

* Wives ought to be obedient and keep the secrets of their husbands, because that Heaven hath entrusted them to their care —Savary

^q That is banish them from your bed

^r By this passage the Mohammedans are in plain terms allowed to beat their wives, in case of stubborn disobedience but not in a violent or dangerous manner¹

^s Let the magistrates first send two arbitrators or mediators one on each side, to compose the diffidence and prevent if possible the ill consequences of an open rupture

^t Either of your own nation or religion

^u Whether it be wealth, knowledge, or any other talent whereby they may help their neighbour

^x Either by diminishing the recompense due to his good actions, or to severely punishing his sins On the contrary he will reward the former in the next life, far above their deserts The Arabic word *aharra*, which is translated an ant, signifies a very small sort of that insect, and is used to denote a thing that is exceeding small, as a mite

^y When the Prophet, who was sent to each nation in particular shall on the last day be produced to give evidence against such of them as refused to believe in him, or observed not the laws which he brought

^z That is, the Arabians to whom Mohammed was, as he pretended, more peculiarly sent²

[†] 'In that terrible day they shall wish to be reduced into dust.'—Savary

drunk,^a until ye understand what ye say, nor when ye are polluted by emission of seed, unless ye be travelling on the road, until ye wash yourselves. But if ye be sick, or on a journey, or any of you come from easing nature, or have touched women, and find no water, take fine clean sand and rub your faces and your hands *therewith*,^b for GOD is merciful and inclined to forgive. Hast thou not observed those unto whom part of the scripture^c was delivered? they sell error, and desire that ye may wander from the *right* way, but GOD well knoweth your enemies. GOD is a sufficient patron, and GOD is a sufficient helper. Of the Jews there are some who pervert words from their places,^d and say, We have heard, and have disobeyed, and do thou hear without understanding *our meaning*,^e and look upon us^f perplexing with their tongues, and reviling the *true* religion. But if they had said, We have heard, and do obey, and do thou hear, and regard us,^g certainly it were better for them, and more right. But GOD hath cursed them by reason of their infidelity, therefore a few of *them* only shall believe. O ye to whom the scriptures have been given, believe in the *revelation* which we have sent down, confirming that which is with you, before we deface *your* countenances, and render them as the back parts thereof,^h or curse them, as we cursed those who transgressed on the sabbath day,ⁱ and the command of GOD was fulfilled. Surely GOD will not pardon the giving him an equal,^k but will pardon any other *sin*, except that to whom he pleaseth^l and whoso giveth a companion unto GOD, hath devised a great wickedness. Hast thou not observed those who justify themselves?^m But GOD justifieth whomsoever he pleaseth, nor

* It is related, that before the prohibition of wine, Abd alrahman Ebn Awf made an entertainment to which he invited several of the apostle's companions, and after they had eaten and drank plentifully, the hour of evening prayer being come, one of the company rose up to pray, but being overcome with liquor, made a shameful blunder in reciting a passage of the Koran, whereupon to prevent the danger of any such indecency for the future, this passage was revealed^a

^b See the Prelim Disc sect iv

^c Meaning the Jews, and particularly their Rabbins

^d That is (according to the commentators,) who change the true sense of the Pentateuch by dislocating passages, or by wresting the words according to their own fancies and lusts.^a But Mohammed seems chiefly to intend here the Jews bantering of him in their addresses, by making use of equivocal words, seeming to bear a good sense in Arabic, but spoken by them in derision according to their acceptance in Hebrew, an instance of which he gives in the following words

^e Literally *without being made to hear*, or apprehend what we say

^f The original word is *Raîna*, which being a term of reproach in Hebrew, Mohammed forbade their using to him^b

^g In Arabic, *Ondhorna*, which having no ill equivocal meaning, the prophet ordered them to use instead of the former

^h That is, perfectly plain, without eyes, nose, or mouth. The original however may also be translated, *and turn them behind*, by wringing their necks backward

ⁱ And were therefore changed into apes^c

^k That is, idolatry of all kinds

^l *vis* To those who repent^d

^m *i. e.* The Christians and Jews, who called themselves *the children of God, and his beloved people*^e

^a ¹ Beidâwî. ² Idem, Jallâlo ddin. ³ See before, c 2, p 14. ⁴ See before, c 2, p 14. ⁵ Al Beidâwî. ⁶ Idem, Jallâlo ddin. See c 5, not far from the

shall *they* be wronged a han ^a Behold, how they imagine a lie against God, and therein is iniquity sufficiently manifest Hast thou not considered those to whom part of the scripture hath been given? They believe in false gods and idols,^o and say of those who believe not, These are more rightly directed in the way of *truth*, than they who believe *on Mohammed* Those are the *men* whom God hath cursed, and unto him whom God shall curse, thou shalt surely find no helper Shall they have a part of the kingdom,^p since even then they would not bestow the smallest matter^q on men? Do they envy *other* men that which God of his bounty hath given them?^r We formerly gave unto the family of Abraham a book of *revelations* and wisdom, and we gave them a great kingdom ^s There is of them who believeth on him,^t and there is of them who turneth aside from him but the raging fire of hell is a sufficient *punishment* Verily those who disbelieve our signs, we will surely cast to be broiled in *hell* fire, so often as their skins shall be well burned, we will give them other skins in exchange that they may taste the *sharper* torment, for God is mighty and wise But those who believe and do that which is right, we will bring into gardens watered by rivers, therein shall they remain for ever, *and* there shall they enjoy wives free from all impurity, and we will lead them into perpetual shades Moreover God commandeth you to restore what ye are trusted with, to the owners ^u and when

^a The original word signifies a little skin in the cleft of a date stone, and is used to express a thing of no value

^o The Arabic is in Jibt and Taghût The former is supposed to have been the proper name of some idol, but it seems rather to signify any false deity in general. The latter we have explained already ^p

It is said that this passage was revealed on the following occasion Hoyai Ebn Akhtab and Caab Ebn al Ashraf¹ two chief men among the Jews with several others of that religion went to Mecca, and offered to enter into a confederacy with the Koreish, and to join their forces against Mohammed But the Koreish, entertaining some jealousy of them, told them that the Jews pretended to have a written revelation from heaven, as well as Mohammed and their doctrines and worship approached much nearer to what he taught than the religion of their tribe, wherefore said they if you would satisfy us that you are sincere in the matter do as we do and worship our gods Which proposal if the story be true, these Jews complied with, out of their inveterate hatred to Mohammed ²

^p For the Jews gave out that they should be restored to their ancient power and grandeur,³ depending, it is to be presumed, on the victorious Messiah whom they expected

^q "Shall they have a portion in the kingdom of heaven they who would grudge a farthing bestowed on their fellow creatures? — *Savary*

^r The original word properly signifies a small dent on the back of a date-stone, and is commonly used to express a thing of little or no value

^s *Viz* the spiritual gifts of prophecy and divine revelations, and the temporal blessings of victory and success bestowed on Mohammed and his follower

^t Wherefore God will doubtless show equal favour to this prophet, (a descendant also of Abraham) and those who believe on him ⁴

^u Namely, on Mohammed

¹ This passage it is said, was revealed on the day of the taking of Mecca, the primary design of it being to direct Mohammed to return the keys of the Caaba to Othmán Ebn Telha Ebn Abdaldar, who had then the honour to be keeper of that holy place,⁵ and not to deliver them to his uncle al Abbas who having already the custody of the well Zemzem, would fain have had also that of Caaba The prophet obeying the divine order, Othmán was so affected with the justice of the action, notwithstanding he had at first refused him

^o See p 31, note s. See before, p 45, note l. ¹ Al Beidawi. ² Idem ³ Idem. ⁴ Idem. See Frédeux's *Life of Mahom.*, p 2.

ye judge between men, that ye judge according to equity and surely an excellent *virtue* it is to which GOD exhorteth you, for God *both* heareth and seeth O true believers, obey GOD, and obey the apostle, and those who are in authority among you and if ye differ in any thing, refer it unto GOD^x and the apostle, if ye believe in God, and the last day this is better and a fairer *method* of determination Hast thou not observed those who pretend they believe in what hath been revealed unto thee, and what hath been revealed before thee? They desire to go to judgment before Taghût,^y although they have been commanded not to believe in him, and Satan desireth to seduce them into a wide error And when it is said unto them, Come unto *the book* which God hath sent down, and to the apostle, thou seest the ungodly turn aside from thee, with *great* aversion But how *will they behave* when a misfortune shall befall them, for that which their hands have sent before them? Then will they come unto thee, and swear by God, *saying*, If we intended any other than to do good, and to reconcile *the parties*^z GOD knoweth what is in the hearts of these *men*, therefore let them alone, and admonish them, and speak unto them a word which may affect their souls We have not sent any apostle, but that he might be obeyed by the permission of God but if they, after they have injured their own souls,^a come unto thee, and ask pardon of God, and the apostle ask pardon for them, they shall surely find GOD easy to be reconciled and merciful And by thy LORD they will not *perfectly* believe, until they make thee judge of their controversies, and shall not afterwards find in their own minds any hardship in what thou shalt determine, but shall acquiesce *therein* with *entire* submission And if we had commanded them, *saying*, Slay yourselves, or depart from your houses,^b they would not have done it, except a few of them And if they had done

entrance that he immediately embraced Mohammedism whereupon the guardianship of the Caaba was confirmed to this Othman and his heirs for ever^c

^x e To the decision of the Koran

^y That is, before the tribunals of infidels This passage was occasioned by the following remarkable accident A certain Jew having a dispute with a wicked Mohammedan, the latter appealed to the judgment of Caab Ebn al Ashraf, a principal Jew, and the former to Mohammed But at length they agreed to refer the matter to the prophet singly who giving it in favour of the Jew the Mohammedan refused to acquiesce in his sentence but would needs have it reheard by Omar afterwards Khalif When they came to him, the Jew told him that Mohammed had already decided the affair in his favour but that the other would not submit to his determination, and the Mohammedan confessing this to be true, Omar bid them stay a little, and fetching his sword struck off the obstinate Moslem's head, saying aloud, *This is the reward of him who refuseth to submit to the judgment of God and his apostle* And from this action Omar had the surname of al Fardk, which alludes both to his *separating* that knave's head from his body, and to his *distinguishing* between truth and falsehood⁷ The name of Taghût⁷ therefore in this place seems to be given to Caab Ebn al Ashraf

^z For this was the excuse of the friends of the Mohammedan whom Omar slew, when they came to demand satisfaction for his blood⁹

^a Viz by acting wickedly, and appealing to the judgment of infidels

^b Some understand these words of their venturing their lives in a religious expedition, and others, of their undergoing the same punishments which the Israelites did, for their idolatry in worshipping the golden calf¹

¹ ^c Al Beidawi See D Herbel Bibl Orient pp 220 221 ⁷ Jallalo ddin, Al Beidawi See D Herbel Bibl Orient p 688, and Ockley's Hist of the Sarac v 1 p 365 ⁸ See before, p 31 ⁹ Al Beidawi. ¹ Idem. See before, p 7

what they were admonished, it would certainly have been better for them, and more efficacious for confirming *their faith*, and we should then have surely given them in our sight an *exceeding* great reward, and we should have directed them in the right way. Whoever obeyeth God and the apostle, they *shall be* with those unto whom God hath been gracious, of the prophets, and the sincere, and the martyrs, and the righteous, and these are the most excellent company. This is bounty from God, and God is sufficiently knowing. O true believers, take your *necessary* precaution ^c against your enemies, and either go forth to war in separate parties,* or go forth altogether in a body. There is of you who tamieth behind,^d and if a misfortune befall you, he saith, Verily God hath been gracious unto me, that I was not present with them. but if success attend you from God, he will say (as if there was no friendship between you and him^e), Would to God I had been with them, for I should have acquired great merit. Let them therefore fight for the religion of God, who part with the present life in exchange for that which is to come,^f for whosoever fighteth for the religion of God, whether he be slain, or be victorious,^g we will surely give him a great reward. And what ails you, that ye fight not for God's true religion, and in defence of the weak among men, women, and children,^h who say, O LORD, bring us forth from this city, whose inhabitants are wicked, grant us from before thee a protector, and grant us from before thee a defender.ⁱ They who believe fight for the religion of God, but they who believe not fight for the religion of Taghut.^k Fight therefore against the friends of Satan, for the stratagem of Satan is weak. Hast thou not observed those unto whom it was said, Withhold your hands from war, and be constant at prayers, and pay the legal alms?^l But when war is commanded them, behold, a part of them fear men as they should fear God, or with a greater fear, and say, O LORD, wherefore hast

^c *e* Be vigilant and provide yourselves with arms and necessities

* "O believers be prudent in battle whether you attack separately, or in a body — *Savary*

^d Mohammed here upbraids the hypocritical Moslems who for want of faith and constancy in their religion were backward in going to war for its defence

^e *e* As one who attendeth not to the public but his own private interest. Or else these may be the words of the hypocritical Mohammedan himself insinuating that he staid not behind the rest of the army by his own fault but was left by Mohammed, who chose to let the others share in his good fortune, preciously to him.²

^f By venturing their lives and fortunes in defence of the faith

^g For no man ought to quit the field, till he either fall a martyr, or gain some advantage for the cause.³

^h *Viz*, those believers who staid behind at Mecca being detained there either forcibly by the idolaters, or for want of means to fly for refuge to Medina. Al Beidawi observes that *children* are mentioned here to show the inhumanity of the Koraish, who persecuted even that tender age

ⁱ This petition, the commentators say, was heard. For God afforded several of them an opportunity and means of escaping and delivered the rest at the taking of Mecca by Mohammed who left Otab Ibn Osaid governor of the city and under his care and protection those who had suffered for their religion became the most considerable men in the place

^k See before p 31

^l These were some of Mohammed's followers who readily performed the duties of their religion, so long as they were commanded nothing that might endanger their lives

² Al Beidawi

³ Idem.

thou commanded us to go to war, and hast not suffered us to wait our approaching end? ^m Say unto them, The provision of this life is but small, but the future shall be better for him who feareth God, * and ye shall not be in the least injured at the day of judgment Whosoever ye be, death will overtake you, although ye be in lofty towers. If good befall them, they say, This is from God, but if evil befall them they say, This is from thee, O Mohammed ⁿ say, All is from God, and what aileth these people, that they are so far from understanding what is said unto them? What ever good befall in thee, O man, it is from God, and whatever evil befall thee, it is from thyself.^o We have sent thee an apostle unto men, and God is a sufficient witness thereof Whoever obeyeth the apostle, obeyeth God, and whoever turneth back, we have not sent thee to be a keeper over them.^p They say, Obedience yet when they go forth from thee, part of them meditate by night a matter different from what thou speakest, but God shall write down what they meditate by night therefore let them alone, and trust in God, for God is a sufficient protector Do they not attentively consider the Koran? if it had been from any besides God, they would certainly have found therein many contradictions. When any news cometh unto them, either of security or fear, they immediately divulge it, but if they told it to the apostle and to those who are in authority among them, such of them would understand the truth of the matter, as inform themselves thereof from the apostle and his chiefs And if the favour of God and his mercy had not been upon you, ye had followed the devil, except a few of you^q Fight therefore for the religion of God, and oblige not any to what is difficult,^r except thyself, however excite the faithful to war, perhaps God will restrain the courage of the unbelievers, for God is stronger than they, and more able to punish. He who intercedeth between men with a good intercession^s shall have a portion thereof, and he who intercedeth with an evil intercession shall have a portion thereof, for God overlooketh all

^m That is, a natural death

* "Say unto them The enjoyments of this world are transient, the future life is the real treasure for those who fear God —Savary

ⁿ As the Jews in particular who pretended that their land was grown barren, and provisions scarce since Mohammed came to Medina⁴

^o These words are not to be understood as contradictory to the preceding, *That all proceeds from God*, since the evil which befalls mankind, though ordered by God, is yet the consequence of their own wicked actions

^p Or to take an account of their actions, for this is God's part

^q That is, if God had not sent his apostle with the Koran to instruct you in your duty, ye had continued in idolatry and been doomed to destruction except only those who, by God's favour, and their superior understanding, should have true notions of the divinity, such, for example, as Zeid Ebn Amru Ebn Nefail,⁵ and Waraka Ebn Nawfal⁶ who left idols, and acknowledged but one God, before the mission of Mohammed.⁷

^r It is said this passage was revealed when the Mohammedans refused to follow their prophet to the lesser expedition of Bedr, so that he was obliged to set out with no more than seventy⁸ Some copies vary in this place, and instead of *la tokallafu*, in the second person singular, read *la nokallafu*, in the first person plural¹ We do not oblige, &c The meaning being, that the prophet only was under an indispensable necessity of obeying God's commands, however difficult, but others might choose, though at their peril

^s 1. e To maintain the right of a believer, or to prevent his being wronged

⁴ Al Beidawi ⁵ Vide Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moh p 311 ⁶ See the Prelim Disc. sect. II. ⁷ Al Beidawi. ⁸ See before, ch iii p 54.

things. When ye are saluted with a salutation, salute *the person* with a better salutation,¹ or *at least* return the same, for GOD taketh an account of all things. GOD: there is no GOD but he, he will surely gather you together on the day of resurrection, there is no doubt of it and who is more true than GOD in what he saith? Why are ye *divided* concerning the ungodly into two parties,² since GOD hath overturned them for what they have committed? Will ye direct him whom GOD hath led astray, since for him whom GOD shall lead astray, thou shalt find no *true* path? They desire that ye should become infidels, as they are infidels, and that ye should be equally *wicked with themselves*. Therefore take no friends from among them, until they fly *their country* for the religion of GOD, and if they turn back *from the faith*, take them, and kill them wherever ye find them, and take no friend from among them, nor any helper, except those who go unto a people who are in alliance with you,³ or those who come unto you, their hearts forbidding them either to fight against you, or to fight against their own people.⁴ And if GOD pleased he would have permitted them to have prevailed against you, and they would have fought against you. But if they depart from you, and fight not against you, and offer you peace GOD doth not allow you *to take or kill* them. Ye shall find others who are desirous to enter into confidence with you,⁵ and *at the same time* to preserve a confidence with their own people,⁶ so often as they return to sedition, they shall be subverted therein, and if they depart not from you, and offer you peace, and restrain their hands *from warning against you*, take them and kill them wheresoever ye find them, over these have we granted you a manifest power. It is not *lawful* for a believer to kill a believer, unless *it happen* by mistake,⁷ and whoso killeth a believer by mistake, *the penalty shall be* the freeing of a believer from slavery and a fine to be paid to the family of the *deceased*,⁸ unless they remit it as alms;

¹ By adding something farther. As when one salutes another by this form, *Peace be upon thee*, he ought not only to return the salutation but to add, *and the mercy of God and his blessing*.

² This passage was revealed according to some when certain of Mohammed's followers, pretending not to like Medina desired leave to go elsewhere and having obtained it, went farther and farther, till they joined the idolaters or as others say, on occasion of some deserters at the battle of Ohod concerning whom the Moslems were divided in opinion whether they should be slain as infidels, or not.

³ The people here meant say some were the tribe of Khozaah or according to others, the Aslamians whose chief named Helal Ebn Owaimar, agreed with Mohammed, when he set out against Mecca to stand neuter or, as others rather think, Banu Beer Ebn Zeid.⁹

⁴ These, it is said, were the tribe of Modlaj, who came in to Mohammed, but would not be obliged to assist him in war.

⁵ "There are others who wish to ally your belief with that of their own nation" — *Savary*.

⁶ The persons hinted at here were the tribes of Asad and Chatfan, or, as some say, Banu Abdaldar, who came to Medina and pretended to embrace Mohammedism, that they might be trusted by the Moslems, but when they returned, fell back to their old idolatry.¹⁰

⁷ That is, by accident and without design. This passage was revealed to decide the case of Ayash Ebn Abi Rabia, the brother by the mother's side, of Abu Jahl who, meeting Hareth Ebn Zeid on the road, and not knowing that he had embraced Mohammedism, slew him.¹¹

⁸ Which fine is to be distributed according to the law of inheritances given in the

⁹ Al Beidawi, Jailalo ddin

¹⁰ Al Beidawi

¹¹ Idem.

and if *the slain person* be of a people at enmity with you, and be a true believer, *the penalty shall be* the freeing of a believer,^a but if he be of a people in confederacy with you, a fine to be paid to his family, and the freeing of a believer. And he who findeth not *wherewith to do this* shall fast two months consecutively as a penance *enjoined* from God, and God is knowing and wise. But whoso killeth a believer designedly, his reward shall be hell, he shall remain therein *for ever*,^d and God shall be angry with him, and shall curse him, and shall prepare for him a great punishment. O true believers, when ye are on a march in defence of the true religion, justly discern *such as ye shall happen to meet*, and say not unto him who saluteth you, thou art not a true believer,^e seeking the accidental goods of the present life,^f for with God is much spoil. Such have ye formerly been, but God hath been gracious unto you,^g therefore make a just discernment, for God is well acquainted with that which ye do. Those believers who sit still *at home*, not having any hurt,^h and those who employ their fortunes and their persons for the religion of God, shall not be held equal. God hath preferred those who employ their fortunes and their persons *in that case* to a degree of honour above those who sit at home, God hath indeed promised every one paradise, but God hath preferred those who fight *for the faith* before those who sit still, *by adding unto them* a great reward by degrees of honour conferred on them from him, and by granting them forgiveness, and mercy, for God is indulgent and merciful. Moreover unto those whom the angels put to death, having injured their own souls,ⁱ the angels said, Of what religion were ye? They answered, We were weak in the earth.^k The angels replied, Was not God's earth wide enough that ye might fly thence *to a place of refuge*?^l Therefore their habitation

beginning of this chapter.³—⁴ The sum fixed by the law is the price of a hundred camels.—*Savary*

And no fine shall be paid because in such case his relations being infidels and at open war with the Moslems have no right to inherit what he leaves.

^d That is unless he repent. Others, however understand not here an eternity of damnation (for it is the general doctrine of the Mohammedans that none who profess that faith shall continue in hell for ever) but only a long space of time.⁴

^e On pretence that he only feigns to be a Moslem, that he might escape from you. The commentators mention more instances than one of persons slain and plundered by Mohammed's men under this pretext notwithstanding they declared themselves Moslems by repeating the usual form of words and saluting them, for which reason this passage was revealed to prevent such rash judgments for the future.

^f That is being willing to judge him an infidel only that ye may kill and plunder him.

^g Viz, at your first profession of Islamism, before ye had given any demonstrations of your sincerity and zeal therein.

^h i. e. Not being disabled from going to war by sickness or other just impediment. It is said that when the passage was first revealed, there was no such exception therein, which occasioned Ibn Omm Mactûm on his hearing it repeated to object. And what though I be blind? Whereupon Mohammed falling into a kind of trance which was succeeded by strong agitations, pretended he had received the divine direction to add these words to the text.⁵

ⁱ These were certain inhabitants of Mecca, who held with the hare and ran with the hounds, for though they embraced Mohammedism, yet they would not leave that city to join the prophet, as the rest of the Moslems did but on the contrary went out with the idolaters and were therefore slain with them at the battle of Bedr.⁶

^k Being unable to fly and compelled to follow the infidels to war.

^l As they did who fled to Ethiopia and to Medina.

³ Al Beidawî.

⁴ Idem.

⁵ Idem.

⁶ Idem, Jallâl'eddin.

shall be hell? and an evil journey *shall it be thither* except the weak among men, and women, and children, who were not able to find means, and were not directed in the way, these peradventure GOD will pardon, for GOD is ready to forgive, *and gracious* Whosoever flieth *from his country* for the sake of GOD's true religion, shall find in the earth many forced to *do the same* and plenty of *provisions* And whoever departeth from his house, and flieth unto GOD and his apostle, if death overtake him *in the way*,^m GOD will be obliged to reward him, for GOD is gracious *and merciful* When ye march *to war* in the earth, it shall be no crime in you if ye shorten your prayers, in case ye fear the infidels may attack you, for the infidels are your open enemy But when thou, *O prophet*, shalt be among them, and shalt pray with them, let a party of them arise to prayer with thee, and let them take their arms, and when they shall have worshipped, let them stand behind you,ⁿ and let another party come that hath not prayed, and let them pray with thee, and let them be cautious and take their arms The unbelievers would that ye should neglect your arms and your baggage *while ye pray*, that they might turn upon you it once It shall be no crime in you, if you be incommoded by rain, or be sick, that ye lay down your arms, but take your *necessary* precaution ^o GOD hath prepared for the unbelievers an ignominious punishment And when ye shall have ended *your* prayer, remember GOD, standing, and sitting, and *lying* on your sides ^p But when ye are secure *from danger*, complete *your* prayers for prayer is commanded the faithful, *and appointed to be said at the stated times* Be not negligent in seeking out the *unbelieving* people, though ye suffer *some inconvenience*, for they *also* shall suffer as ye suffer, and ye hope for a *reward* from GOD which they cannot hope for, and GOD is knowing *and wise* ^q We have sent down unto thee the book *of the Koran* with truth, that thou mayest judge between men through that *wisdom* which GOD sheweth thee *therein*, and be not an advocate for the fraudulent,^r but ask pardon of GOD *for thy wrong intention*, since GOD is indulgent *and merciful* Dispute not for those who deceive one another, for GOD loveth not him who

^m This passage was revealed says Al Baidawi on account of Jondob Ibn Damra. This person being sick was in his flight hurried by his sons on a couch and before he arrived at Medina perceiving his end approached he clapped his right hand on his left, and solemnly plighting his faith to God and his apostle died

ⁿ To defend those who are at prayers and to face the enemy

^o By keeping strict guard

^p That is, in such posture as ye shall be able to

^q This verse was revealed on occasion of the unwillingness of Mohammed's men to accompany him in the lesser expedition of Bedr ^s

^r Tima Abn Obeirak of the sons of Dhafar, one of Mohammed's companions stole a coat of mail from his neighbour Kitada Ibn al Noman in a bag of meal and hid it at a Jew's, named Zeid Ebn al Samin Tima being suspected the coat of mail was demanded of him but he denying he knew any thing of it, they followed the track of the meal, which had run through a hole in the bag, to the Jew's house, and there seized it, accusing him of the theft but he producing witnesses of his own religion that he had it of Tima the sons of Dhafar came to Mohammed and desired him to defend his companion's reputation, and condemn the Jew, which he having some thoughts of doing, this passage was revealed, reprehending him for his rash intention and commanding him to judge, not according to his own prejudice and opinion, but according to the merit of the case ^t

^t See before ch. iii p 58

^s Al Baidawi

^t Idem, Jallalo ddin, Yahya.

is a deceiver or unjust " *Such* conceal themselves from men, but they conceal not themselves from God, for he is with them when they imagine by night a saying which pleased *him* not,¹ and God comprehendeth what they do. Behold ye are they who have disputed for them in this present life, but who shall dispute with God for them on the day of resurrection, or who will become their patron? yet he who doeth evil or injureth his own soul, and afterwards asketh pardon of God, shall find God gracious and merciful. Whoso committeth wickedness committeth it against his own soul. God is knowing and wise. And whoso committeth a sin or iniquity, and afterwards layeth it on the innocent, he shall surely bear *the guilt of calumny* and manifest injustice. If the indulgence and mercy of God had not been upon thee, surely a part of them had studied to seduce thee,² but they shall seduce themselves only,³ and shall not hurt thee at all. God hath sent down unto thee the book of *the Koran* and wisdom, and hath taught thee that which thou knewest not,⁴ for the favour of God hath been great towards thee. There is no good in the multitude of their private discourses, unless in *the discourse* of him who recommended alms, or that which is right, or agreement amongst men. whoever doeth this out of a desire to please God, we will surely give him a great reward. But whoso separateth himself from the apostle, after *true* direction hath been manifested unto him, and followeth any other way than that of the true believers, we will cause him to obtain that to which he is inclined,⁵ and will cast him to be burned in hell, and an unhappy journey shall it be *thither*. Verily God will not pardon the giving him a companion, but he will pardon *any crime* besides that, unto whom he pleaseth. and he who giveth a companion unto God is surely led aside into a wide mistake, the *infidels* involve beside him only female *devies*,⁶ and only invoke rebellious Satan. God cursed him, and he said, Verily I will take of thy servants a part cut off *from the rest*,⁷ and I will seduce them, and will insinuate *vain* devies into them, and I will command them and they shall cut off the ears of cattle,⁸ and I will command them and they shall change God's creature.⁹ But whoever taketh Satan

* Al Beidawi as an instance of the divine justice, adds, that Tima after the fact above mentioned fled to Mecca and returned to idolatry and there undermining the wall of a house in order to commit a robbery, the wall fell in upon him and crushed him to death.

¹ That is when they secretly continue means, by false evidence or otherwise, to lay their crimes on innocent persons.

² Meaning the sons of Dhafar.

³ "A part of the unbelievers conspired thy ruin but they brought ruin on themselves. The divine goodness watched over thy safety. They had not power to hurt thee — *Savary*

⁴ By instructing thee in the knowledge of right and wrong and the rules of justice.

⁵ Viz, error and false notions of religion.

⁶ Namely Allat, al Uzza and Menat, the idols of the Meccans, or the angels whom they called the *daughters of God*.¹

⁷ They have goddesses for divinities, but Satan is the object of their worship.

Or as the original may be translated a part *destined* or *predetermined* to be seduced by me.

⁸ Which was done out of superstition by the old pagan Arabs. See more of this custom in the notes to the fifth chapter.

⁹ Either by maiming it, or putting it to uses not designed by the Creator. Al Beidawi.

for his patron, besides God,^d shall surely perish with a manifest destruction. He maketh them promises, and insinuateth into them vain desires, yet Satan maketh them only deceitful promises. The receptacle of these shall be hell, they shall find no refuge from it. But they who believe, and do good works, we will surely lead them into gardens, through which rivers flow, they shall continue therein for ever, *according to* the true promise of God, and who is more true than God in what he saith? It shall not be according to your desires, nor *according to* the desires of those who have received the scriptures.^e Whoso doeth evil shall be rewarded for it, and shall not find any patron or helper, besides God, but whoso doth good works, whether he be male or female, and is a true believer, they shall be admitted into paradise, and shall not in the least be unjustly dealt with. Who is better in point of religion than he who resigneth himself unto God, and is a worker of righteousness, and followeth the law of Abraham the orthodox? since God took Abraham for his friend ^f and to God *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth, God comprehendeth all things. They will consult thee concerning women,^g Answer, God instructeth you concerning them,^h and that which is read unto you in the book of the *Koran* concerning female orphans, to whom ye give not that which is ordained them, neither will ye marry them,ⁱ and concerning weak

supposes the text to intend not only the superstitious amputations of the ears and other parts of the cattle but the castration of slaves the marking their bodies with figures, by pricking and dyeing them with woad or indigo (as the Arabs did and still do) the sharpening their teeth by filing and also sodomy, and the unnatural amours between those of the female sex, the worship of the sun, moon, and other parts of nature and the like

^{d, e} By leaving the service of God and doing the works of the devil

^e That is, the promises of God are not to be guided by acting after your own fancies nor yet after the fancies of the Jews or Christians but by obeying the commands of God This passage they say was revealed on a dispute which arose between those of the three religions, each preferring his own and condemning the others Some however suppose the persons here spoken to in the second person were not the Mohammedans but the idolaters²

^f Therefore the Mohammedans usually call that patriarch as the scripture also does Khalil Allāh the *friend of God* and simply al Khalil and they tell the following story —That Abraham in a time of dearth sent to a friend of his in Egypt for a supply of corn, but the friend denied him saving in his excuse that though there was a famine in their country also yet had it been for Abraham's own family, he would have sent what he desired, but he knew he wanted it only to entertain his guest and give away to the poor, according to his usual hospitality The servants whom Abraham had sent on this message being ashamed to return empty to conceal the matter from their neighbours filled their sacks with fine white sand which in the East pretty much resembles meal. Abraham being informed by his servants on their return of their ill success, the concern he was under threw him into a sleep and in the mean time Sarah knowing nothing of what had happened opening one of the sacks found good flour in it, and immediately set out about making of bread Abraham awaking and smelling the new bread, asked her whence she had the flour *Why,* says she, *from your friend in Egypt,* Nay replied the patriarch, *it must have come from no other than my friend God Almighty*³

^{g, h} As to the share they are to have in the distribution of the inheritances of their deceased relations, for it seems the Arabs were not satisfied with Mohammed's decision on this point, against the old customs

^{h, i} He hath already made known his will unto you, by revealing the passages concerning inheritances in the beginning of this chapter

ⁱ Or the words may be rendered in the affirmative, *and whom ye desire to marry* For

² Al Beidawī Jallaloddin, Yahya ³ Al Beidawī See D' Herbel Bibl Orient p 14, and Morgan's Mahometism Explained, vol. 1 p 132.

infants,^k and that ye observe justice towards orphans whatever good ye do, God knoweth it If a woman fear ill usage,* or aversion from her husband, it shall be no crime in them if they agree the matter amicably between themselves,^l for a reconciliation is better *than a separation*. Men's souls are naturally inclined to covetousness^m but if ye be kind towards women, and fear to wrong them, God is well acquainted with what ye do Ye can by no means carry yourselves equally between women in all respects, although ye study to do it, therefore turn not from a wife with all manner of aversion,ⁿ nor leave her like one in suspense^o if ye agree, and fear to abuse your wives, God is gracious and merciful, but if ye separate God will satisfy them both of his abundance,^p for God is extensive and wise, and unto God *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth We have already commanded those unto whom the scriptures were given before you, and we command you also, saying, Fear God, but if ye disbelieve, unto God *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth, and God is self-sufficient,^q and to be praised, for unto God *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth, and God is a sufficient protector If he pleaseth he will take you away, O men, and will produce others^r in your stead, for God is able to do this. Whoso desireth the reward of this world, verily with God is the reward of this world, and also of that which is to come God both heareth and seeth O true believers, observe justice when ye bear witness before God, although it be against yourselves, or your parents, or relations, whether the party be rich, or whether he be poor, for God is more worthy than them both therefore follow not your own lust in bearing testimony, so that ye swerve from justice And whether ye wrest your evidence, or decline giving it, God is well acquainted with that which ye do O true believers, believe in God and his apostle, and the book which he hath caused to descend unto his apostle, and the book which he hath formerly

the pagan Arabs used to wrong their female orphans in both instances obliging them to marry against their inclinations if they were beautiful or rich, or else not suffering them to marry at all, that they might keep what belonged to them^k

^k That is, male children of tender years to whom the Arabs in the time of paganism, used to allow no share in the distribution of their parents estate^l

^l * If the harshness and aversion of her husband cause a woman to fear that he will divorce her she ought to endeavour to bring him back to mildness Mutual reconciliation is the wisest plan to adopt Man has a leaning towards avarice Be beneficent and fear to be unjust God is witness of your actions —Savary

¹ By the wife's remitting part of her dowry or other dues

^m So that the woman, on the one side, is unwilling to part with any of her right and the husband on the other cares not to retain one he has no affection for, or if he should retain her, she can scarce expect he will use her in all respects as he oughtⁿ

ⁿ ¹ a. Though you cannot use her equally well with a beloved wife, yet observe some measures of justice towards her for if a man is not able perfectly to perform his duty, he ought not, for that reason entirely to neglect it^o

Or like one that neither has a husband nor is divorced and at liberty to marry elsewhere

^p That is either will bless them with a better and more advantageous match, or with peace and tranquillity of mind^q

^q Wanting the service of no creature

^r Either another race of men, or a different species of creatures

sent down.^a And whosoever believeth not in God, and his angels, and his scriptures, and his apostles, and the last day, he surely erreth in a wide mistake. Moreover they who believed, and afterwards became infidels, and then believed *again*, and after that disbelieved, and increased in infidelity,^b God will by no means forgive them, nor direct them into the *right* way. Declare unto the ungodly^c that they shall suffer a painful punishment. They who take the unbelievers for their protectors, besides the faithful, do they seek for power with them? since all power belongeth unto God. And he hath already revealed unto you, in the book of the *Korân*,^d the following passage—When ye shall hear the signs of God, they shall not be believed, but they shall be laughed to scorn. Therefore sit not with them *who believe not*, until they engage in different discourse, for *if ye do* ye will certainly *become* like unto them. God will surely gather the ungodly and the unbelievers together in hell. They who want to *observe what befalleth* you, if victory be *granted* you from God, say, Were we not with you?^e But if any advantage happen to the infidels, they say *unto them*, Were we not superior to you,^f and have we not defended you against the believers? God shall judge between you on the day of resurrection and God will not grant the unbelievers means to *prevail* over the faithful. The hypocrites act deceitfully with God, but he will deceive them, and when they stand up to pray, they stand carelessly, affecting to be seen of men, and remember not God, unless a little,^g wavering between *faith and infidelity*, and *adhering* neither unto these nor unto those^h and for him whom God shall lead astray thou shalt find no true path. O true believers, take not the unbelievers for *your* protectors, besides the faithful. Will ye furnish God with an evident argument of *impiety* against you? Moreover the hypocrites shall be in the lowest bottom of *hell fire*,ⁱ and thou shalt not find any to help them *thence*. But they who repent and amend, and adhere firmly unto God, and approve the sincerity of their religion to God, they shall be *numbered* with the faithful, and God will

^a It is said that Abdallah Ebn Salam and his companions told Mohammed that they believed in him, and his Koran, and in Moses, and the Pentateuch, and in Ezra, but no farther, whereupon this passage was revealed declaring that a partial faith is little better than none at all, and that a true believer must believe in all God's prophets and revelations without exception.^b

^c These were the Jews, who first believed in Moses, and afterwards fell into idolatry by worshipping the golden calf and though they repented of that, yet in after ages rejected the prophets who were sent to them, and particularly Jesus the son of Mary, and now filled up the measure of their unbelief by rejecting of Mohammed.^d

^e Mohammed here means those who hypocritically pretended to believe in him but really did not, and by their treachery did great mischief to his party.^f

^g In the Koran chap vi.

^h *e.* Did we not assist you? Therefore give us a part of the spoil.ⁱ

^j Would not our army have cut you off, if it had not been for our faint assistance, or rather desertion, of the Moslems, and our disheartening them?^k

^l That is, with the tongue, and not with the heart.

^m Halting between two opinions, and being staunch friends neither to the Moslems nor the infidels.

ⁿ See the Prelim. Disc. sect iv.

surely give the faithful a great reward. And how should God go about to punish you, if ye be thankful and believe? for God is grateful and wise. [* VI.] God loveth not the speaking ill of *any one* in public, unless he who is injured *call for assistance*, and God heareth and knoweth whether ye publish a good *action*, or conceal it, or forgive evil, verily God is gracious and powerful. They who believe not in God, and his apostles, and would make a distinction between God and his apostles,^d and say, We believe in some of the prophets and reject others of *them*, and seek to take a *middle* way in this *matter*, these are really unbelievers, and we have prepared for the unbelievers an ignominious punishment. But they who believe in God and his apostles, and make no distinction between any of them, unto those will we surely give their reward, and God is gracious and merciful. They who have received the scriptures^e will demand of thee, and thou cause a book to descend unto them from heaven they formerly asked of Moses a greater *thing* than this, for they said, Show us God visibly^f Wherefore a storm of fire from heaven destroyed them, because of their iniquity Then they took the calf for their God,^g after that evident proofs of the divine unity had come unto them but we forgave them that, and gave Moses a manifest power to punish them^h And we lifted the mountain of Sinai over them,ⁱ when we exacted from them their covenant and said unto them, Enter the gate of the city worshipping^h We also said unto them, Transgress not on the sabbath day And we received from them a firm covenant, that they would observe these things Therefore for thatⁱ they have made void their covenant, and have not believed in the signs of God, and have slain the prophets unjustly, and have said, Our hearts are uncircumcised, (but God hath sealed them up, because of their unbelief, therefore they shall not believe, except a few of them) and for that they have not believed in Jesus, and have spoken against Mary a grievous calumny,^m and have said, Verily we have slain Christ Jesus the Son of Mary, the apostle of God, yet they slew him not, neither crucified him, but he was represented by one in his likeness,ⁿ and verily they who disagreed concerning him^o were in a doubt

^d See chap. ii p. 35, note g

^e That is, the Jews who demanded of Mohammed as a proof of his mission that they might see a book of revelations descend to him from heaven or that he would produce one written in a celestial character, like the two tables of Moses

^f See chap. ii p. 7

This story seems to be an addition to what Moses says of the seventy elders, who went up to the mountain with him, and with Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and saw the God of Israel.^g

^g See chap. ii p. 7

^h See *ibid* p. 7 note m

ⁱ See *ibid* p. 9

^j "We raised up Mount Sinai as a pledge of our covenant — *Savary*

^k See *ibid* p. 7

^l There being nothing in the following words of this sentence to answer to the causal for that, Jallalo ddn supposes something to be understood to complete the sense, as, therefore we have cursed them or the like

^m By accusing her of fornicationⁿ ⁿ See chap. iii p. 42 and the notes there

^o For some maintained that he was justly and really crucified, some insisted that it was not Jesus who suffered, but another who resembled him in the face, pretending the other parts of his body, by their unlikeness, plainly discovered the

^p Exod. xxiv. 9, 10, 11

^q See the Koran, ch. xix. and that virulent book entitled Toldoth Jesu.

as to this *matter*, and had no *sure* knowledge thereof, but followed only an *uncertain* opinion. They did not really kill him, but GOD took him up unto himself and GOD is mighty *and* wise. And *there shall not be one* of those who have received the scriptures, who shall not believe in him, before his death,^p and on the day of resurrection he shall be a witness against them.^q Because of the iniquity of those who Judaize, we have forbidden them good things, which had been *formerly* allowed them,^r and because they shut out many from the way of GOD, and have taken usury, which was forbidden them *by the law*, and devoured men's substance vainly we have prepared for such of them as are unbelievers a painful punishment. But those among them who are well grounded in knowledge,^s and the faithful, who believe in that which hath been sent down unto thee, and that which hath been sent down *unto the prophets* before thee, and who observe the stated times of prayer, and give alms, and believe in GOD and the last day unto these will we give a great reward. Verily we have revealed *our will* unto thee, as we have revealed *it* unto Noah and the prophets who succeeded him, and *as* we revealed *it* unto Abraham, and Ismael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and unto Jesus, and Job, and Jonas, and Aaron, and Solomon, and *we have given thee the Koran*, as we gave the psalms unto David. *some* apostles *have we sent*, whom we have formerly mentioned unto thee, and *other* apostles *have we sent*, whom we have not mentioned unto thee, and GOD spake unto Moses, discoursing *with him*, apostles declaring good tidings, and denouncing threats, lest men should have an argument *of excuse* against GOD, after the apostles *had been sent unto them*, GOD is mighty *and* wise. GOD is witness of that *revelation* which he hath sent down unto thee, he sent it down with his *special* knowledge the angels also are witnesses *thereof*, but GOD is a sufficient witness. They who believe not, and turn aside *others* from the

imposition, some said he was taken up into heaven, and others, that his manhood only suffered, and that his godhead ascended into heaven.^t

^p This passage is expounded two ways —

Some referring the relative *his*, to the first antecedent, take the meaning to be, that no Jew or Christian shall die before he believes in Jesus, for they say that when one of either of those religions is ready to breathe his last, and sees the angel of death before him he shall then believe in that prophet as he ought, though his faith will not then be of any avail. According to a tradition of Hejaj when a Jew is expiring, the angels will strike him on the back and face and say unto him, *O thou enemy of God, Jesus was sent as a prophet unto thee, and thou didst not believe in him* to which he will answer, *I now believe him to be the servant of God* and to a dying Christian they will say, *Jesus was sent as a prophet unto thee, and thou hast imagined him to be God, or the Son of God* whereupon he will believe him to be the servant of God only and his apostle.

Others, taking the above mentioned relative to refer to Jesus, suppose the intent of the passage to be, that all Jews and Christians in general shall have a right faith in that prophet before his death, that is when he descends from heaven and returns into the world, where he is to kill Antichrist, and to establish the Mohammedan religion, and a most perfect tranquillity and security on earth.^u

^q *e* Against the Jews for rejecting him, and against the Christians, for calling him God, and the Son of God.^v

See chap iii p 42, and 47, and the notes there

^r As Abdallah Ebn Salam, and his companions.^w

^s Al Beidawi. ^t Jallalo ddin, Yahya, Al Zamakhshari, and Al Beidawi. See the Prelim Disc sect iv. ^u Al Beidawi. ^v Idem.

way of God, have erred in a wide mistake Verily those who believe not, and act unjustly, God will by no means forgive, neither will he direct them into *any other way* than the way of hell, they shall remain therein for ever and this is easy with God O men, now is the apostle come unto you, with truth from your LORD, believe therefore, *it will be better for you* But if ye disbelieve, verily unto God *belongeth* whatsoever *is* in heaven and on earth, and God is knowing *and* wise O ye who have received the scriptures, exceed not the just bounds in your religion,¹ neither say of God *any other* than the truth Verily Christ Jesus the son of Mary *is* the apostle of God, and his Word, which he conveyed into Mary, and a spirit *proceeding* from him Believe therefore in God, and his apostles, and say not, *There are three Gods,*² forbear *this*, it will be better for you God is but one God Far be it from him that he should have a son! unto him *belongeth* whatever *is* in heaven and on earth, and God is a sufficient protector³ Christ doth not proudly disdain to be a servant unto God, neither the angels who approach near *to his presence* and whoso disdaineth his service, and is puffed up with pride, *God* will gather them all to himself, *on the last day* Unto those who believe, and do that which is right, he shall give their rewards, and shall *superabundantly* add unto them of his liberality but those who are disdainful and proud, he will punish with a grievous punishment, and they shall not find any to protect or to help them, besides God O men, now is an evident proof come unto you from your LORD, and we have sent down unto you manifest light⁴ They who believe in God and firmly adhere to him, he will lead them into mercy from him and abundance, and he will direct them in the right way to himself⁵ They will consult thee *for thy decision in certain cases*, say unto them, God giveth you *these* determinations, concerning the more remote degrees of kindred⁶ If a man die without issue, and have a sister, she shall have the half of what he shall leave⁷ and he shall be heir to her,⁸ in case she have no issue But if there be two *sisters* they shall have *between them* two third parts of what he shall leave, and if there be *several, both* brothers and sisters, a male shall have as much as the portion of two females God declareth unto you *these precepts*, lest ye err and God knoweth all things

¹ Either by rejecting and contemning of Jesus, as the Jews do, or raising him to an equality with God, as do the Christians²

² Namely, God, Jesus, and Mary³ For the eastern writers mention a sect of Christians which held the Trinity to be composed of those three,⁴ but it is allowed that this heresy has been long since extinct⁵ The passage, however, is equally levelled against the Holy Trinity according to the doctrine of the orthodox Christians, who, as Al Beidawī acknowledges, believe the divine nature to consist of three persons, the Father the Son and the Holy Ghost, by the Father, understanding God's essence by the Son, his knowledge and by the Holy Ghost his life

³ 'Far from having a son, he governeth alone the heaven and the earth He is sufficient unto himself'—*Savary*

⁴ That is Mohammed and his Koran

⁵ Viz Into the religion of Islam, in this world, and the way to paradise in the next⁶

⁶ See the beginning of this chapter, pp 60, 61

⁷ And the other half will go to the public treasury

⁸ That is, he shall inherit her whole substance.

¹ Al Beidawī ² Idem Jallal'uddin, Yahya ³ Elmacin p 227 Eutyck. p. 120 See the Prelim Disc sect. 11. ⁴ Ahmed Ebn Abd al Halim. ⁵ Al Beidawī

CHAPTER V.

INTITLED, THE TABLE, REVEALED AT MEDINA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

O TRUE believers, perform your contracts Ye are allowed *to eat* the brute cattle,^a other than what ye are commanded *to abstain from*, except the game which ye are allowed *at other times*, but not while ye are on pilgrimage to Mecca, God ordaineth that which he pleaseth O true believers, violate not the holy rites of God,^b nor the sacred month,^c nor the offering, nor the ornaments hung *thereon*,^d nor those who are travelling to the holy house, seeking favour from their LORD, and to please *him*. But when ye shall have finished *your pilgrimage* then hunt. And let not the malice of some, in that they hindered you *from entering* the sacred temple,^e provoke you to transgress, *by taking revenge on them in the sacred months* Assist one another according to justice and piety, but assist not one another in injustice and malice therefore fear God, for GOD is severe in punishing Ye are forbidden *to eat* that which dieth of itself, and blood, and swine's flesh, and that on which the name of any besides God hath been invoked,^f and that which hath been strangled, or killed by a blow, or by a fall, or by the horns of *another beast*, and that which hath been eaten by a wild beast,^g except what ye shall kill *yourselves*,^h and that which hath been sacrificed unto idols ⁱ *It is likewise unlawful for you to make division by casting lots with arrows* ^j This is an impiety On this day,^k woe be unto those who have apostatized from their religion, therefore fear not them, but fear me This day have I perfected your religion for you,^l and have

* This title is taken from the Table which towards the end of the chapter, is fabled to have been let down from heaven to Jesus It is sometimes also called the chapter of Contracts, which word occurs in the first verse

^a As camels oxen, and sheep and also wild cows, antelopes &c but not swine nor what is taken in hunting during the pilgrimage

^b The ceremonies used in the pilgrimage of Mecca

^c See the Prelim Disc sect vii

^d The offering here meant is the sheep led to Mecca to be there sacrificed about the neck of which they use to hang garlands green boughs or some other ornament, that it may be distinguished as a thing sacred ^e

^f In the expedition of Al Hodeibiya ^g

^h For the idolatrous Arabs used in killing any animal for food to consecrate it, as it were, to their idols, by saying In the name of Allat or al Uzza.¹

^k Or by a creature trained up to hunting.²

^l That is, unless ye come up time enough to find life in the animal and to cut its throat.

^m The word also signifies certain stones which the pagan Arabs used to set up near their houses and on which they superstitiously slew animals, in honour of their gods ⁿ

^o See the Prelim Disc sect v

^p This passage, it is said was revealed on Friday evening, being the day of the pilgrims visiting mount Arafat, the last time Mohammed visited the temple of Mecca, therefore called the *pilgrimage of valediction* ^q

^r And therefore the commentators say that after this time no positive or negative precept was given ^s

^t Jallaloddin Al Beidawi ^u See the Prelim Disc sect iv ^v Ibid sect. ii ^w See ch ii p 20 ^x Al Beidawi ^y Idem ^z Idem ^{aa} See Frid. Life of Moham p. 99. ^{ab} Vide Abulfed Vit Moham p 131

completed my mercy upon you,¹ and I have chosen for you Islam, *to be your religion*. But whosoever shall be driven by necessity through hunger, *to eat of what we have forbidden*, not designing to sin, surely God *will be indulgent and merciful unto him*. They will ask thee what is allowed them *as lawful to eat*? Answer, Such things as are good² are allowed you, and what ye shall teach animals of prey *to catch*,³ training them up for hunting after the manner of dogs, *and teaching them according to the skill which God hath taught you*. Eat therefore of that which they shall catch for you, and commemorate the name of God thereon,⁴ and fear God, for God is swift in taking an account. This day are ye allowed to eat such things as are good, and the food of those to whom the scriptures were given⁵ is *also* allowed as lawful unto you, and your food is allowed as lawful unto them. *And ye are also allowed to marry* free women that are believers, and also free women of those who have received the scriptures before you, when ye shall have assigned them their dower, living chastely *with them*, neither committing fornication, nor taking *them* for concubines. Whoever shall renounce the faith, his work shall be vain, and in the next life he shall be of those who perish. O true believers, when ye prepare yourselves to pray, wash your faces, and your hands unto the elbows, and rub your heads, and your feet unto the ankles, and if ye be polluted by having lain with a woman, wash yourselves *all over*. But if ye be sick, or on a journey, or any if you cometh from the privy, or if ye have touched women, and ye find no water, take fine clean sand, and rub your faces and your hands therewith, God would not put a difficulty upon you, but he desireth to purify you, and to complete his favour upon you, that ye may give thanks. Remember the favour of God towards you, and his covenant which he hath made with you, when ye said, We have heard, and will obey.⁶ Therefore fear God, for God knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts of men. O true believers, observe justice when ye appear as witnesses before God, and let not hatred towards any induce you to do wrong, but act justly, this will approach nearer unto piety,⁷ and fear God, for God is fully acquainted with what ye do. God hath promised unto those who believe, and do that which is right, that they shall receive pardon and a great reward. But they who believe not, and accuse our signs of falsehood, they shall be the companions of hell. O true believers, remember God's favour towards you, when certain men designed to stretch forth their hands against

¹ By having given you a true and perfect religion, or, by the taking of Mecca and the destruction of idolatry

² Not such as are filthy or unwholesome

³ Whether beasts or birds

⁴ Either when ye let go the hound, hawk, or other animal, after the game, or when ye kill it

⁵ Viz, slain or dressed by Jews or Christians

⁶ These words are the form used at the inauguration of a prince, and Moham- med here intends the oath of fidelity which his followers had taken to him at al Akaba.⁸

⁷ "Justice is the sister of piety"—Savary

you, but he restrained their hands from *hurting* you ⁷ therefore fear God, and in God let the faithful trust God formerly accepted the covenant of the children of Israel, and we appointed out of them twelve leaders and God said, Verily I am with you ⁸ if ye observe prayer, and give alms, and believe in my apostles, and assist them, and lend unto God on good usury,⁹ I will surely expiate your evil *deeds* from you, and I will lead you into gardens, wherein rivers flow but he among you who disbelieveth after this, erreth from the straight path Wherefore because they have broken their covenant, we have cursed them, and hardened their hearts, they dislocate the words of the *Pentateuch* from their places, and have forgotten part of what they were admonished, and thou wilt not cease to discover deceitful practices among them, except a few of them But forgive them, ^b and pardon them, for God loveth the beneficent And from those who say, We are Christians, we have received their covenant, but they have forgotten part of what they were admonished, wherefore we have raised up enmity and hatred among them, till the day of resurrection, and God will *then* surely declare unto them what they have been doing O ye who have received the scriptures, now is our apostle come unto you, to make manifest unto you many *things* which ye concealed in the scriptures,⁹

⁷ The commentators tell several stories as the occasion of this passage One says, that Mohammed and some of his followers being at Osfân (a place not far from Mecca in the way to Medina,) and performing their noon devotions, a company of idolaters, who were in view repented they had not taken that opportunity of attacking them, and therefore waited till the hour of evening prayer, intending to fall upon them then but God defeated their design by revealing the verse of *fear* Another relates, that the prophet going to the tribe of Korcidha (who were Jews) to levy a fine for the blood of two Moslems, who had been killed by mistake by Amru Ebn Ummeya al Dimri they desired him to sit down and eat with them and they would pay the fine Mohammed complying with their request while he was sitting they laid a design against his life one Amru Ebn Jahish undertaking to throw a mill-stone upon him but God withheld his hand and Gabriel immediately descended to acquaint the prophet with their treachery upon which he rose up and went his way A third story is that Mohammed having hung up his arms on a tree, under which he was resting himself, and his companions being dispersed some distance from him, an Arab of the desert came up to him and drew his sword, saying *Who hindereth me from killing thee?* to which Mohammed answered God and Gabriel beating the sword out of the Arabs hand Mohammed took it up and asked him the same question *Who hinders me from killing thee?* the Arab replied *Nobody*, and immediately professed Mohammedism ⁷ Abdulfeda ⁸ tells the same story, with some variation of circumstances

⁸ After the Israelites had escaped from Pharaoh God ordered them to go against Jericho, which was then inhabited by giants, of the race of the Canaanites, promising to give it into their hands, and Moses, by the divine direction, appointed a prince or captain over each tribe to lead them in that expedition ⁹ and when they came to the borders of the land of Canaan, sent the captains as spies to get information of the state of the country, enjoining them secrecy, but they being terrified at the prodigious size and strength of the inhabitants, disheartened the people by publicly telling what they had seen, except only Caleb the son of Yufanna (Jephunneh) and Joshua the son of Nun ¹

^a By contributing towards this holy war

^b "Employ your riches in the defence of the holy religion" — *Savary*

^c That is, if they repent and believe, or submit to pay tribute Some, however, think these words are abrogated by the verse of the *sword* ²

^d Such as the verse of stoning adulterers ³ the description of Mohammed, and Christ's prophecy of him by the name of Ahmed ⁴

⁷ Al Beidawî
See Numb xiii and xiv

⁸ Vit Moh p 73

² Al Beidawî

³ See Num i 4 5

⁴ See chap iii p 37

¹ Al Beidawî

^a Al Beidawî

and to pass over^d many *things* Now is light and a perspicuous book of *revelations* come unto you from God Thereby will God direct him who shall follow his good pleasure, into the paths of peace, and shall lead them out of darkness into light, by his will, and shall direct them in the right way They are infidels, who say, Verily God is Christ the son of Mary Say unto them, And who could obtain any thing from God *to the contrary*, if he pleased to destroy Christ the son of Mary, and his mother, and all those who are on the earth? For unto God *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and whatsoever *is contained* between them, he createth what he pleaseth, and God is almighty The Jews and the Christians say, We are the children of God, and his beloved Answer, Why therefore doth he punish you for your sins? Nay, but ye are men, of those whom he hath created. He forgiveth whom he pleaseth, and punisheth whom he pleaseth, and unto God *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and or what *is contained* between them both, and unto him shall *all things* return O ye who have received the scriptures, now is our apostle come unto you, declaring unto you *the true religion*, during the cessation of apostles,^e lest ye should say, There came unto us no bearer of good tidings, nor any warner but now is a bearer of good tidings, and a warner come unto you, for God is almighty *Call to mind* when Moses said unto his people, O my people, remember the favour of God towards you, since he hath appointed prophets among you, and constituted you kings,^f and bestowed on you what he hath given to no *other* nation in the world^g O my people, enter the holy land, which God hath decreed you, and turn not your backs, lest ye be subverted and perish They answered, O Moses, verily there are a gigantic people in the *land*,^h and we will by no means enter it, until they depart thence, but if they depart thence, then will we enter *therein* And two menⁱ of those who feared God, unto whom God had been gracious, said, Enter ye upon them *suddenly by the gate of the city*, and when ye shall have entered the same, ye shall surely be victorious therefore trust in God, if ye are true believers They replied, O Moses, we will never enter *the land*, while they remain therein go therefore thou, and thy Lord, and fight, for we will sit here Moses said, O LORD, surely I am not master of any except myself, and my brother, therefore make a distinction

^d : e Those which it was not necessary to restore

^e The Arabic word *al Fatra* signifies the intermediate space of time between two prophets during which no new revelation or dispensation was given as the interval between Moses and Jesus, and between Jesus and Mohammed, at the expiration of which last, Mohammed pretended to be sent

^f This was fulfilled either by God's giving them a kingdom, and a long series of princes, or by his having made them *kings* or *masters* of themselves, by delivering them from the Egyptian bondage

^g Having divided the Red Sea for you, and guided you by a cloud and fed you with quails and manna &c^h

^h The laigest of these giants, the commentators say, was Og the son of Anak, concerning whose enormous stature, his escaping the flood, and the manner of his being slain by Moses the Mohammedans relate several absurd fablesⁱ

ⁱ Namely, Caleb and Joshua.

between us and the ungodly people. God answered, Verily the land shall be forbidden them forty years, *during which time they shall wander like men astomshed on the earth,*^k therefore be not thou solicitous for the ungodly people. Relate unto them also the history of the two sons of Adam,¹ with truth. When they offered *their offering,*^m and it was accepted from one of them,ⁿ and was not accepted from the other, Cain said to his brother, I will certainly kill thee. Abel answered, God only accepteth *the offering* of the pious, if thou stretchest forth thy hand against me, to slay me, I will not stretch forth my hand against thee, to slay thee, for I fear God, the LORD of all creatures.^o I choose that thou shouldest bear my iniquity and thine own iniquity, and that thou become a companion of *hell fire*, for that is the reward of the unjust.^p But his soul suffered him to slay his brother, and he slew him,^q wherefore he became *of the number* of those who perish. And God sent a raven, which scratched the earth, to show him how he should hide the shame of his brother,^r and he said, Woe is me! *am*

^k The commentators pretend that the Israelites while they thus wandered in the desert, were kept within the compass of about eighteen (or as some say twenty-seven) miles and that though they travelled from morning to night, yet they constantly found themselves the next day at the place from whence they set out.⁷

¹ Viz Cain and Abel whom the Mohammedans call Kabil and Habil—Cain is denominated Cabel by all the Arabian authors. His word which means the *first* is probably his proper name. The surname of Cain which signifies *traitor* may have been subsequently given to him. It appears in like manner that Habil is only a surname. In fact it alludes to that melancholy event which plunged the family of Adam into grief, and really signifies *by his death he has left a mother in tears*—Savary

^m The occasion of their making this offering is thus related according to the common tradition in the east.⁸ Each of them being born with a twin sister, when they were grown up, Adam, by God's direction, ordered Cain to marry Abel's sister and that Abel should marry Cain's, (for it being the common opinion that marriages ought not to be had in the nearest degrees of consanguinity since they must necessarily marry their sisters it seemed reasonable to suppose they ought to take those of the remote degree) but this Cain refusing, to agree to because his own sister was the handiomest, Adam ordered them to make their offerings to God, thereby referring the dispute to his determination.⁹ The commentators say Cain's offering was a sheaf of the very worst of his corn but Abel's a fat lamb of the best of his flock.

ⁿ Namely, from Abel, whose sacrifice God declared his acceptance of in a visible manner, by causing fire to descend from heaven and consume it without touching that of Cain.¹

^o To enhance Abel's patience Al Beidawi tells us that he was the stronger of the two, and could easily have prevailed against his brother.

^p The conversation between the two brothers is related somewhat to the same purpose in the Jerusalem Targum and that of Jonathan ben Uzziel.

^q Some say he knocked out his brains with a stone.² and pretend that as Cain was considering which way he should effect the murder the devil appeared to him in a human shape and showed him how to do it, by crushing the head of a bird between two stones.³

^r i. e. His dead corpse. For Cain having committed this fratricide, became exceedingly troubled in his mind, and carried the dead body about with him on his shoulders for a considerable time not knowing where to conceal it, till it stank horribly, and then God taught him to bury it by the example of a raven who having killed another raven in his presence dug a pit with his claws and beak, and buried him therein.⁴ For this circumstance of the raven Mohammed was beholden to the Jews, who tell the same story except only that they make the raven to appear to Adam, and that he thereupon buried his son.⁵

⁷ Al Beidawi, Jallalo ddin. ⁸ Vide Abulfarag p 6 7. Eutych annal p 15 16. and D Heibelot, Bibl Orient. Art Cabil. ⁹ Al Beidawi.

¹ Vide Eutych ubi supra. ² Vide D Heibelot, ubi supra. ³ Idem, Jallalo ddin, Al Beidawi. ⁴ Vide R. Eliezer, Pirke, c 20.

I unable to be like this raven, that I may hide my brother's shame? and he became *one* of those who repent. Wherefore we commanded the children of Israel, that he who slayeth a soul, without having slain a soul,* or committed wickedness in the earth,^a *shall be* as if he had slain all mankind [†] but he who saveth a soul alive, *shall be* as if he had saved the lives of all mankind. Our apostles formerly came unto them, with evident *miracles*, then were many of them, after this, transgressors on the earth. But the recompense of those who fight against God and his apostles, and study to act corruptly in the earth, *shall be*, that they shall be slain, or crucified, or have their hands and their feet cut off on the opposite *sides*, or be banished the land.[‡] This shall be their disgrace in this world, and in the next world they shall suffer a grievous punishment, except those who shall repent, before ye prevail against them, for know that God *is* inclined to forgive, and merciful. O true believers, fear God, and earnestly desire a near conjunction with him, and fight for his religion, that ye may be happy. Moreover they who believe not, although they had whatever *is* in the earth, and as much more withal, that they might therewith redeem themselves from punishment on the day of resurrection, it shall not be accepted from them, but they shall suffer a painful punishment. They shall desire to go forth from the fire, but they shall not go forth from it, and their punishment shall be permanent. If a man or a woman steal, cut off their hands,^x in retribution for that which they have committed, *this is* an exemplary punishment *appointed* by God, and God is mighty and wise. But whoever shall repent after his iniquity, and amend verily God will be turned unto him,^y for God *is* inclined to forgive, and merciful. Dost thou not know that the kingdom of heaven and earth is

* "He who shall slay a man without having suffered violence from him, shall be guilty of the blood of all the human race and he who shall save the life of a man shall be rewarded as if he had saved it to all the human race — *Savary*

^a Such as idolatry or robbing on the high way ⁶

[†] Having broken the commandment which forbids the shedding of blood.

[‡] The lawyers are not agreed as to the applying of these punishments. But the commentators suppose that they who commit murder only, are to be put to death in the ordinary way those who murder and rob too to be crucified, those who rob without committing murder to have their right hand and their left foot cut off, and they who assault persons and put them in fear to be banished ⁷ It is also a doubt whether they who are to be crucified shall be crucified alive, or be first put to death, or whether they shall hang on the cross till they die ⁸

^x But this punishment, according to the *Sonna*, is not to be inflicted, unless the value of the thing stolen amount to four dinars or about forty shillings. For the first offence the criminal is to lose his right hand which is to be cut off at the wrist, for the second offence, his left foot at the ankle for the third his left hand for the fourth his right foot and if he continue to offend, he shall be scourged at the discretion of the judge ⁹— This law is no longer in use among the Turks. The *bastonnade* is the usual punishment for theft. Robbers are often behended. This crime is very rare in the Turkish towns but the defective state of the police renders it common on the high roads, and especially in the deserts ¹⁰—*Savary*

^y That is, God will not punish him for it hereafter, but his repentance does not supersede the execution of the law here, nor excuse him from making restitution. Yet, according to al Shafei, he shall not be punished if the party wronged forgive him before he be carried before a magistrate ¹¹

⁶ Al Baidawi
Baidawi. ¹ *Iidem*.

⁷ *Icem*, Jallalo ddin

⁸ Al Baidawi.

⁹ Jallalo ddin, Al

God's? He punisheth whom he pleases, and he pardoneth whom he pleaseth, for God is almighty O apostle, let not them grieve thee, who hasten to infidelity,^a either of those who say, We believe, with their mouths, but whose hearts believe not,^a or of the Jews, who hearken to a lie, and hearken to other people,^b who come unto thee they pervert the words of the law from their true places,^c and say, If this be brought unto you, receive it, but if it be not brought unto you, beware of receiving aught else,^d and in behalf of him whom God shall resolve to reduce, thou shalt not prevail with God at all. They whose hearts God shall not please to cleanse shall suffer shame in this world, and a grievous punishment in the next who hearken to a lie, and eat that which is forbidden.^e But if they come unto thee for judgment, either judge between them, or leave them,^f and if thou leave them they shall not hurt thee at all. But if thou undertake to judge, judge between them with equity, for God loveth those who observe justice. And how will they submit to thy decision, since they have the law, containing the judgment of God?^g Then will they turn their backs,^h after this,^h but those are not true believers.ⁱ We have surely sent down the law, containing direction, and

ⁱ e Who take the first opportunity to throw off the mask, and to join the unbelievers

^a Viz, the hypocritical Mohammedans

^b These words are capable of two senses, and may either mean that they attended to the lies and forgeries of their Rabbins neglecting the remonstrances of Mohammed, or else that they came to hear Mohammed as spies only that they might report what he said to their companions, and represent him as a liar²

^c See chap iv p 66 note d

^d That is, if what Mohammed tells you agrees with scripture as corrupted and dislocated by us than you may accept it as the word of God but if not reject it. These words, it is said relate to the sentence pronounced by that prophet on an adulterer and adulteress,³ both persons of some figure among the Jews. Lo they, it seems, though they referred the matter to Mohammed yet directed the persons who carried the criminals before him that if he ordered them to be scourged and to have their faces blackened (by way of ignominy) they should acquiesce in his determination but in case he condemned them to be stoned they should not. And Mohammed pronouncing the latter sentence against them they refused to execute it till Ebn Sûriya (a Jew) who was called upon to decide the matter acknowledged the law to be so. Whereupon they were stoned at the door of the mosque⁴

^e Some understand this of unlawful meats but others of taking or devouring, as it is expressed, of usury and bribes⁵

^f i. e. Take thy choice, whether thou wilt determine their differences or not. Hence al Shafai was of opinion that a judge was not obliged to decide causes between Jews or Christians though if one or both of them be tributaries, or under the protection of the Mohammedans they are obliged this verse not regarding them. Abu Hanifa however thought that the magistrates were obliged to judge all cases which were submitted to them⁶

^g In the following passage, Mohammed endeavours to answer the objections of the Jews and Christians, who insisted that they ought to be judged the former by the law of Moses, and the latter by the gospel. He allows that the law was the proper rule of judging till the coming of Jesus Christ, after which the gospel was the rule, but pretends that both are set aside by the revelation of the Koran which is so far from being contradictory to either of the former, that it is more full and explicit, declaring several points which had been stifled, or corrupted therein and requiring a vigorous execution of the precepts in both, which had been too remissly observed, or rather neglected, by the latter professors of those religions

^h "But they fluctuate in doubt and believe not — Savary

ⁱ That is, notwithstanding their outward submission they will not abide by thy sentence, though conformable to the law if it contradict their own false and loose decisions.

² As gainsaying the doctrine of the books which they acknowledge for scripture

light thereby did the prophets, who professed the true religion, judge those who Judaized, and the doctors and priests *also judged* by the book of God, which had been committed to their custody, and they were witnesses thereof^{*} Therefore fear not men, but fear me, neither sell my signs for a small price. And whoso judgeth not according to what God hath revealed, they are infidels. We have therein commanded them, that *they should give life for life,¹ and eye for eye, and nose for nose, and ear for ear, and tooth for tooth, and that wounds should also be punished by retaliation*^m but whoever should remit it as alms, it *should be accepted as an atonement for him*. And whoso judgeth not according to what God hath revealed, they are unjust. We also caused Jesus the son of Mary to follow the footsteps of *the prophets*, confirming the law which *was sent down* before him, and we gave him the gospel, containing direction and light, confirming also the law which *was given* before it, and a direction and admonition unto those who fear God that they who have received the gospel might judge according to what God hath revealed therein and whoso judgeth not according to what God hath revealed, they are transgressors. We have also sent down unto thee the book of the *Korân* with truth, confirming that scripture which *was revealed* before it,^{*} and preserving the same safe *from corruption*. Judge therefore between them according to that which God hath revealed, and follow not their desires, *by swerving* from the truth which hath come unto thee. Unto every of you have we given a law, and an open path, and if God had pleased, he had surely made you one people,ⁿ but *he hath thought fit to give you different laws*, that he might try you in that which he hath given you *respectively*. Therefore strive to excel each other in good works unto God shall ye all return, and *then* will he declare unto you that concerning which ye have disagreed. Wherefore *do thou, O prophet*, judge between them according to that which God hath revealed, and follow not their desires, but beware of them, lest they cause thee to err^o from part of those *precepts* which God hath sent down unto thee, and if they turn back,¹ know that God is pleased to punish them for some of their crimes, for a great number of men are transgressors. Do they therefore desire the judgment of *the time of ignorance*?^q but who is better than God, to judge between people who

^{*} That is, vigilant to prevent any corruptions therein

¹ The original word is *soul*

^m See *Lxod* ㄴㄴ 24, &c

^{*} "We have sent thee down the book of truth which confirmeth the scriptures that came before it and bearth witness to them — *Savary*

ⁿ *e* He had given you the same laws, which should have continued in force through all ages without being abolished or changed by new dispensations, or he could have forced you all to embrace the Mohammedan religion

It is related, that certain of the Jewish priests came to Mohammed with a design to entrap him, and having first represented to him, that if they acknowledged him for a prophet, the rest of the Jews would certainly follow their example, made this proposal that if he would give judgment for them in a controversy of moment which they pretended to have with their own people, and which was agreed to be referred to his decision, they would believe in him but this Mohammed absolutely refused to comply with⁸

^p Or refuse to be judged by the Koran

^q That is, to be judged according to the customs of paganism, which indulge the

⁷ *Al Beidawi*

⁸ *Idem.*

reason aright? O true believers, take not the Jews or Christians for *your* friends, they are friends the one to the other, but whoso among you taketh them for *his* friends, he is surely *one* of them. Verily God directeth not unjust people. Thou shalt see those in whose hearts there is an infirmity, to hasten unto them, saying, We fear lest some adversity befall us, but it is easy for God to give victory, or a command from him,* that they may repent of that which they concealed in their minds. And they who believe will say, Are these *the men* who have sworn by God, with a most firm oath, that they surely *held* with you?¹ their works are become vain, and they are of those who perish. O true believers, whoever of you apostatizeth from his religion, God will certainly bring *other* people to *supply his place*,² whom he will love, and who will love him, *who shall be* humble towards the believers,* but severe to the unbelievers. They shall fight for the religion of God, and shall not fear the obloquy of the detractor. This is the bounty of God, he bestoweth it on whom he pleaseth. God is extensive and wise. Verily your protector is God, and his apostle, and those who believe, who observe the stated times of prayer, passions and vicious appetites of mankind for this, it seems was demanded by the Jewish tribes of Koreidha and al Nadir.³

¹ These were the words of Ebn Obba who when Obadrh Ebn al Samat publicly renounced the friendship of the infidels and professed that he took God and his apostle for his patrons, said that he was a man apprehensive of the fickleness of fortune, and therefore would not throw off his old friends, who might be of service to him hereafter.⁴

² To extirpate and banish the Jews to detect and punish the hypocrites.

³ These words may be spoken by the Mohammedans either to one another, or to the Jews since these hypocrites had given their oaths to both.⁵

⁴ This is one of those accidents which it is pretended, were foretold by the Koran long before they came to pass. For in the latter days of Mohammed, and after his death, considerable numbers of the Arabs quitted his religion, and returned to Paganism, Judaism, or Christianity. Al Beidawi reckon them up in the following order. 1 Three companies of Banu Modlay seduced by Dhu lhamar al Aswad al Ansi who set up for a prophet in Yaman, and grew very powerful there.⁶ 2 Banu Honeifa, who followed the famous false prophet Moseilama.⁷ 3 Banu Assad who acknowledged Toleiha Ebn Khowailel, another pretender to divine revelation.⁸ for their prophet. All these fell off in Mohammed's lifetime. The following, except only the last apostatized in the reign of Abu Beer. 4 Certain of the tribe of Fazarah, headed by Oyeyma Ebn Hosein. 5 Some of the tribe of Ghatfan whose leader was Korrah Ebn Salma. 6 Banu Soleim who followed al Lahjaah Ebn Abd Yahl. 7 Banu Yarbu, whose captain was Malec Ebn Noweirah Ebn Kai. 8 Part of the tribe of Lamin the proselytes of Sajy the daughter of al Mondhar who gave herself out for a prophetess.⁹ 9 The tribe of Kendah led by al Asbath Ebn Kais. 10 Banu Beer Ebn al Waiel in the province of Bahrein, headed by al Hotam Ebn Zeid. And 11 Some of the tribes of Ghasan, who, with their prince Jabalah Ebn al Aysham, renounced Mohammedism in the time of Omar and returned to their former profession of Christianity.¹⁰

But as to the persons who fulfilled the other part of this prophecy, by supplying the loss of so many renegades, the commentators are not agreed. Some will have them to be the inhabitants of Yaman and others the Persians, the authority of Mohammed himself being vouched for both opinions. Others however suppose them to be two thousand of the tribe of al Nakha (who dwelt in Yaman), five thousand of those of Kenda and Bajlah, and three thousand of unknown descent, who were present at the famous battle of Kadesia,¹¹ fought in the Khalifat of Omar, and which put an end to the Persian empire.¹²

* "If they are inferior to the believers, they shall be superior to the infidels."
—Savary

¹ Al Beidawi ² Idem ³ Idem ⁴ See the Prelim Disc sect viii ⁵ See ib
⁶ See ib ⁷ See ib ⁸ See ib ⁹ See ib sect 1 ¹⁰ Vide D Herbel Bibl Orient
p 226 ¹¹ Al Beidawi

and give alms, and who bow down to *worship* And whoso taketh God, and his apostle, and the believers for his friends, *they are* the party of God, and *they shall be victorious* O true believers, take not such of those to whom the scriptures were delivered before you, or of the infidels, for your friends, who make a laughing stock, and a jest of your religion,² but fear God, if ye be true believers, *nor those who* when ye call to prayer, make a laughing stock and a jest of it,³ *this they do*, because they are people who do not understand Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, do ye reject us *for any other reason* than because we believe in God, and that *revelation* which hath been sent down unto us, and that which was formerly sent down, and for that the greater part of you are transgressors? Say, Shall I denounce unto you a worse *thing* than this, *as to* the reward *which ye are to expect* with God?⁴ He whom God hath cursed, and with whom he hath been angry, having changed *some* of them into apes and swine,⁵ and *who* worship Taghut,⁶ *they are* in the worst condition, and *far more widely* from the straightness of the path When they came unto you, they said, We believe yet they entered *into your company* with infidelity, and went forth *from you* with the same, but God well knew what they concealed Thou shalt see many of them hastening unto iniquity and malice, and to eat things forbidden,⁷ and *woe unto them* for what they have done Unless *their* doctors and priests forbid them uttering wickedness, and eating things forbidden, *woe unto them* for what they shall have committed The Jews say, The hand of God is tied up⁸ Their hands shall be tied up,⁹ and they shall be cursed for that which they have said Nay his hands are both stretched forth, he bestoweth as he pleaseth that which

² This passage was primarily intended to forbid the Moslems entering into a friendship with two hypocrites named Refaa Ibn Zeid and Sowaid Ibn al Hareth who though they had embraced Mohammedism yet ridiculed it on all occasions, and were notwithstanding greatly beloved among the prophet's followers

³ These words were added on occasion of a certain Christian, who hearing the Muadhdhin, or cryer calling to prayers repeated this part of the usual form, *I profess that Mohammed is the apostle of God* said aloud, *May God burn the liar* but a few nights after his own house was accidentally set on fire by a servant, and himself and his family perished in the flames¹

⁴ "What can I describe unto you more terrible than the vengeance which God hath exercised against you? He hath cursed you in his anger Some of you hath he transformed into apes and into swine, because that ye have burned incense before idols, and that ye have been plunged into utter darkness"—*Savary*

⁵ The former were the Jews of Ailah, who broke the sabbath² and the latter those who believed not in the miracle of the Table which was let down from heaven to Jesus³ Some however, imagine that the Jews of Ailah only are meant in this place, pretending that the young men among them were metamorphosed into apes, and the old men into swine⁴

⁶ See chap II p 31

⁷ See before, p 81

⁸ That is he is become niggardly and closefisted These were the words of Phineas Ibn Azura (another indecent expression of whom almost to the same purpose is mentioned elsewhere⁵), when the Jews were much impoverished by a dearth which the commentators will have to be a judgment on them for their rejecting of Mohammed, and the other Jews who heard him, instead of reproving him, expressed their approbation of what he had said⁶

⁹ i. e. They shall be punished with want and avarice The words may also allude to the manner wherein the reprobates shall appear at the last day having their right hands tied up to their necks, which is the proper signification of the Arabic word

¹ Al Beidawi ² See chap II p 9 ³ See towards the end of this chapter ⁴ Al Beidawi ⁵ Chap III p 56 ⁶ Al Beidawi See the Prelim Disc sect IV

hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD^a shall increase the transgression and infidelity of many of them, and we have put enmity and hatred between them, until the day of resurrection. So often as they shall kindle a fire for war, God shall extinguish it,^f and they shall set their minds to act corruptly in the earth, but God loveth not the corrupt doers. Moreover, if they who have received the scriptures believe, and fear God, we will surely expiate their sins from them, and we will lead them into gardens of pleasure, and if they observe the law, and the gospel, and the other scriptures which have been sent down unto them from their LORD, they shall surely eat of good things both from above them, and from under their feet.^g Among them there are people who act uprightly, but how evil is that which many of them do work^h O apostle, publish the whole of that which hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD for if thou do not, thou dost not in effect publish any part thereof,^h and God will defend thee against wicked men,ⁱ for God directeth not the unbelieving people. Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, ye are not grounded on any thing, until ye observe the law and the gospel, and that which hath been sent down unto you from your LORD That which hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD will surely increase the transgression and infidelity of many of them but be not thou solicitous for the unbelieving people Verily they who believe, and those who Judaize, and the Sabians, and the Christians, whoever of them believeth in God and the last day, and doth that which is right, there shall come no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved.^k We formerly accepted the covenant of the children of Israel, and sent apostles unto them So often as an apostle came unto them with that which their souls desired not, they accused some of them of imposture, and some of them they killed and they imagined that there should be no punishment for those crimes, and they became blind, and deaf^l Then was God turned unto them,^m afterwards many of them again became blind and deaf, but God saw what they did They are surely infidels, who say, Verily God is Christ the son of Mary, since Christ said,

^a Viz the Koran

^f Either by raising feuds and quarrels among themselves or by granting the victory to the Moslem Al Beidawi adds that on the Jews neglecting the true observance of their law corrupting their religion God has successively delivered them into the hands first of Bakht Nasi o- Nebuchadnezzar then of Titus the Roman, and afterwards of the Persians and has now at last subjected them to the Mohammedans

^g That is, they shall enjoy the blessings both of heaven and earth

^h That is, if they do not complete the publication of all thy revelations without exception, thou dost not answer the end for which they were revealed, because the concealing of any part renders the system of religion which God has thought fit to publish to mankind by thy ministry lame and imperfect^h

ⁱ Until this verse was revealed Mohammed entertained a guard of armed men for his security, but on receiving this assurance of God's protection, he immediately dismissed themⁱ

^k See chap ii p 9

^l Shutting their eyes and ears against conviction and the remonstrances of the law, as when they worshipped the calf

^m i.e. Upon their repentance

O children of Israel, serve God, my LORD and your LORD, whoever shall give a companion unto God, God shall exclude him from paradise, and his habitation shall be *hell* fire, and the ungodly shall have none to help them. They are certainly infidels, who say, God is the third of three ^a for there is no God, besides one God, and if they refrain not from what they say, a painful torment shall surely be inflicted on such of them as are unbelievers. Will they not therefore be turned unto God, and ask pardon of him? since God is gracious and merciful. Christ the son of Mary is no more than an apostle, other apostles have preceded him, and his mother was a woman of veracity ^o they both ate food.^p Behold, how we declare unto them the signs of God's unity, and then behold, how they turn aside from the truth. Say unto them, Will ye worship, besides God, that which can cause you neither harm nor profit? God is he who heareth and seeth. Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, exceed not the just bounds in your religion,^q by speaking beside the truth, neither follow the desires of people who have heretofore erred, and who have seduced many, and have gone astray from the straight path.^r Those among the children of Israel who believed not were cursed by the tongue of David, and of Jesus the son of Mary.^s This befell them because they were rebellious and transgressed they forbade not one another the wickedness which they committed, and woe unto them for what they committed. Thou shalt see many of them make for their friends those who believe not. Woe unto them for what their souls have sent before them,^t for that God is incensed against them, and they shall remain in torment for ever. But, if they had believed in God, and the prophet, and that which hath been revealed unto him, they had not taken them for their friends, but many of them are evil doers. Thou shalt surely find the most violent of all men in enmity against the true believers to be the Jews, and the idolaters and thou shalt surely find those among them to be the most inclinable to entertain friendship for the true believers, who say, We are Christians. This cometh to pass, because there are priests and monks among them, and because they are not elated with pride.^u * [VII] and when they hear that which hath been sent down to the apostle read unto them, thou shalt see their eyes overflow with tears, because of the truth which they perceive therein,^x saying, O LORD, we

^a See chap iv p 80

^o Never pretending to partake of the divine nature, or to be the mother of God ¹

^p Being obliged to support their lives by the same means and being subject to the same necessities and infirmities as the rest of mankind and therefore no gods ²

^q See chap iv p 80 But here the words are principally directed to the Christians

That is of their prelates and predecessors, who erred in ascribing divinity to Christ before the mission of Mohammed ³

^r See before p 90 note z

^s See chap ii, p 13, note r

^t Having not that high conceit of themselves, as the Jews have, but being humble and well disposed to receive the truth, qualities, says Al Beidawi, which are to be commended even in infidels.

^u The persons directly intended in this passage were, either Ashama, king of Ethiopia, and several bishops and priests, who being assembled for that purpose,

believe, write us down therefore with those who bear witness *to the truth* and what *should hinder* us from believing in God, and the truth which hath come unto us, and from earnestly desiring that our LORD would introduce us *into paradise* with the righteous people? Therefore hath God rewarded them, for what they have said, with gardens through which rivers flow, they shall continue therein *for ever*, and this is the reward of the righteous. But they who believe not, and accuse our signs of falsehood, they *shall be* the companions of hell O true believers, forbid not the good things which God hath allowed you,⁷ but transgress not, for God loveth not the transgressors And eat of what God hath given you for food *that which is lawful and good* and fear God, in whom ye believe. God will not punish you for an inconsiderate word in your oaths,⁸ but he will punish you for what ye solemnly swear *with deliberation*. And the expiation of such an oath *shall be* the feeding of ten poor men with such moderate food as ye feed your own families withal, or to clothe them,⁹ or to free the neck of a true believer from captivity but he who shall not find wherewith to perform one of these three things shall fast three days¹⁰ This is the expiation of your oaths, when ye swear *inadvertently* Therefore keep your oaths Thus God declareth unto you his signs, that ye may give thanks O true believers, surely wine, and lots,¹¹ and images,¹² and divining arrows,¹³ are an abomination of the work of Satan, therefore avoid them, that ye may prosper Satan seeketh to sow dissension and hatred among you, by means of wine and lots, and to divert you from remembering heard Jaafar Ebn Taleb, who fled to that country in the first flight,¹⁴ read the 29th and 30th and afterwards the 18th and 19th chapters of the Koran, on hearing of which the king and the rest of the company burst into tears, and confessed what was written therein to be conformable to truth, that prince himself, in particular, becoming a proselyte to Mohammedism¹⁵ or else thirty or as others say seventy persons, sent ambassadors to Mohammed by the same king of Ethiopia to whom the prophet himself read the 36th chapter intitled Y S Whereupon they began to weep, saying, *How like is this to that which was revealed unto Jesus!* and immediately professed themselves Moslems¹⁶

⁷ These words were revealed, when certain of Mohammed's companions agreed to oblige themselves to continual fasting and watching and to abstain from women eating flesh, sleeping on beds and other lawful enjoyments of life in imitation of some self denying Christians but this the prophet disapproved, declaring that he would have no monks in his religion⁷

⁸ See chap 11 p 26.

⁹ The commentators give us the different opinions of the doctors, as to the quantity of food and clothes to be given in this case, which I think scarcely worth transcribing

¹⁰ That is, three days together says Abu Hanifa But this is not observed in practice, being neither explicitly commanded in the Koran, nor ordered in the Sonna¹⁰

¹¹ That is, all intoxicating liquors, and games of chance See the Prelim Disc sect. v and chap 11 p 25

¹² Al Beidawi and some other commentators expound this of idols, but others, with more probability of the carved pieces or men with which the pagan Arabs played at chess being little figures of men, elephants, horses and dromedaries, and this is supposed to be the only thing which Mohammed disliked in that game for which reason the Sonmites play with plain pieces of wood or ivory, but the Persians and Indians, who are not so scrupulous, still make use of the carved ones¹²

¹³ See the Prelim Disc sect. v

¹⁴ See the Prelim Disc sect 11 ¹⁵ Al Beidawi, al Thalabi Vide Abulred Vit Moh p 25 &c Marracc Prodr ad Refut Alcor part 1 p 45 ¹⁶ Al Beidawi, Jallaluddin Vide Marracc ubi sup ¹⁷ Jallaluddin, Al Beidawi. ¹⁸ Al Beidawi. ¹⁹ Vide Prelim. Disc. sect v

God, and from prayer will ye not therefore abstain *from them*? Obey God, and obey the apostle, and take heed to *yourselves* but if ye turn back, know that the duty of our apostle is only to preach publicly.^f In those who believe and do good works, it is no sin that they have tasted *wine or gaming before they were forbidden*, if they fear God, and believe, and do good works, and shall for the future fear God, and believe, and shall persevere to fear him and to do good,^g for God loveth those who do good. O true believers, God will surely prove you in *offering you plenty of game*, which ye may take with your hands or your lances,^h that God may know who feareth him in secret, but whoever transgresseth after this shall suffer a grievous punishment. O true believers, kill no game while ye are on pilgrimage,ⁱ whosoever among you shall kill any designedly shall restore the like of what he shall have killed,^j in domestic animals,^k according to the determination of two just persons among you, to be brought as an offering to the Caaba, or in atonement thereof shall feed the poor, or instead thereof shall fast, that he may taste the heinousness of his deed. God hath forgiven what is past, but whoever returneth to transgress, God will take vengeance on him, for God is mighty and able to avenge. It is lawful for you to fish in the sea,^l and to eat *what ye shall catch*, as a provision for you and for those who travel, but it is unlawful for you to hunt by land, while ye are performing the rites of pilgrimage,^m therefore fear God, before whom ye shall be assembled at the last day. God hath appointed the Caaba, the holy house, an establishmentⁿ for mankind, and hath ordained the

^f See the Prelim Disc. sect. ii.

^g The commentators endeavour to excuse the tautology of this passage, by supposing the threefold repetition of *fearing* and *believing* refers either to the three parts of time, past, present and future, or to the threefold duty of man, towards God, himself and his neighbour, &c.¹

^h This temptation or trial was at al Hodeibiya, where Mohammed's men, who had attended him thither with an intent to perform a pilgrimage to the Caaba, and had initiated themselves with the usual rites were surrounded by so great a number of birds and beasts, that they impeded their march, from which unusual accident, some of them concluded that God had allowed them to be taken, but this passage was to convince them of the contrary.²

ⁱ Literally *while ye are* Mohrims or have actually initiated yourselves as pilgrims, by putting on the garment worn at that solemnity. Hunting and fowling are hereby absolutely forbidden to persons in this state, though they are allowed to kill certain kinds of noxious animals.³

^j "He who violateth this prohibition shall be punished as though he had killed a domestic animal."—*Savary*

^k That is he shall bring an offering to the temple of Mecca, to be slain there and distributed among the poor, of some domestic or tame animal, equal in value to what he shall have killed, as a sheep for example, in lieu of an antelope; a pigeon for a partridge, &c. And of this value two prudent persons were to be judges. If the offender was not able to do this, he was to give a certain quantity of food to one or more poor men or if he could not afford that, to fast a proportionable number of days.⁴

^l This, says Jallalo'ddin, is to be understood of fish that live altogether in the sea, and not of those that live in the sea and on land both, as crabs &c. The Turks, who are Hanafites, never eat this sort of fish, but the sect of Malec Ebn Ans, and perhaps some others, make no scruple of it.

^m See above note 1.

ⁿ That is, the place where the practice of their religious ceremonies is chiefly

¹ Al Beidawi. ² Idem, Jallalo'ddin. ³ See the Prelim Disc. sect. v. ⁴ Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidawi.

sacred month,* and the offering, and the ornaments hung *thereon*.[†] This *hath he done* that ye might know that God knoweth whatsoever *is* in heaven and on earth, and that God is omniscient. Know that God is severe in punishing, and that God *is also* ready to forgive *and* merciful. The duty of our apostle is to preach only,[‡] and God knoweth that which ye discover, and that which ye conceal. Say, Evil and good shall not be equally esteemed of, though the abundance of evil pleaseth thee,[§] therefore fear God, O ye of understanding, that ye may be happy. O true believers inquire not concerning things, which, if they be declared unto you, may give you pain,[¶] but if ye ask concerning them when the Korân is sent down, they will be declared unto you. God pardoneth *you as to* these matters, for God is ready to forgive, *and* gracious. People who have been before you formerly inquired concerning them, and afterwards disbelieved therein. God hath not ordained *any thing* concerning Bahîra, nor Sâiba, nor Wasîla, nor Hâmî,[‡] but the unbelievers have invented a lie against God and the greater part of them do not understand. And when it was said unto them, Come unto that which God hath revealed, and to the apostle, they answered, That *religion* which we found our fathers *to follow* is sufficient for us. What, though their fathers knew nothing and were not *rightly* directed? O true believers, take care of your souls? He who erreth shall not hurt you, while ye are *rightly* directed.[¶] unto God shall ye all return, and he will tell you that which ye have done. O true believers, let witnesses be taken between you, when death approaches any of you, at the time of *making* the testament, *let there*

established where those who are under any apprehension of danger may find a *sure asylum* and the merchant certain gain &c.[‡]

* Al Beidawî understands this of the month of Dhulhijja, wherein the ceremonies of the pilgrimage are performed but Jallaloddin supposes all the four sacred months are here intended.[¶]

† See before p 81 note g

‡ See the Prelim Disc sect 11

§ For judgment is to be made of things not from their plenty or scarcity but from their intrinsic good or bad qualities.[¶]

¶ The Arabs continually teasing their prophet with questions, which probably he was not always prepared to answer they are here ordered to wait, till God should think fit to declare his pleasure by some further revelation and to abate their curiosity, they are told at the same time that very likely the answers would not be agreeable to their inclinations. Al Beidawî says that when the pilgrimage was first commanded, Soraka Ebn Malic asked Mohammed whether they were obliged to perform it every year? To this question the prophet at first turned a deaf ear, but being asked it a second and a third time, he at last said, *No but if I had said y s, it would have become a duty, and if it were a duty ye would not be able to perform it therefore give me no trouble as to things wherein I give you none* whereupon this passage was revealed.

* These were the names given by the pagan Arabs to certain camels or sheep which were turned loose to feed and exempted from common services, in some particular cases having their ears slit or some other mark, that they might be known, and thus they did in honour of their gods.[¶] Which superstitions are here declared to be no ordinances of God, but the inventions of foolish men.

† This was revealed when the infidels reproached those who embraced Mohammedanism and renounced their old idolatry, that by so doing they arraigned the wisdom of their forefathers.[¶]

* Jallaloddin, Al Beidawî
† See the Prelim Disc. sect. v

‡ See the Prelim Disc. sect. vi
§ Al Beidawî.

¶ Al Beidawî.

be two witnesses, just men, from among you,* or two others of a different tribe or faith from yourselves,[†] if ye be journeying in the earth, and the accident of death befall you Ye shall shut them both up, after the afternoon prayer,[‡] and they shall swear by God, if ye doubt them, and they shall say, We will not sell our evidence for a bribe, although the person concerned be one who is related to us, neither will we conceal the testimony of God, for then should we certainly be of the number of the wicked. But if it appear that both have been guilty of iniquity, two others shall stand up in their place, of those who have convicted them of falsehood, the two nearest in blood, and they shall swear by God, saying, Verily our testimony is more true than the testimony of these two, neither have we prevaricated, for then should we become of the number of the unjust This will be easier, that men may give testimony according to the plain intention thereof, or fear lest a different oath be given, after their oath Therefore fear God, and hearken, for God directeth not the unjust people[§] On a certain day^{||} shall God assemble the apostles, and shall say unto them, What answer was returned you, when ye preached unto the people to whom ye were sent? They shall answer, We have no knowledge, but thou art the knower of secrets[¶] When God shall say, O Jesus, son of Mary, remember my favour towards thee, and towards thy mother, when I strengthened thee with the

* That is, of your kindred or religion

† They who interpret these words of persons of another religion say they are abrogated and that the testimony of such ought not to be received against a Moslem¹

‡ In case there was any doubt, the witnesses were to be kept apart from company lest they should be corrupted till they gave their evidence which they generally did when the afternoon prayer was over, because that was the time of peoples assembling in public, or say some because the guardian angels then relieve each other, so that there would be four angels to witness against them if they gave false evidence But others suppose they might be examined after the hour of any other prayer when there was a sufficient assembly²

§ The occasion of the preceding passage is said to have been this Famin al Dari and Addi Ebn Yazid, both Christians took a journey into Syria to trade in company with Bodeil, the freedman of Amru Ebn al As, who was a Moslem When they came to Damascus, Bodeil fell sick and died having first wrote down a list of his effects on a piece of paper, which he hid in his baggage, without acquainting his companions with it, and desired them only to deliver what he had to his friends of the tribe of Sahn The survivors however searching among his goods, found a vessel of silver of considerable weight and inlaid with gold which they concealed and on their return delivered the rest to the deceased's relations who finding the list of Bodeil's writing, demanded the vessel of silver of them, but they denied it and the affair being brought before Mohammed, these words viz, O true believers, take witnesses, &c. were revealed and he ordered them to be sworn at the pulpit in the mosque, just as afternoon prayer was over and on their making oath that they knew nothing of the plate demanded, dismissed them But afterwards the vessel being found in their hands the Sahmites suspecting it was Bodeil's charged them with it, and they confessed it was his but insisted that they had bought it of him and that they had not produced it, because they had no proof of the bargain Upon this they went again before Mohammed to whom these words, And if it appear &c. were revealed and thereupon Amru Ebn al As and al Motaleb Ebn Abi Refaa, both of the tribe of Sahn, stood up, and were sworn against them, and judgment was given accordingly³

|| That is, on the day of judgment

¶ That is We are ignorant whether our proselytes were sincere, or whether they apostatized after our deaths, but thou well knowest not only what answer they gave us, but the secrets of their hearts, and whether they have since continued firm in their religion or no⁴

holy spirit,^d that thou shouldest speak unto men in the cradle, and when thou wast grown up,^e and when I taught thee the scripture, and wisdom, and the law, and the gospel, and when thou didst create of clay as it were the figure of a bird, by my permission, and didst breathe thereon, and it became a bird, by my permission, and thou didst heal one blind from his birth, and the leper, by my permission, and when thou didst bring forth the dead *from their graves* by my permission,^f and when I withheld the children of Israel from *killing* thee,^g when thou hadst come unto them with evident *miracles*, and such of them as believed not said, This is nothing but manifest sorcery. And when I commanded the apostles of *Jesus* saying, Believe in me, and in my messenger, they answered, We do believe, and do thou bear witness that we are resigned *unto thee*. Remember when the apostles said, O Jesus son of Mary, is thy LORD able to cause a table to descend unto us from heaven?^h He answered, Fear God, if ye be true believers. They said, We desire to eat thereof, and that our hearts may rest at ease, and that we may know that thou hast told us the truth, and that we may be witnesses thereof. Jesus, the son of Mary said, O GOD our LORD, cause a table to descend unto us from heaven, that *the day of its descent* may become a festival dayⁱ unto us, unto the first of us, and unto the last of us, and a sign from thee, and do thou provide food for us, for thou art the best provider. God said, Verily I will cause it to

^d See chap ii p 12 ^e See chap iii p 41 ^f See *ibid* ^g See *ibid*, p 42

^h This miracle is thus related by the commentators. Jesus having at the request of his followers asked it of God, a red table immediately descended, in their sight, between two clouds, and was set before them whereupon he rose up, and having made the ablution, prayed and then took off the cloth which covered the table, saying, *In the name of God the best provider of food*. What the provisions were, with which this table was furnished, is a matter wherein the expositors are not agreed. One will have them to be nine cakes of bread and nine fishes, another, bread and flesh, another, all sorts of food except flesh, another, all sorts of food, except bread and flesh, another, all except bread and fish, another, one fish, which had the taste of all manner of food, and another, fruits of paradise, but the most received tradition is that when the table was uncovered, there appeared a fish ready dressed without scales or prickly fins, dropping with fat having salt placed at its head, and vinegar at its tail and round it all sorts of herbs, except leeks, and five loaves of bread, on one of which there were olives, on the second honey, on the third butter, on the fourth cheese, and on the fifth dried flesh. They add that Jesus, at the request of the apostles, showed them another miracle, by restoring the fish to life, and causing its scales and fins to return to it, at which the standers by being affrighted, he caused it to become as it was before, that one thousand three hundred men and women, all afflicted with bodily infirmities or poverty, ate of these provisions, and were satisfied, the fish remaining whole as it was at first, that then the table flew up to heaven in the sight of all, and every one who had partaken of this food were delivered from their infirmities and misfortunes, and that it continued to descend for forty days together, at dinner time and stood on the ground till the sun declined and was then taken up into the clouds. Some of the Mohammedan writers are of opinion that this table did not really descend, but that it was only a parable, but most think the words of the Koran are plain to the contrary. A further tradition is that several men were changed into swine for disbelieving this miracle and attributing it to magic art, or, as others pretend, for stealing some of the victuals from off it.ⁱ Several other fabulous circumstances are also told, which are scarce worth transcribing.^j

ⁱ Some say the table descended on a Sunday, which was the reason of the Christians observing that day as sacred. Others pretend that this day is still kept among them as a very great festival, and it seems as if the story had its rise from an imperfect notion of Christ's last supper, and the institution of the Eucharist.

^a Al Beidawi, al Thalabi.

^b Vide Marrace in *Alc* p 238, &c

descend unto you, but whoever among you sha'll disbelieve hereafter, I will surely punish him with a punishment, wherewith I will not punish any other creature. And when GOD shall say unto *Jesus, at the last day*, O Jesus, son of Mary, hast thou said unto men, Take me and my mother for two gods, beside GOD? He shall answer, Praise be unto thee! it is not for me to say that which I ought not, if I had said so, thou wouldest surely have known it thou knowest what is in me, but I know not what is in thee, for thou art the knower of secrets I have not spoken to them *any other* than what thou didst command me, *namely*, Worship God, my LORD and your LORD and I was a witness of *their actions* while I staid among them, but since thou hast taken me to thyself,^k thou hast been the watcher over them, for thou art witness of all things. If thou punish them, they are surely thy servants, and if thou forgive them, thou art mighty *and* wise GOD will say, This day shall their veracity be of advantage unto those who speak truth, they shall have gardens wherein rivers flow, they shall remain therein for ever GOD hath been well pleased in them, and they have been well pleased in him This *shall be* great felicity Unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and of earth, and of whatever therein is, and he is almighty

CHAPTER VI

INTITLED, CATTLE 'REVEALED AT MFCCA ^m

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

PRAISE be unto GOD, who hath created the heavens and the earth, and hath ordained the darkness and the light, nevertheless they who believe not in the LORD equalize *other gods with him* It is he who hath created you of clay, and then decreed the term of *your lives*, and the prefixed term is with him ⁿ yet do ye doubt *thereof* He is GOD in heaven and in earth, he knoweth what ye keep secret, and what ye publish, and knoweth what ye deserve There came not unto them any sign, of the signs of their LORD, but they retired from the same, and they have gainsaid the truth, after that it hath come unto them but a message shall come unto them,

^k Or, *since thou hast caused me to die*, but as it is a dispute among Mohammedans whether Christ actually died or not, before his assumption,⁶ and the original may be translated either way, I have chosen the former expression, which leaves the matter undecided

^l This chapter is so intitled because some superstitious customs of the Meccans, as to certain cattle, are therein incidentally mentioned

^m Except only six verses, or, say others, three verses, which are taken notice of in the notes.

ⁿ By the last term some understand the time of the resurrection Others think that by the first term is intended the space between creation and death, and by the latter, that between death and the resurrection.

⁶ See chap iii p 43.

concerning that which they have mocked at.^o Do they not consider how many generations we have destroyed before them? We had established them in the earth in a manner wherein we have not established you,^p we sent the heaven to rain abundantly upon them, and we gave *them* rivers which flowed under *their feet* yet we destroyed them in their sins, and raised up other generations after them. Although we had caused to descend unto thee a book *written* on paper, and they had handled it with their hands, the unbelievers had surely said, This *is* no other than manifest sorcery.* They said, Unless an angel be sent down unto him, *we will not believe*. But if we had sent down an angel, verily the matter had been decreed,^q and they should not have been borne with, *by having time granted them to repent*. And if we had appointed an angel *for our messenger*, we should have sent him *in the form of a man*,^r and have clothed *him* before them, as they are clothed. Other apostles have been laughed to scorn, before thee, but *the judgment* which they made a jest of encompassed those who laughed them to scorn. Say, Go through the earth, and behold what hath been the end of those, who accused *our prophets* of imposture. Say, Unto whom *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and earth? Say, Unto God. He hath prescribed unto himself mercy. He will surely gather you together on the day of resurrection, there is no doubt of it. They who destroy their own souls *are those who* will not believe. Unto him *is owing* whatsoever happeneth by night or by day, [†] *it is* he who heareth and knoweth. Say, Shall I take any other protector than God, the creator of heaven and earth, who feedeth *all* and is not fed *by any*? Say, Verily I am commanded to be the first to profess Islam,^s and *it was said unto me*, Thou shalt by no means be *one* of the idolaters. Say, Verily I fear, if I should rebel against my LORD, the punishment of the great day from whomsoever it shall be averted on that day, *God* will have been merciful unto him, *this will be* manifest salvation. If God afflict thee with any hurt, there is none who can take it off *from thee*, except himself, but if he cause good to befall thee, he is almighty, he is the supreme LORD over his servants and he *is*

^o That is, they shall be convinced of the truth which they have made a jest of, when they see the punishment which they shall suffer for so doing, both in this world and the next, or when they shall see the glorious success of Mohammedism.

^p *e* We had blessed them with greater power and length of prosperity than we have granted you, O men of Mecca.⁷ Mohammed seems here to mean the ancient and potent tribes of Ad and Thamud, &c.⁸

* "It is an imposture — *Savary*

^q That is to say As they would not have believed, even if an angel had descended to them from heaven, God has shown his mercy in not complying with their demands, for if he had, they would have suffered immediate condemnation, and would have been allowed no time for repentance.

^r As Gabriel generally appeared to Mohammed, who, though a prophet, was not able to bear the sight of him when he appeared in his proper form, much less would others be able to support it.

[†] "He possesseth all that night veileth, all that day enlighteneth. He knoweth and heareth all things" — *Savary*

^s That is, the first of my nation.

wise and knowing Say, What thing is the strongest in bearing testimony?[†] Say, God, he is witness between me and you. And this Korân was revealed unto me, that I should admonish you thereby, and *also* those unto whom it shall reach. Do you really profess that there are other gods together with God? Say, I do not profess *this*. Say, Verily he is one God, and I am guiltless of what ye associate *with him*. They unto whom we have given the scripture know *our apostle*, even as they know their own children,[‡] but they who destroy their own souls will not believe. Who is more unjust than he who inventeth a lie against God,[‡] or chargeth his signs with imposture? Surely the unjust shall not prosper. And on the day of resurrection we will assemble them all, then will we say unto those who associated others with God, Where are your companions,[§] whom ye imagined to be those of God? But they shall have no other excuse, than that they shall say, By God our LORD, we have not been idolaters. Behold, how they lie against themselves, and what they have *blasphemously* imagined to be the companion of God flieth from them.[¶] There is of them who hearkeneth unto thee *when thou readest the Koran*,[¶] but we have cast veils over their hearts, that they should not understand it, and a deafness in their ears, and though they should see all *kinds* of signs, they will not believe therein, and their infidelity will arrive to that height that they will even come unto thee, to dispute with thee. The unbelievers will say, This is nothing but silly fables of ancient times. And they will forbid others from believing therein, and will retire afar off from it, but they will destroy their own souls only, and they are not sensible thereof. If thou didst see when they shall be set over the fire of hell! and they shall say, Would to God we might be sent back into the world, we would not charge the signs of our LORD with imposture, and we would become true believers nay, but that is become manifest unto them, which they formerly concealed,[¶] and though they should be sent back into the world, they would surely return to that which was forbidden them, and they are surely liars. And they said, There is no other life than our present life, neither shall we be raised again. But if thou couldst see, when they shall be set before their Lord![¶] He shall say unto them, Is not this in truth come to pass? They

[†] This passage was revealed when the Koreish told Mohammed that they had asked the Jews and Christians concerning him who assured them they found no mention or description of him in their books of scripture, Therefore, said they, who bears witness to thee that thou art the apostle of God?[¶]

[‡] See chap. 11 p. 18.

[§] Saying the angels are the daughters of God, and intercessors for us with him &c.[¶]

[¶] i. e. Your idols and false gods

[¶] That is their imaginary duties prove to be nothing, and disappear like vain phantoms and chimeras

[¶] The persons here meant were Abu Sofian al Walid, al Nodar, Otba, Abu Jahl, and their comrades, who went to hear Mohammed repeat some of the Koran, and Nodar being asked what he said answered with an oath, that he knew not, only that he moved his tongue, and told a parcel of foolish stories, as he had done to them.[¶]

[¶] Viz their hypocrisy and vile actions nor does their promise proceed from any sincere intention of amendment, but from the anguish and misery of their condition.[¶]

[¶] Viz in order for judgment

shall answer, Yea, by our LORD God shall say, Taste therefore the punishment *due unto you*, for that ye have disbelieved They are lost who reject as a falsehood the meeting of GOD *in the next life*, until the hour^d cometh suddenly upon them *Then will they say*, Alas! for that we have behaved ourselves negligently in *our lifetime* and they shall carry their burdens on their backs,^e will it not be evil which they shall be laden with? This present life is no other than a play and a vain amusement, but surely the future mansion *shall be* better for those who fear God will they not therefore understand? Now we know that what they speak grieveth thee yet they do not accuse thee of falsehood, but the ungodly contradict the signs of God^f And apostles before thee have been accounted liars but they patiently bore them being accounted liars, and their being vexed, until our help came unto them, for there is none who can change the words of GOD: and thou hast received some information concerning those who have been *formerly sent from him*.^g If their aversion *to thy admonitions* be grievous unto thee, if thou canst seek out a den *whereby thou mayest penetrate* into the *inward parts* of the earth, or a ladder *by which thou mayest ascend* into heaven, that thou mayest show them a sign, *do so, but thy search will be fruitless*, for if GOD pleased he would bring them all to the *true* direction be not therefore *one* of the ignorant^h He will give a favourable answer unto those only who shall hearken *with attention* and GOD will raise the dead, then unto him shall they return The *infidels* say, Unless some sign be sent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe* answer, Verily GOD is able to send down a sign but the greater part of them know it notⁱ There is no *kind of* beast on earth, nor fowl which flieth with its wings, but *the same is* a people like

^d The last day is here called *the Hour*, as it is in scripture ^e and the preceding expression of *meeting* God on that day is also agreeable to the same ^f

^g When an infidel comes forth from his grave says Jallalo ddin his works shall be represented to him under the ugliest form that ever he beheld, having a most deformed countenance, a filthy smell, and a disagreeable voice, so that he shall cry out, *God defend me from thee what art thou? I never saw any thing more detestable!* To which the figure will answer, *Why dost thou wonder at my ugliness? I am thy evil works,*^h *thou didst ride upon me, while thou wast in the world but now will I ride upon thee and thou shalt carry me* And immediately it shall get upon him, and whatever he shall meet shall terrify him and say, *Hail thou enemy of God, thou art he who was meant by* (these words of the Koran) *and they shall carry their burdens, &c*ⁱ

^h That is it is not thou but God whom they injure by their impious gainsaying of what has been revealed to thee It is said that Abu Jahl once told Mohammed, that they did not accuse him of falsehood, because he was known to be a man of veracity, but only they did not believe the revelations which he brought them, which occasioned this passage ⁱ

^j Thou hast been acquainted with the stories of several of the preceding prophets, what persecutions they suffered from those to whom they were sent, and in what manner God supported them and punished their enemies, according to his unalterable promise^k

^k In this passage Mohammed is reproved for his impatience in not bearing with the obstinacy of his countrymen and for his indiscreet desire of effecting what God hath not decreed namely, the conversion and salvation of all men^l

^l Being both ignorant of God's almighty power and of the consequence of what they ask, which might prove their utter destruction

^m 1 John v 25, &c. ⁿ 1 Thess iv 17 ^o See Milton's Paradise Lost, book ii, ver 737, &c. ^p See also ch. iii p 54 ^q Al Beidawi. ^r Idem. ^s Idem.

unto you,^k we have not omitted anything in the book^l of our decrees^{*} when unto their LORD shall they return^m They who accuse our signs of falsehood are deaf and dumb, *walking* in darkness God will lead into error whom he pleaseth, and whom he pleaseth he will put in the right way Say, What think ye? is the punishment of God come upon you, or the hour of the resurrection come upon you, will ye call upon any other than God, if ye speak truth? yea, him shall ye call upon, and he shall free you from that which ye shall ask him to *del ver you from*, if he pleaseth, and ye shall forget that which ye associated with himⁿ We have already sent messengers unto sundry nations before thee, and we afflicted them with trouble and adversity that they might humble themselves yet when the affliction which we sent came upon them, they did not humble themselves, but their hearts became hardened,[†] and Satan prepared for them that which they committed And when they had forgotten that concerning which they had been admonished, we opened unto them the gates of all things,^o until, while they were rejoicing for that which had been given them, we suddenly laid hold on them, and behold, they were seized with despair, and the utmost parts of the people which had acted wickedly was cut off praise be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures! Say, What think ye? if GOD should take away your hearing and your sight, and should seal up your hearts, what god besides GOD will restore them unto you? See how variously we show forth the signs of God's unity,^p yet do they turn aside from them Say unto them, What think ye? if the punishment of GOD come upon you suddenly, or in open view,^q will any perish, except the ungodly people? We send not our messengers otherwise than bearing good tidings and denouncing threats Whoso therefore shall believe and amend, on them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved but

^k Being created and preserved by the same omnipotence and providence as ye are

^l That is, in the *preserved table* wherein God's decrees are written and all things which come to pass in the world, as well the most minute as the more momentous, are exactly registered³

^{*} "The beasts which cover the earth the birds which traverse the air, are creatures like yourselves All are written in the book They will appear again before him — *Savary*

^m For, according to the Mohammedan belief the irrational animals will also be restored to life at the resurrection that they may be brought to judgment and have vengeance taken on them for the injuries they did one another while in this world⁴

ⁿ That is, Ye shall then forsake your false gods, when ye shall be effectually convinced that God alone is able to deliver you from eternal punishment. But others rather think that this forgetting will be the effect of the distress and terror which they will then be in⁵

[†] "Their hearts grew hard, and Satan caused them to find charms in rebellion" — *Savary*

^o That is we gave them all manner of plenty, that since they took no warning by their afflictions, their prosperity might become a snare to them, and they might bring down upon themselves swifter destruction

^p Laying them before you in different views, and making use of arguments and motives drawn from various considerations

^q That is, says al Beidawi, either without any previous notice, or after some warning given

³ See the Prelim. Disc. sect. iv

⁴ See *ibid.*

⁵ Al Beidāwī.

whoso shall accuse our signs of falsehood, a punishment shall fall on them, because they have done wickedly Say, I say not unto you, The treasures of GOD are in my power neither *do I say*, I know the secrets of God neither do I say unto you, Verily I am an angel I follow only that which is revealed unto me. Say, Shall the blind and the seeing be held equal? do ye not therefore consider? Preach it unto those who fear that they shall be assembled before their LORD they shall have no patron nor intercessor, except him, that peradventure they may take heed to themselves Drive not away those who call upon their LORD morning and evening, desiring to see his face,* it belongeth not unto thee to pass any judgment on them,⁶ nor doth it belong unto them to pass any judgment on thee therefore if thou drive them away, thou wilt become *one* of the unjust Thus have we proved some part of them by other part, that they may say, Are these *the people* among us unto whom GOD hath been gracious?⁷ Doth not GOD most truly know *those who are* thankful? And when they who believe in our signs shall come unto thee, say, Peace be upon you Your LORD hath prescribed unto himself mercy, so whoever among you worketh evil through ignorance, and afterwards repenteth and amendeth, unto him will he surely be gracious and merciful Thus have we distinctly propounded our signs, that the path of the wicked might be made known Say, Verily I am forbidden to worship *the false deities* which ye invoke, besides GOD Say, I will not follow your desires, for then should I err, neither should I be *one of those who are rightly* directed Say, I behave according to the plain declaration, *which I have received* from my LORD, but ye have forged lies concerning him That which ye desire should be hastened, is not in my power ⁸ judgment *belongeth* only unto GOD, he will determine the truth, and he is the best discerner Say, If what ye desire should be hastened were in my power, the matter had been determined between me and you ⁹ but GOD well knoweth the unjust. With him are the keys of the secret *things*, none knoweth them besides himself he knoweth that which is on the dry land and in the sea, there falleth no

* These words were occasioned when the Koreish desired Mohammed not to admit the poor or more inferior people such as Ammâr Soheib, Khobbâb, and Salmân, into his company pretending that then they would come and discourse with him but he refusing to turn away any believers, they insisted at least that he should order them to rise up and withdraw when they came, which he agreed to do Others say that the chief men of Mecca expelled all the poor out of their city, bidding them go to Mohammed, which they did and offered to embrace his religion, but he made some difficulty to receive them, suspecting their motive to be necessity, and not real conviction,⁶ whereupon this passage was revealed

⁷ *e* Rashly to decide whether their intentions be sincere or not, since thou canst not know their heart, and their faith may possibly be more firm than that of those who would persuade thee to discard them

⁸ That is to say, the noble by those of mean extraction, and the rich by the poor, in that God chose to call the latter to the faith by the former⁷

⁹ This passage is an answer to the audacious defiance of the infidels, who bid Mohammed if he were a true prophet, to call for a shower of stones from heaven, or some other sudden and miraculous punishment, to destroy them.⁸

⁶ For I should ere now have destroyed you, out of zeal for God's honour, had it been in my power⁹

, but he knoweth it, neither *is there* a single grain in the dark parts of the earth, neither a green thing, nor a dry thing, but it is *written* in the perspicuous book^a It is he who causeth you to sleep by night, and knoweth what ye merit by day, he also awaketh you therein, that the prefixed term of *your lives* may be fulfilled then unto him shall ye return, and he shall declare unto you that which ye have wrought. He is supreme over his servants, and sendeth the guardian *angels to watch* over you,^b until, when death overtaketh one of you, our messengers^c cause him to die and they will not neglect *our commands* Afterwards shall they return unto God, their true LORD doth not judgment *belong* unto him? he is the most quick in taking an account^b Say, Who delivereth you from the darkness^c of the land, and of the sea, *when* ye call upon him humbly and in private, *saying*, Verily if thou deliver us^d from these *dangers*, we will surely be thankful? Say, God delivereth you from them, and from every grief of mind, *yet* afterwards ye give *him* companions^e Say, He is able to send on you a punishment from above you,^f or from under your feet,^g or to engage you in dissension, and to make some of you taste the violence of others Observe how variously we show forth *our signs*, that peradventure they may understand This people hath accused the *revelation which thou hast brought* of falsehood, although it be the truth. Say, I am not a guardian over you every prophecy hath its fixed time of *accomplishment*, and ye will hereafter know *it* When thou seest those who are engaged in *carvelling at, or ridiculing* our signs, depart from them, until they be engaged in some other discourse^h * and if Satan cause thee to forget *this precept*, do not sit with the ungodly people after recollection They who fear God are not at all accountable for them, but *their duty is* to remember, that they may take heed to themselves.^b Abandon those who make their religion a sport and a jest, and whom the present life hath deceived and admonish *them by the Korân*, that a soul becometh liable to destruction for that which it committeth it shall have no patron nor intercessor besides God, and if it could pay the utmost price of redemption, it would not be accepted from it They who are delivered over to perdition for that which

^a : e The preserved table or register of God's decrees

^b See the Prelim Disc. sect. iv

^c That is, the angel of death and his assistants¹

^b See the Prelim Disc. sect. iv

^c That is, the dangers and distresses

^d The Cufic copies read it in the third person, *if he deliver us, &c*

^e Returning to your old idolatry

^f That is, by storms from heaven, as he destroyed the unbelieving people of Noah, and of Lot, and the army of Abrahâ, the lord of the elephant²

^g Either by drowning you, as he did Pharaoh and his host, or causing the earth to open and swallow you up, as happened to Korah or (as the Mohammedans name him) Karun³

^h 'Fly from those who revile religion, until they change their discourse'—*Savary*

¹ And therefore need not be troubled at the indecent and impious talk of the infidels provided they take care not to be infected by them When the preceding passage was revealed, the Moslems told their prophet, that if they were obliged to rise up whenever the idolaters spoke irreverently of the Koran, they could never sit quietly in the temple, nor perform their devotions there, whereupon these words were added.⁴

¹ See the Prelim. Disc. sect. iv ² Al Beidâwi. ³ Idem. ⁴ Idem, Jallâloddîn.

they have committed shall have boiling water to drink, and shall suffer a grievous punishment, because they have disbelieved. Say, Shall we call upon that, besides GOD, which can neither profit us nor hurt us? and shall we turn back on our heels, after that GOD hath directed us, like him whom the devils have infatuated, wandering amazedly in the earth, and yet having companions who call him into the *true* direction, *saying*, Come unto us? Say, The direction of GOD is the *true* direction, we are commanded to resign ourselves unto the LORD of all creatures, and *it is also commanded us, saying*, Observe the stated times of prayer, and fear him, for it is he before whom ye shall be assembled. It is he who hath created the heavens and the earth in truth, and whenever he saith *unto a thing*, Be, it is. His word is the truth, and his will be the kingdom on the day whereon the trumpet shall be sounded ¹ he knoweth whatever is secret, and whatever is public, he is the wise, the knowing *Call to mind* when Abraham said unto his father Azer,^k Dost thou take images for gods?^l Verily I perceive that thou and thy people *are* in a manifest error And thus did we show unto Abraham the kingdom of heaven and earth that he might become *one* of those who firmly believe^m And when

¹ See the Prelim Disc sect iv

^k This is the name which the Mohammedans give to Abraham's father, named in scripture Terah. However some of their writers pretend that Azer was the son of Terah ⁵ and D Herbelot says that the Arabs always distinguish them in their genealogies as different persons but that because Abraham was the son of Terah according to Moses, it is therefore supposed (by European writers) that Terah is the same with the Azer of the Arabs ⁶. How true this observation may be in relation to some authors, I cannot say but I am sure it cannot be true of all, for several Arab and Turkish writers expressly make Azer and Terah the same person ⁷. Azer, in ancient times, was the name of the planet Mars and the month of March was so called by the most ancient Persians for the word originally signifying *fire* (as it still does), it was therefore given by them and the Chaldeans to that planet,⁸ which partaking, as was supposed of a fiery nature, was acknowledged by the Chaldeans and Assyrians as a god or planetary deity, whom in old times they worshipped under the form of a pillar, whence Azer became a name among the nobility, who esteemed it honourable to be denominated from their gods,⁹ and is found in the composition of several Babylonish names. For these reasons a learned author supposes Azer to have been the heathen name of Terah, and that the other was given him on his conversion ¹. Al Beidawi confirms this conjecture, saying that Azer was the name of the idol which he worshipped. It may be observed that Abraham's father is also called Zarah in the Talmud and Athar by Eusebius (The surname of Azer was given to him in consequence of his idolatry. It is derived from *azar*, "O thou who art in error — *Savary*)

^l That Azar or Terah was an idolater, is allowed on all hands nor can it be denied since he is expressly said in scripture to have served strange gods ². The eastern authors unanimously agree that he was a statuary or carver of idols, and he is represented as the first who made images of clay, pictures only having been in use before ³ and taught that they were to be adored as gods ⁴. However we are told his employment was a very honourable one,⁵ and that he was a great lord, and in high favour with Nimrod, whose son in law he was ⁶ because he made his idols for him, and was excellent in his art. Some of the Rabbins say Terah was a priest, and chief of the order ⁷.

^m That is, we gave him a right apprehension of the government of the world and of the heavenly bodies that he might know them all to be ruled by God, by putting him on making the following reflections.

⁵ Tarikh Montakhab, apud D Herbel. Bibl Orient. p 12 ⁶ D Herbel ibid
⁷ Al Beidawi, Jallalo d d m, Yahya, Ebn Shohnah, Mirat Kainat, &c Vide etiam
Pharhang Jehanghuri, apud Hyde de Rel Vet Persar p 68 ⁸ Hyde, ibid p 63
⁹ Idem, ib p 64 ¹ Idem, ibid p 62 ² Josh xlii 2, 14 ³ Fpiphian adv
Hær lib 1, p 7, 8 ⁴ Suidas in Lexico, voce Σατορχ ⁵ Vide Hyde, ubi supra,
p 63 ⁶ D Herbel ubi sup ⁷ Shalshel. nakkab p 94.

the night overshadowed him, he saw a star, *and* he said, This is my LORD,^a but when it set, he said, I like not *gods* which set. And when he saw the moon rising he said, This is my LORD, but when he saw it set, he said, Verily if my LORD direct me not, I shall become *one* of the people who go astray. And when he saw the sun rising, he said, This is my LORD, this is the greatest, but when it set, he said, O my people, verily I am clear of that which ye associate *with God*. I direct my face unto him who hath created the heavens and the earth, *I am* orthodox, and am not *one* of the idolaters. And his people disputed with him *and* he said, Will ye dispute with me concerning God? since he hath now directed me, and I fear not that which ye associate *with him*, unless that my LORD willeth a thing, *for* my LORD comprehendeth all things by *his* knowledge^o will ye not therefore consider? And how should I fear that which ye associate *with God*, since ye fear not to have associated with God that concerning which he hath sent down unto you no authority? which therefore of the two parties is the more safe, if ye understand *aright*? They who believe, and clothe not their faith with injustice,^p they shall enjoy security, and they *are* *rightly* directed. And this is our argument wherewith we furnished Abraham *that he might make use of it* against his people who exalt unto degrees of *wisdom and knowledge* whom we please, for thy LORD is wise and knowing. And we gave unto them Isaac and Jacob, we directed

^a Since Abraham's parents were idolaters, it seems to be a necessary consequence that himself was one also in his younger years: the scripture not obscurely intimates as much,^o and the Jews themselves acknowledge it.^o At what age he came to the knowledge of the true God and left idolatry opinions are various. Some Jewish writers tell us he was then but three years old¹ and the Mohammedans likewise suppose him very young and that he asked his father and mother several shrewd questions when a child.² Others however allow him to have been a middle aged man at that time.³ Maimonides in particular, and R. Abraham Zacuth think him to have been forty years old which age is also mentioned in the Koran. But the general opinion of the Mohammedans is, that he was about fifteen or sixteen.⁴ As the religion wherein Abraham was educated was the Sabian which consisted chiefly in the worship of the heavenly bodies,^o he is introduced examining their nature and properties, to see whether they had a right to the worship which was paid them or not and the first which he observed was the planet Venus or, as others will have it Jupiter.^o This method of Abraham's attaining to the knowledge of the supreme Creator of all things is conformable to what Josephus writes *viz* That he drew his notions from the changes which he had observed in the earth and the sea, and in the sun and the moon, and the rest of the celestial bodies, concluding that they were subject to the command of a superior power, to whom alone all honour and thanks are due.⁷ The story itself is certainly taken from the Talmud.⁸ Some of the commentators however suppose this reasoning of Abraham with himself was not the first means of his conversions, but that he used it only by way of argument to convince the idolaters among whom he then lived.

^o That is, I am not afraid of your false gods, which cannot hurt me, except God permitteth it, or is pleased to afflict me himself.

^p By injustice, in this place, the commentators understand idolatry, or open rebellion against God.

¹ Vide Josh xxiv 2, 14 and Hyde ubi sup p 59. ² Joseph Ant lib 1 c. 7. Maimon More Nev part iii c. 29 et Yad Harzak, de Id c. 1 &c. ³ Tanchuma, Talmud Nedarim, 32, 1 et apud Maimon Yad Hazz ubi sup. ⁴ Vide D Herbel Bibl. Orient Art Abraham. ⁵ Maimon ubi sup R. Abr Zacuth in Sefer Tushan, Shalshel hakkab &c. ⁶ Vide Hyde, ubi sup pp. 60, 61 et Hotting Smegma Orient. p. 290, &c. Genebr in Chron. ⁷ See the Prelim Disc. sect. 1. p. 10. ⁸ Al Beidawi. ⁹ Joseph Ant. lib 1. c. 7. ¹⁰ R. Bechai, in Midrash. Vide Bartolocc. Bibl. Rabb part 1. p. 640.

them both and Noah had we before directed, and of his posterity^a David and Solomon, and Job,^r and Joseph, and Moses, and Aaron thus do we reward the righteous and Zacharias, and John, and Jesus, and Elias,^s all of them were upright men and Ismael, and Elisha,^t and Jonas,^u and Lot,^v all these have we favoured above the rest of the world, and also divers of their fathers, and their issue, and their brethren, and we chose them, and directed them into the right way This is the direction of God, he directeth thereby such of his servants as he pleaseth, but if they had been guilty of idolatry, that which they wrought would have become utterly fruitless unto them. Those were the persons unto whom we gave the scripture, and wisdom, and prophecy, but if these^w believe not therein, we will commit the care of them to a people who shall not disbelieve the same. Those were the persons whom God hath directed, therefore follow their direction. Say unto the inhabitants of Mecca, I ask of you no recompense for preaching the Koran, it is no other than an admonition unto all creatures. They make not a due estimation of God,^x when they say, God hath not sent down unto man any thing at all ^y Say, Who sent down the book which Moses brought, a light and a direction unto men, which ye transcribe on papers, whereof ye publish some part, and great part whereof ye conceal? and ye have been taught by Mohammed what ye knew not, neither your fathers. Say, God sent it down then leave them to amuse themselves with their vain discourse. This book which we have sent down is blessed, confirming that which was revealed before it, and is delivered unto thee that thou mayest preach it unto the metropolis of Mecca and to those who are round about it. And they who believe in the next life will believe therein, and they will diligently observe their times of prayer Who is more wicked than he who forgets a lie concerning God?^b * on

^a Some refer the relative *his* to Abraham, the person chiefly spoken of in this passage, some to Noah, the next antecedent because Jonas and Lot were not (say they) of Abraham's seed and others suppose the persons named in this and the next verse are to be understood as the descendants of Abraham, and those in the following verse as those of Noah ^o

^r The Mohammedans say he was of the race of Esau See chap xvi and xxxviii

^s See chap xxvii.

^t This prophet was the successor of Elias and as the commentators will have it, the son of Okhtûb, though the scripture makes him the son of Shaphat

^u See chap x., xxi and xxxvii

^v See chap vii, &c

^w That is, the Koreish ¹

^x That is, they know him not truly, nor have just notions of his goodness and mercy towards man The persons here meant, according to some commentators, are the Jews, and according to others the idolaters ²

This verse and the two next as Jallaloddin thinks, were revealed at Medina.

^y By these words the Jews (if they were the persons meant) chiefly intended to deny the Koran to be of divine revelation though they might in strictness insist that God never revealed, or sent down, as the Koran expresses it, any real composition or material writing from heaven, in the manner that Mohammed pretended his revelations were delivered,³ if we except only the decalogue God having left to the inspired penmen, not only the labour of writing, but the liberty, in a great measure at least, of putting the truths into their own words and manner of expression

^b Falsely pretending to have received revelations from him, as did Moseilama, al Aswad al Ansi, and others

^c "What can be more impious than to make God the accomplice of a falsehood?" —Savary

^o Al Beidawi.

¹ Idem.

² Idem

³ See the Prelim Disc. sect iii.

saith, *This* was revealed unto me, when nothing hath been revealed unto him?^a and who saith, I will produce a revelation like unto that which God hath sent down?^d If thou didst see when the ungodly *are* in the pangs of death, and the angels^e reach out their hands *saying*, Cast forth your souls, this day shall ye receive an ignominious punishment for that which ye have falsely spoken concerning God, and because ye have proudly rejected his signs. And now are ye come unto us alone,^f as we created you at first,^g and ye have left that which we had bestowed on you, behind your backs, neither do we see with you *your* intercessors,^h whom ye thought to have been partners *with God* among you now is *the relation* between you cut off, and what ye imagined hath deceived you.ⁱ God causeth the grain and the date stone to put forth he bringeth forth the living from the dead, and he bringeth forth the dead from the living.^k This is God. Why therefore are ye turned away *from him*? He causeth the morning to appear, and hath ordained the night for rest, and the sun and the moon for the computing of *time*.^{*} This is the disposition of the mighty, the wise *God*. It is he who hath ordained the stars for you, that ye may be directed thereby in the darkness of the land and of the sea. We have clearly shown forth *our* signs, unto people who understand. It is he who hath produced you from one soul, and *hath provided for you* a sure receptacle and a repository.^l We have clearly shown forth *our* signs, unto people who are wise. It is he who sendeth down water from heaven, and we have thereby produced the springing buds of all things, and have there out produced the green thing, from which we produce the grain growing in rows, and palm trees from whose branches proceed clusters of dates *hanging* close together, and gardens of grapes, and olives, and pomegranates, *both* like and unlike to one another. Look on their fruits, when they bear fruit, and their growing to maturity. Verily herein are signs, unto people who

^a As did Abdallah Ebn Saad Ebn Abi Sarah who for some time was the prophet amanuensis, and when these words were dictated to him as revealed *nz* *We created man of a purer kind of clay &c* ^c cried out by way of admiration *Blessed be God, the best Creator* ^d and being ordered by Mohammed to write these words down also as part of the inspired passage began to think himself as great a prophet as his master ^e Whereupon he took upon himself to corrupt and alter the Koran according to his own fancy, and at length apostatizing, was one of the ten who were proscribed at the taking of Mecca, ^f and narrowly escaped with life on his recantation, by the interposition of Othman Ebn Affan, whose foster brother he was ^g

^d For some Arabs, it seems, had the vanity to imagine and gave out, that if they pleased, they could write a book nothing inferior to the Koran

^e See before, p. 104, note ^a

^f That is, without your wealth, your children, or your friends, which ye so much depended on in your lifetime

^g *e* Naked and helpless

^h Or false gods

ⁱ Concerning the intercession of your idols, or the disbelief of future rewards and punishments.

^k See chap. iii. p. 38.

^{*} He is your Lord. How can he deceive you? He divideth the dawn from the darkness. He hath appointed the night for rest. The sun and the moon mark the course of time — *Savary*

^l Namely, in the loins of your fathers, and the wombs of your mothers ^g

^a Koran, c. 23

^c Al Beidâwî

^e See the Prelim Disc. end of sect. ii.

^f Vide Abu Isf. Vide Moh. p. 109

^g Al Beidâwî.

believe. *Yet* they have set up the genu^m as partners with God, although he created them and they have falsely attributed unto him sons and daughters,ⁿ without knowledge. Praise be unto him, and far be that from him which they attribute *unto him!* *He is* the maker of heaven and earth how should he have issue since he hath no consort? he hath created all things, and he is omniscient. This is God your LORD, there is no God but he, the creator of all things, therefore serve him for he taketh care of all things. The sight comprehendeth him not, but he comprehendeth the sight, he *is* the gracious,^o the wise Now have evident demonstrations come unto you from your LORD, whoso seeth *them, the advantage thereof will redound* to his own soul and whoso is *wilfully* blind, *the consequence will be* to himself I am not a keeper over you. Thus do we variously explain *our* signs, that they may say, Thou hast studied diligently,^p and that we may declare them unto people of understanding Follow that which hath been revealed unto thee from thy LORD, there is no God but he retire therefore from the idolaters. If God had so pleased, they had not been guilty of idolatry We have not appointed thee a keeper over them, neither art thou a guardian over them Revile not the *idols* which they invoke besides God, lest they maliciously revile God, without knowledge Thus have we prepared for every nation their works hereafter unto God shall they return, and he shall declare unto them that which they have done They have sworn by God, by the most solemn oath, that if a sign came unto them, they would certainly believe therein Say, Verily signs are in the power of God alone, and he permitteth you not to understand, that when they come, they will not believe^q And we will turn aside their hearts and their sight *from the truth*, as they believed not therein^r the first time, and we will leave them to wander in their error [* VIII] And though we had sent down angels unto them, and the dead had spoken unto them, and we had gathered together before them all things in one view,^s they would not have believed,

^m This signifies properly the *genus* of rational *invisible* beings whether angels, devils or that intermediate species usually called *genu* Some of the commentators, therefore, in this place understand the angels, whom the pagan Arabs worshipped, and others the devils, either because they became their servants by adoring idols at their instigation or else because according to the Magian system they looked on the devil as a sort of creator making him the author and principle of all evil and God the author of good only^o

ⁿ See the Prelim Discourse, sect 1 and sect 11

^o Or as the word may be translated *the incomprehensible*¹

^p That is, thou hast been instructed by the Jews and Christians in these matters and only *retailed* to us what thou hast learned of them For this the infidels objected to Mohammed, thinking it impossible for him to discourse on subjects of so high a nature, and in so clear and pertinent a manner, without being well versed in the doctrines and sacred writings of those people

^q In this passage Mohammed endeavours to excuse his inability of working a miracle, as had been demanded of him, declaring that God did not think fit to comply with their desires, and that if he had so thought fit, yet it had been in vain, because if they were not convinced by the Koran, they would not be convinced by the greatest miracle²

^r *e* In the Koran

^s For the Meccans required that Mohammed should either show them an angel descending from heaven in their sight, or raise their dead fathers, that they might discourse with them, or prevail on God and his angels to appear to them in a body

^o Al Bendawi.

¹ Idem.

² Confer Luke xvi. 31

unless GOD had so pleased but the greater part of them know *not* Thus have we appointed unto every prophet an enemy, the devils of men, and of geni who privately suggest the one to the other specious discourses to deceive, but if thy LORD pleased, they would not have done it Therefore leave them, and that which they have falsely imagined, and let the hearts of those be inclined thereto, who believe not in the life to come, and let them please themselves therein, and let them gain that which they are gaining Shall I seek after any *other* judge besides GOD to judge between us? It is he who hath sent down unto you the book of the *Korân* distinguishing between good and evil, and they to whom we gave the scripture know that it is sent down from thy LORD, with truth Be not therefore *one* of those who doubt thereof The words of thy LORD are perfect, in truth and justice, there is none who can change his words † he *both* heareth and knoweth But if thou obey the greater part of them who are in the earth, they will lead thee aside from the path of GOD they follow an *uncertain* opinion only, and speak nothing but lies, verily thy LORD well knoweth those who go astray from his path, and well knoweth those who are *rightly* directed. Eat of that whereon the name of GOD hath been commemorated, ‡ if ye believe in his signs and why do ye not eat of that whereon the name of GOD hath been commemorated? since he hath plainly declared unto you what he hath forbidden you, except that which ye be compelled to eat of by necessity, many lead *others* into error, * because of their appetites, being void of knowledge, but thy LORD well knoweth *who are* the transgressors. Leave both the outside of iniquity and the inside thereof ‡ for they who commit iniquity shall receive the reward of that which they shall have gained Eat not therefore of that whereon the name of GOD hath not been commemorated, for this is certainly wickedness but the devils will suggest unto their friends, that they dispute with you *concerning this precept*, but if ye obey them, ye *are* surely idolaters Shall he who hath been dead, and whom we have restored unto life, and unto whom we have ordained a light, whereby he may walk among men, be as he whose similitude is in darkness, from whence he shall not come forth? † Thus was that which the infidels are doing prepared for them † And thus have we placed in

‡ Some interpret this of the immutability of God's decree, and the certainty of threats and promises, others of his particular promise to preserve the *Korân* from any such alterations or corruptions as they imagine to have happened to the Pentateuch and the Gospel ‡ and others of the unalterable duration of the Mohammedan law, which they hold is to last till the end of the world, there being no other prophet, law, or dispensation, to be expected after it

‡ Imagining that the true religion was that which their idolatrous ancestors professed

† See chap ii p 20 and chap v p 81

* The greatest part of men go astray seduced by their passions, and blinded by ignorance —Savary

‡ That is, Both open and secret sins

† The persons primarily intended in this passage were Hamza, Mohammed's uncle, and Abu Jahl, others instead of Hamza name Omar or Ammar

† "Crime grows beautiful in the sight of the wicked —Savary.

every city chief leaders of the wicked *men* thereof,^a that they may act deceitfully therein, but they shall act deceitfully against their own souls only, and they know it not. And when a sign^a cometh unto them, they say, We will by no means believe until a *revelation* be brought unto us, like unto that which hath been delivered unto the messengers of God.^b God best knoweth whom he will appoint for his messenger.^c Vileness in the sight of God shall fall upon those who deal wickedly, and a grievous punishment, for that they have dealt deceitfully. And whomsoever God shall please to direct, he will open his breast to *receive the faith of Islam* but whomsoever he shall please to lead into error, he will render his breast straight and narrow, as though he were climbing up to heaven.^d Thus doth God inflict a terrible punishment on those who believe not. This is the right way of thy LORD. Now have we plainly declared *our* signs unto those people who will consider. They shall have a dwelling of peace with their LORD, and he shall be their patron, because of that which they have wrought. *Think on the day whereon God shall gather them all together, and shall say, O company of geni,^e ye have been much concerned with mankind,^f and their friends from among mankind shall say, O LORD, the one of us hath received advantage from the other,^g and we are arrived at our limited term^h which thou hast appointed us.* God will say, *Hell fire shall be your habitation, therein shall ye remain for ever, unless as God shall please to mitigate your pains,ⁱ for thy LORD is wise and knowing.* Thus do we set some of the unjust over others of them, because of that which they have deserved. O company of geni and men, did not messengers from among yourselves come unto you,^k rehearsing my signs unto you, and forewarning

^a In the same manner as we have done in Mecca

^b i. e. Any verse or passage of the Koran

^c These were the words of the Koreish, who thought there were persons among themselves more worthy of the honour of being God's messenger than Mohammed

^d Literally, *Where he will place his commission*. God says al Beidawi bestows not the gift of prophecy on any one on account of his nobility or riches but for their spiritual qualifications making choice of such of his servants as he pleases, and who he knows will execute their commissions faithfully

^e Or had undertaken the most impossible thing in the world. In like manner shall the heart of such a man be incapable of receiving the truth

^f That is, of devils

^g In tempting and seducing them to sin

^h "At the day of the universal gathering together we shall say to the geni, Too long have you deceived mankind."—*Savary*

ⁱ The advantage which men received from the evil spirits was their raising and satisfying their lusts and appetites, and that which the latter received in return, was the obedience paid them by the former &c

^j viz the day of resurrection, which we believed not in the other world

^k The commentators tell us that this alleviation of the pains of the damned will be when they shall be taken out of the fire to drink the boiling water^o or to suffer the extreme cold, called al Zamharir which is to be one part of their punishment but others think the respite which God will grant to some before they are thrown into hell is here intended^l. According to the exposition of Ebn Abbas, these words may be rendered, *Unless him whom God shall please to deliver thence*^m

ⁿ It is the Mohammedan belief that apostles were sent by God for the conversion both of *geni* and of men, being generally of human race, as Mohammed, in part-

you of the meeting of this your day? They shall answer, We bear witness against ourselves the present life deceived them and they shall bear witness against themselves that they were unbelievers. This *hath been the method of God's dealing with his creatures*, because thy LORD would not destroy the cities in *their* iniquity, while their inhabitants were careless.¹ Every one shall *have* degrees of recompense of that which they shall do, for thy LORD is not regardless of that which they do, and thy LORD is self-sufficient and endued with mercy. If he pleaseth he can destroy you, and cause such as he pleaseth to succeed you, in like manner as he produced you from the posterity of other people. Verily that which is threatened you, shall surely come to pass, neither shall ye cause it to fail. Say unto those of Mecca, O my people, act according to your power, verily I will act according to my duty^m and hereafter shall ye know whose will be the reward of paradise. The ungodly shall not prosper. Those of Mecca set apart unto God a portion of that which he hath produced of the fruits of the earth, and of cattle, and say, This *belongeth* unto God (according to their imagination), and this unto our companionsⁿ. And that which is *destined* for their companions cometh not unto God, yet that which *is set apart* unto God cometh unto their companions^o. How ill do they judge! In like manner have their companions induced many of the idolaters to slay their children,^p that they might bring them to perdition, and that they might render their religion obscure and confused unto them^q. But if God had pleased they had not done this therefore leave them, and that which they falsely imagine. They also say, These cattle and fruits of the earth are sacred, none shall eat thereof but who we please^r (according to their imagination), and *there are* cattle whose backs are forbidden to be rode on,

cular, who pretended to have a commission to preach to both kinds) according to this passage it seems there must have been prophets of the race of *genu* also though their mission be a secret to us

¹ Or considered not their danger but God first sent some prophet to them to warn them of it, and to invite them to repentance

* "Say unto man, Labour according unto thy strength, I will proportion my benefits unto my power" — *Savary*

^m That is, Ye may proceed in your rebellion against God and your malice towards me and be confirmed in your infidelity but I will persevere to bear your insults with patience, and to publish those revelations which God has commanded me^o

ⁿ ^o Our idols In which sense this word is to be taken through the whole passage

^o As to this custom of the pagan Arabs, see the Prelim Disc sect. 1 To what is there said we may add, that the share set apart for God was employed chiefly in relieving the poor, and strangers and the share of the idols, for paying their priests and providing sacrifices for them¹⁰

^p Either by that inhuman custom which prevailed among those of Kendah and some other tribes, of burying their daughters alive, so soon as they were born it they apprehended they could not maintain them,¹ or else by offering them to their idols, at the instigation of those who had the custody of their temples²

^q By corrupting with horrid superstitions that religion which Lmael had left to his posterity³

^r That is, Those who serve our idols, and are of the male sex, for the women were not allowed to eat of them⁴

¹ Al Beidawi. ¹⁰ Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

² See chap lxxxi.

³ Al Beidawi.

⁴ Idem

or laden with burdens,^a and there are cattle on which they commemorate not the name of God when they slay them,^b devising a lie against him. God shall reward them for that which they falsely devise. And they say, That which is in the bellies of these cattle^c is allowed our males to eat and is forbidden to our wives but if it prove abortive, then they are both partakers thereof.^d God shall give them the reward of their attributing these things to him he is knowing and wise. They are utterly lost who have slain their children foolishly,^e without knowledge,^f and have forbidden that which God hath given them for food, devising a lie against God. They have erred, and were not rightly directed. He it is who produceth gardens of vines, both those which are supported on trails of wood, and those which are not supported,^g and palm trees, and the corn affording various food, and olives, and pomegranates, alike and unlike unto one another. Eat of their fruit, when they bear fruit, and pay the due thereof on the day whereon ye shall gather it,^h but be not profuse,ⁱ for God loveth not those who are too profuse. And God hath given you some cattle fit for bearing of burdens, and some fit for slaughter only. Eat of what God hath given you for food, and follow not the steps of Satan, for he is your declared enemy. Four pair^j of cattle hath God given you, of sheep one pair, and of goats one pair. Say unto them, hath God forbidden the two males, of sheep and of goats, or the two females, or that which the wombs of the two females contain? Tell me with certainty, if ye speak truth. And of camels hath God given you one pair, and of oxen one pair. Say, Hath he forbidden the two males of these, or the two females, or that which the wombs of the two females contain?^k Were ye present when God commanded you this? And who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie against God,^l that he may seduce men without understanding? Verily God directeth not unjust

^a Which they superstitiously exempted from such services, in some particular cases, as they did the Bahira, the Saiba, and the Hami.⁶

^b See chap 5

^c That is, the *fetus* or embryos of the Bahira and the Saiba, which shall be brought forth alive

^d For if those cattle cast their young, the women might eat thereof as well as the men

^e See p 112, note p

^f Not having a due sense of God's providence.

^g Or, as some choose to interpret the words, *trees or plants which are planted by the labour of man, and those which grow naturally in the deserts and on mountains*

^h That is, give alms thereof to the poor. And these alms as al Beidawi observes, were what they used to give before the Zekat, or legal alms was instituted, which was done after Mohammed had retired from Mecca, where this verse was revealed. Yet some are of another opinion and for this very reason will have the verse to have been revealed at Medina.

ⁱ ^e Give not so much thereof in alms as to leave your own families in want, for charity begins at home

^j Or, literally, eight males and females paired together, that is, four of each sex, and two of every distinct kind

^k In this passage Mohammed endeavours to convince the Arabs of their superstitious folly in making it unlawful, one while, to eat the males of these four kinds of cattle, another while, the females, and at another time, their young⁶

^l The person particularly intended here, some say, was Amru Ebn Lohai, king of Hajar, a great introducer of idolatry and superstition among the Arabs.⁷

^a See chap 5 p 95 and Prelim Disc sect. v ⁶ Al Beidawi. ⁷ Idem See Prelim. Disc p 14, and Pocock, spec. p 80

people. Say, I find not in that which hath been revealed unto me any thing forbidden unto the eater, that he eat it not, except it be that which dieth of itself, or blood poured forth,^s or swine's flesh for this is an abomination or *that which is* profane, having been slain in the name of some other than of GOD But whoso shall be compelled by necessity to eat of these things, not lusting, nor wilfully transgressing, verily thy LORD will be gracious unto him and merciful. Unto the Jews did we forbid every *beast* having an *undivided* hoof, and of bullocks and sheep, we forbade them the fat of both, except that which should be on their backs, or their inwards,^h or which should be intermixed with the boneⁱ This have we rewarded them with, because of their iniquity, and we are surely speakers of truth If they accuse thee of imposture, say, Your LORD is endued with extensive mercy, but his severity shall not be averted from wicked people The idolaters will say, If GOD had pleased, we had not been guilty of idolatry, neither our fathers, and pretend that we have not forbidden them any thing Thus did they who were before them accuse the prophets of imposture, until they tasted our severe punishment Say, Is there with you any *certain* knowledge of what ye allege, that ye may produce it unto us? Ye follow only a false imagination, and ye utter only lies Say, therefore unto GOD *belongeth* the most evident demonstration, for if he had pleased, he had directed you all Say, Produce your witnesses, who can bear testimony that GOD hath forbidden this But if they bear testimony of this, do not thou bear testimony with them, nor do thou follow the desires of those who accuse our signs of falsehood, and who believe not in the life to come, and equalize *idols* with their LORD Say, Come,^k I will rehearse that which your Lord hath forbidden you, *that is to say*, that ye be not guilty of idolatry, and that ye show kindness to your parents, and that ye murder not your children for fear lest ye be reduced to poverty we will provide for you and them, and draw not near unto heinous crimes,^l neither openly nor in secret, and slay not the soul which GOD hath forbidden you to slay, unless for a just cause^m This hath he enjoined you that ye may understand And meddle not with the substance of the orphan, otherwise than for the improving thereof, until he attain his age of strength and use a full measure, and a just balance We will not impose a task on any soul beyond its ability And when ye pronounce judgment observe justice, although it be for or against one who is near of kin, and fulfil the covenant of GOD This hath God commanded you, that ye may be admonished, and

^s That is fluid blood, in opposition to what the Arabs suppose to be also blood, but not fluid, as the liver and the spleen^s

^h See Levit. vii. 23, and iii. 16.

ⁱ Viz the fat of the rumps or tails of sheep, which are very large in the east, a small one weighing ten or twelve pounds and some no less than threescore

^k This and the two following verses Jallal 'ddin supposes to have been revealed at Medina.

^l The original word signifies peculiarly fornication and avarice.

^m As for murder, apostasy, or adultery^o

that ye may know that this is my right way therefore follow it, and follow not the path of others, lest ye be scattered from the path of God. This hath he commanded you that ye may take heed We gave also unto Moses the book of the Law, a perfect rule unto him who should do right, and a determination concerning all things needful, and a direction, and mercy, that the children of Israel might believe the meeting of their LORD And this book which we have now sent down is blessed, therefore follow it, and fear God that ye may obtain mercy, lest ye should say, The scriptures were only sent down unto two people^a before us, and we neglected to peruse them with attention ° or lest ye should say, If a book of divine revelations had been sent down unto us, we would surely have been better directed than they^d And now hath a manifest declaration come unto you from your LORD, and a direction and mercy and who is more unjust than he who deviseth lies against the signs of GOD, and turneth aside from them? We will reward those who turn aside from our signs with a grievous punishment, because they have turned aside Do they wait for any other than that the angels should come unto them, to part their souls from their bodies, or that thy LORD should come to punish them, or that some of the signs of thy LORD should come to pass, showing the day of judgment to be at hand?^e On the day whereon some of thy LORD's signs shall come to pass, its faith shall not profit a soul which believed not before, or wrought not good in its faith^f Say, Wait ye for this day, we surely do wait for it They who make a division in their religion,^g and become sectaries, have thou nothing to do with them, their affair belongeth only unto GOD Hereafter shall he declare unto them that which they have done He who shall appear with good works, shall receive a tenfold recompense for the same, but he who shall appear with evil works, shall receive only an equal punishment for the same, and they shall not be treated unjustly Say, Verily my LORD hath directed me into a right way, a true religion, the sect of Abraham the orthodox, and he was no idolater Say, Verily my prayers, and my worship, and my life, and my death are dedicated unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures he hath no companion This have I been

^a That is the Jews and the Christians

[°] Either because we knew nothing of them, or did not understand the language wherein they were written

^p Because of the acuteness of our wit the clearness of our understanding, and our facility of learning sciences, as appears from our excelling in history, poetry, and oratory, notwithstanding we are an illiterate people¹

^q Al Beidawi, from a tradition of Mohammed says that ten signs will precede the last day viz. the smoke the beast of the earth, an eclipse in the east, another in the west, and a third in the peninsula of Arabia, the appearance of Antichrist, the sun rising in the west the irruption of Gog and Magog, the descent of Jesus on the earth, and fire which shall break forth from Aden²

^r For faith in the next life will be of no advantage to those who have not believed in this, nor yet faith in this life, without good works

^s That is, who believe in part of it, and disbelieve other part of it, or who form schisms therein Mohammed is reported to have declared that the Jews were divided into seventy one sects, and the Christians into seventy two and that his own followers would be split into seventy three sects, and that all of them would be damned, except only one of each³

¹ Al Beidawi

² See the Prelim Disc sect. iv

³ Al Beidawi.

commanded I am the first Moslem [†] Say, shall I desire any other LORD besides GOD? since he is the LORD of all things, and no soul shall acquire *any merits or demerits* but for itself, and no burdened *soul* shall bear the burden of another [‡] Moreover unto your LORD shall ye return, and he shall declare unto you that concerning which ye *now* dispute. It is he who hath appointed you to succeed *your predecessors* in the earth, and hath raised some of you above others by *various degrees of worldly advantages*, that he might prove you by that which he hath bestowed on you Thy LORD is swift in punishing, and he *is also* gracious and merciful.

CHAPTER VII.

INTITLED, AL ARAF, [‡] REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

AL. M S [‡] A book hath been sent down unto thee and therefore let there be no doubt in thy breast concerning it, ^{*} that thou mayest preach the same, and *that it may be* an admonition unto the faithful Follow that which hath been sent down unto you from your LORD, and follow no guides besides him how little will ye be warned! How many cities have we destroyed, which our vengeance overtook by night, [‡] or while they were reposing themselves at noon day ^{1b} And their supplication, when our punishment came upon them, was no other than that they said, Verily we have been unjust We will surely call those to an account, unto whom a *prophet* hath been sent, and we will *also* call those to account who have been sent *unto them* And we will declare *their actions* unto them with knowledge, for we are not absent *from them* The weighing of *men's actions* on that day *shall be* just, [‡] and they whose balances *laden with their good works* shall be heavy, are those who *shall be* happy, but they whose balances shall be light, are those who have lost their souls, because they injured our signs And now have we placed you on the earth, and have

[†] See before p 99

[‡] This was revealed in answer to the pressing instances of the idolaters, who offered to take the crime upon themselves, if Mohammed would conform to their worship ⁴

^{*} Al Araf signifies the partition between paradise and hell, which is mentioned in this chapter ⁵

⁷ Some however except five or eight verses, beginning at these words, *And ask them concerning the city &c*

[‡] The signification of those letters the more sober Mohammedans confess God alone knows. Some however imagine they stand for Allah, Gabriel, Mohammed, *on whom be peace.*

^{*} 'Fear not to use it for the purpose of threatening the wicked and exhorting the true believers' — *Savary*

^a As it did the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, to whom Lot was sent.

^b As happened to the Midianites, to whom Shoaib preached.

^c See the Prelim. Disc. sect. 17

⁴ Al Baidawi.

⁵ See the Prelim. Disc. sect. 17

provided you food therein *but* how little are ye thankful ! We created you, and afterwards formed you , and then said unto the angels, Worship Adam , and they *all* worshipped *him*, except Eblis, *who* was not one of those who worshipped ^d God said unto *him*, What hindered thee from worshipping Adam, since I had commanded thee ? He answered, I am more excellent than he thou hast created me of fire, and hast created him of clay God said, Get thee down therefore from *paradise*, for it is not *fit* that thou behave thyself proudly therein get thee *hence*, thou shalt be one of the contemptible. He answered, Give me respite until the day of resurrection God said, Verily thou shalt be *one* of those *who* are respited * The *devil* said, Because thou hast deprived me, I will lay wait for *men* in thy strait way , then will I come upon them from before, and from behind, and from their right hands, and from their left , ^f and thou shalt not find the greater part of them thankful God said unto *him*, Get thee hence, despised, and driven *far away* verily whoever of them shall follow thee, I will surely fill hell with you all but *as for thee*, O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife in *paradise*, and eat of the fruit thereof wherever ye will, but approach not this tree, lest ye become of the number of the unjust. And Satan suggested to them both, that he would discover unto them their nakedness, which was hidden from them , and he said, your LORD hath not forbidden you this tree, *for any other reason* but lest ye should become angels, or lest ye become immortal. And he swore unto them, *saying*, Verily I am *one* of those who counsel you aright And he caused them to fall through deceit ^g And when they had tasted of the tree, their nakedness appeared unto them , ^h and they began to join together the leaves of *paradise*, ⁱ to cover themselves And their LORD called to them, *saying*, Did I not forbid you this tree and *did I not* say unto you, Verily Satan is

^d See chap 2 p 5, &c

* As the time till which the devil is reprieved is not particularly expressed, the commentators suppose his request was not wholly granted but agree that he shall die, as well as other creatures at the second sound of the trumpet ^g

^f I will attack them on every side that I shall be able The other two ways, viz from above, and from under their feet are omitted, say the commentators, to show that the devil's power is limited ⁷

^g The Mohammedan gospel of Barnabas tells us that the sentence which God pronounced on the serpent for introducing the devil into *paradise* ^g was, that he should not only be turned out of *paradise* but that he should have his legs cut off by the angel Michael, with the sword of God , and that the devil himself, since he had rendered our first parents unclean, was condemned to eat the excrements of them and all their posterity, which two last circumstances I do not remember to have read elsewhere The words of the manuscript are these — *Yllamó (Dios) a la serpiente, y a Michael, aquel que tiene la espada de Dios, y le dixo Aquesta sierpe es acelerada, echala la primera del parayso, y cortale las piernas, y si quisiere caminar, arrastrará la vida por tierra. Yllamo á Satanas, el qual vino riendo, y díxole, Porque tu reprobo has engañado a aquestos y los has hecho inmundos ? Yo quero que toda inmundicia suya, y de todos sus hyos, en saciendo de sus cuerpos entre por tu boca, porque en verdad ellos haran penitencia, y tu quedaras harto de inmundicia*

^h Which they had not perceived before, being clothed, as some say, with light, or garments of *paradise*, which fell from them on their disobedience. Yahya imagines their nakedness was hidden by their hair ⁹

ⁱ Which it is said were fig leaves ¹⁰

^g Al Beidāwī See the Prelim Disc sect iv and D Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Art. Eblis. ⁷ Al Beidawī ^g See the notes to chap 2 p 5 ⁹ Idem ¹⁰ Idem

your declared enemy? They answered, O LORD, we have dealt unjustly with our own souls, and if thou forgive us not, and be not merciful unto us, we shall *surely* be of those who perish. God said, Get ye down, the one of you an enemy unto the other, and ye shall have a dwelling place upon the earth, and a provision for a season. He said, Therein shall ye live, and therein shall ye die, and from thence shall ye be taken forth *at the resurrection*. O children of Adam, we have sent down unto you apparel,^k to conceal your nakedness, and fair garments, but the clothing of piety is better. This *is* one of the signs of God, that peradventure ye may consider. O children of Adam, let not Satan seduce you, as he expelled your parents out of paradise, by stripping them of their clothing, that he might show them their nakedness. Verily he seeth you, both he and his companions, whereas ye see not them.^l—We have appointed the devils to be patrons of those who believe not, and when they commit a filthy action, they say, We found our fathers *practising* the same, and God hath commanded us to do it. Say, Verily God commandeth not filthy actions. Do ye speak concerning God that which ye know not? Say, My LORD hath commanded me to observe justice, therefore set your faces to pray at every place of worship, and call upon him, approving unto him the sincerity of your religion. As he produced you at first, so unto him shall ye return. A part of mankind hath he directed, and a part hath been justly led into error, because they have taken the devils for their patrons besides God, and imagine they are *rightly* directed. O children of Adam, take your decent apparel at every place of worship,^m and eat and drink,ⁿ but be not guilty of excess, for he loveth not those who are guilty of excess. Say, Who hath forbidden the decent apparel of God, which he hath produced for his servants, and the good things which he hath provided for food? Say, these things are for those who believe, in this present life, but peculiarly on the day of resurrection.^o Thus do we distinctly explain our signs unto people who understand. Say, Verily my LORD hath forbidden filthy actions, both that which is discovered thereof, and that which is concealed, and also iniquity, and unjust violence,

^k Not only proper materials, but also ingenuity of mind and dexterity of hand to make use of them.¹

^l Because of the subtlety of their bodies, and their being void of all colour.²

^m This passage was revealed to reprove an immodest custom of the pagan Arabs, who used to encompass the Caaba naked, because clothes they said, were the signs of their disobedience to God.³ The Sonna orders that when a man goes to prayers he should put on his better apparel, out of respect to the divine majesty before whom he is to appear. But as the Mohammedans think it indecent, on the one hand, to come into God's presence in a slovenly manner; so they imagine, on the other, that they ought not to appear before him in habits too rich or sumptuous, and particularly in clothes adorned with gold or silver, lest they should seem proud.

ⁿ The sons of Amer, it is said, when they performed the pilgrimage to Mecca used to eat no more than was absolutely necessary, and that not of the more delicious sort of food neither, which abstinence they looked upon as a piece of merit, but they are here told the contrary.⁴

^o Because then the wicked who also partook of the blessings of this life, will have no share in the enjoyments of the next.

¹ See the notes to chap. II. p. 5
⁴ Idem.

² Jallalo'ddin.

³ Idem, Al Berdawi.

and hath forbidden you to associate with God that concerning which he hath sent you down no authority, or to speak of God that which ye know not. Unto every nation *there is a prefixed term*, * therefore when their term is *come*,[†] they shall not have respite for an hour, neither shall they be anticipated. O children of Adam, verily apostles from among you shall come unto you, who shall expound my signs unto you: whosoever therefore shall fear God and amend, there shall come no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved. But they who shall accuse our signs of falsehood, and shall proudly reject them, they shall be the companions of *hell fire*: they shall remain therein for ever. And who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie concerning God, or accuseth his signs of imposture? Unto these shall be given their portion of *worldly happiness*, according to *what is written in the book of God's decrees*, until our messengers[‡] come unto them, and shall cause them to die, saying, Where are the *idols* which ye called upon, besides God? They shall answer, They have disappeared from us. And they shall bear witness against themselves that they were unbelievers. God shall say *unto them at the resurrection*, Enter ye with the nations which have preceded you, of *genii* and of men, into *hell fire*: so often as one nation shall enter, it shall curse its sister,[§] until they shall all have successively entered therein. The latter of them shall say of the former of them O LORD, these have seduced us, therefore inflict on them a double punishment of the fire of *hell*. God shall answer, *It shall be doubled* unto all^{||} but ye know it not: and the former of them shall say unto the latter of them, Ye have not therefore any favour above us, taste the punishment for that which ye have gained. Verily they who shall charge our signs with falsehood, and shall proudly reject them, the gates of heaven shall not be opened unto them,[¶] neither shall they enter into paradise, until a camel pass through the eye of a needle,^{‡‡} and thus will we reward the wicked doers. Their couch shall be in hell, and over them shall be coverings of *fire*, and thus will we reward the unjust. But they who believe, and do that which is right, (we will not load any soul but according to its ability,) they shall be the companions of paradise, they shall remain therein for ever. And we will remove all grudges from their minds,^{§§} rivers shall run at their feet,

* "The term of life is fixed. No one can either anticipate or protract it for a single instant.—*Savary*

† *Viz*, the angel of death and his assistants

‡ That is the nation whose example betrayed them into their idolatry and other wickedness

§ Unto those who set the example: because they not only transgressed themselves, but were also the occasion of the others' transgression, and unto those who followed them, because of their own infidelity and their imitating an ill example[§]

¶ That is when their souls shall, after death, ascend to heaven, they shall not be admitted, but shall be thrown down into the dungeon under the seventh earth[¶]

‡ This expression was probably taken from our Saviour's words in the gospel,[‡] though it be proverbial in the east

§ So that whatever differences or animosities there had been between them in their lifetime, they shall now be forgotten, and give place to sincere love and amity

§ Jallalo'ddin, al Baidawi.
p. 56. † Matt. xix. 24.

§ Jallalo'ddin. See the Prelim. Disc. ubi sup

and they shall say, Praised be God, who hath directed us unto this *felicity* ! for we should not have been *rightly* directed, if God had not directed us now are we convinced by demonstration that the apostles of our LORD came unto us with truth. And it shall be proclaimed unto them, This is paradise, whereof ye are made heirs, as a reward for that which ye have wrought. And the inhabitants² of paradise shall call out to the inhabitants of hell fire, saying, Now have we found that which our LORD promised us to be true have ye also found that which your LORD promised you to be true? They shall answer, Yea. And a crier³ shall proclaim between them, The curse of God shall be on the wicked, who turn men aside from the way of God, and seek to render it crooked, and who deny the life to come. And between the *blessed* and the *damned* there shall be a veil, and men shall stand on Al Arâf⁴ who shall know every one of them by their marks,⁵ and shall call unto the inhabitants of paradise, saying, Peace be upon you yet they shall not enter therein, although they earnestly desire it.⁶ And when they shall turn their eyes towards the companions of hell fire, they say, O LORD, place us not with the ungodly people ! And those who stand on Al Arâf shall call unto certain men,⁷ whom they shall know by their marks, and shall say, What hath your gathering of riches availed you, and that ye were puffed up with pride ? Are these the men on whom ye swear that God would not bestow mercy ?⁸ Enter ye into paradise, there shall come no fear on you, neither shall ye be grieved.⁹ And the inhabitants of hell fire shall call unto the inhabitants of paradise, saying, Pour upon us some water, or of those refreshments which God hath bestowed on you.¹⁰ They shall answer, Verily God hath forbidden them unto the unbelievers,

This Alî is said to have hoped would prove true to himself and his inveterate enemies, Othman 'elha and al Zobeir¹

² Literally, the companions

³ This crier, some say, will be the angel Israfil

⁴ Al Arâf is the name of a wall or partition which as Mohammed taught will separate paradise from hell.⁵ But as to the persons who are to be placed thereon, the commentators differ, as has been elsewhere observed¹

⁶ Who shall distinguish the blessed from the damned by their proper characteristics, such as the whiteness and splendour of the faces of the former and the blackness of those of the latter²

⁷ From this circumstance it seems that their opinion is the most probable who make this intermediate partition a sort of purgatory for those, who though they deserve not to be sent to hell yet have not merits sufficient to gain them immediate admittance into paradise, and will be tantalized here for a certain time with a bare view of the felicity of that place

⁸ That is, the chiefs and ringleaders of the infidels³

⁹ These were the inferior and poorer among the believers, whom they despised in their lifetimes as unworthy of God's favour

¹⁰ These words are directed, by an apostrophe, to the poor and despised believers above mentioned. Some commentators however imagine these and the next preceding words are to be understood of those who will be confined in Al Arâf, and that the damned will, in return for their reproachful speech, swear that they shall never enter paradise themselves, whereupon God of his mercy shall order them to be admitted by these words.⁴

¹ Of the other liquors or fruits of paradise. Compare this passage with the parable of Dives and Lazarus.

¹ Al Beidawi ² See the Prelim. Disc. sect. iv - See Ibid ³ Al Beidawi
⁴ Idem ⁵ Idem.

who made a laughing-stock and a sport of their religion, and whom the life of the world hath deceived therefore this day will we forget them, as they did forget the meeting of this day, and for that they denied our signs *to be from God* And now have we brought unto those of Mecca a book of *divine revelations* we have explained it with knowledge, a direction and mercy unto people who shall believe Do they wait for *any other* than the interpretation thereof? On the day whereon the interpretation thereof shall come, they who had forgotten the same before shall say, *Now are we convinced by demonstration* that the messengers of our Lord came *unto us* with truth shall we therefore have any intercessors who will intercede for us? or shall we be sent back *into the world*, that we may do other *works* than what we did *in our lifetimes*? But now have they lost their souls, and that which they impiously imagined hath fled from them ^a Verily your LORD is GOD, who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and then ascended *his throne* he causeth the night to cover the day, it succeedeth the same swiftly he also *created* the sun and the moon, and the stars, *which are* absolutely subject unto his command Is not the whole creation, and the empire *thereof* his? Blessed be GOD, the LORD of all creatures! Call unto your LORD humbly and in secret ^{*} for he loveth not those who transgress ¹ And act not corruptly in the earth, after its reformation ² and call upon him with fear and desire for the mercy of GOD is near unto the righteous It is he who sendeth the winds, spread abroad ¹ before his mercy, ² until they bring a cloud heavy *with rain*, which we drive into a dead country, ³ and we cause water to descend thereon, by which we cause all *sorts of* fruits to spring forth Thus will we bring forth the dead *from their graves*, ⁴ that peradventure ye may consider From a good country shall its fruit spring forth *abundantly*, by the permission of its LORD, but from the *land* which is bad, it shall not spring forth otherwise than scarcely Thus do we explain the signs of *divine providence* unto people who are thankful We formerly sent Noah ⁵ unto his people and he said,

^a That is the event of the promises and menaces therein

¹ See ch 6 p 100, note ^a

^{*} "Call upon the Lord, in public and private, but avoid ostentation He hateth the haughty"—*Savary*

¹ Behaving themselves arrogantly while they pray, or praying with an obstreperous voice or a multitude of words and vain repetitions ²

³ ⁴ ⁵ After that God hath sent his prophets, and revealed his laws, for the reformation and amendment of mankind

¹ Or ranging over a large extent of land Some copies instead of *noshram*, which is the reading I have here followed have *boshran* which signifies *good tidings*, the rising of the wind in such a manner being the forerunner of rain

² That is, rain For the east wind, says Al Beidawi *rai* is the clouds the north wind drives them together, the south wind agitates them so as to make the rain fall, and the west wind disperses them again ³

³ Or a dry and parched land

⁴ See the Prelim Disc sect iv

⁵ Noah, the son of Lamech, according to the Mohammedan writers, was one of the six principal prophets ⁷ though he had no written revelations delivered to him, ⁸ and the first who appeared after his great grandfather Edris or Enoch. They also

^a Al Beidawi

^{*} Idem

¹ See the Prelim Disc sect i.

² Vide Reland,

de Relig Moh p 34.

O my people, worship God ye have no other God than him ' Verily I fear for you the punishment of the great day ' The chiefs of his people answered him, We surely perceive thee to be in a manifest error He replied, O my people, there is no error in me, but I am a messenger from the LORD of all creatures. I bring unto you the messages of my LORD, and I counsel you aright for I know from God, that which ye know not Do ye wonder that an admonition hath come unto you from your LORD by a man^a from among you, to warn you, that ye may take heed to yourselves and that peradventure ye may obtain mercy? And they accused him of imposture but we delivered him and those who *were* with him in the ark,^b and we drowned those who charged our sins with falsehood, for they were a blind people. And unto *the tribe of Ad*^c we sent their brother Hud^d He said, O my people, worship God ye have no other God than him, will ye not fear him? The chiefs of those among his people who believed not,^e answered, Verily we perceive that thou *art* guided by folly, and we say he was by trade a carpenter, which they infer from his building the ark, and that the year of his mission was the fiftieth, or, as others say, the fortieth of his age^f

That Noah was a preacher of righteousness unto the wicked antediluvians is testified by scripture¹ The eastern Christians say, that when God ordered Noah to build the ark, he also directed him to make an instrument of wood such as they make use of at this day in the east, instead of bells, to call the people to church and named in Arabic Nakûs, and in modern Greek, Semandra, on which he was to strike three times every day not only to call together the workmen that were building the ark, but to give him an opportunity of daily admonishing his people of the impending danger of the deluge, which would certainly destroy them if they did not repent²

Some Mohammedan authors pretend that Noah was sent to convert Zohak one of the Peisian kings of the first race who refused to hearken to him, and that he afterwards preached God's unity publicly³

^a From these words, and other passages of the Koran where Noah's preaching is mentioned it appears that, according to Mohammed's opinion, a principal crime of the antediluvians was idolatry⁴

^b *Uz*, either the day of resurrection or that whereon the flood was to begin

^c For, said they if God had pleased he would have sent an angel, and not a man, since we never heard of such an instance in the times of our fathers⁵

^d That is those believed in him and entered into that vessel with him Though there be a tradition among the Mohammedans said to have been received from the prophet himself and conformable to the scripture, that eight persons and no more were saved in the ark yet some of them report the number variously One says they were but six, another ten, another twelve, another seventy eight, and another fourscore half men and half women⁶ and that one of them was the elder Jorham⁷ the preserver as some pretend of the Arabian language⁸

^e Ad was an ancient and potent tribe of Arabs⁹ and zealous idolaters¹ They chiefly worshipped four deities Sakia Hafedha Razeka, and Saloma the first as they imagined, supplying them with rain the second preserving them from all dangers abroad the third providing food for their sustenance and the fourth restoring them to health when afflicted with sickness,² according to the signification of the several names.

^f Generally supposed to be the same person with Heber³ but others say he was the son of Abdallah, the son of Ribah the son of Khold, the son of Ad the son of Aws or Uz, the son of Aram the son of Sem⁴

¹ These words were added because some of the principal men among them believed on Hud, one of whom was Morhed Ebn Saad⁵

certainly esteem thee to be one of the liars. He replied, O my people, I am not *guided by folly*, but I am a messenger unto you from the LORD of all creatures I bring unto you the messages of my LORD, and I am a faithful counsellor unto you. Do ye wonder that an admonition hath come unto you from your LORD, by a man from among you, that he may warn you? Call to mind how he hath appointed you successors unto the people of Noah,^a and hath added unto you in stature largely^{a*} Remember the benefits of God, that ye may prosper They said, Art thou come unto us, that we should worship God alone, and leave *the deities* which our fathers worshipped? Now bring down that *judgment* upon us, with which thou threatenest us, if thou speakest truth. Hud answered, Now shall there suddenly fall upon you from your LORD vengeance and indignation. Will ye dispute with me concerning the names which ye have named,^b and your fathers, as to which God hath not revealed unto you any authority? Do ye wait therefore, and I will be one of those who wait with you.[†] And we delivered him, and them who *believed* with him by our mercy, and we cut off the uttermost part of those who charged our signs with falsehood, and were not believers^c And unto *the tribe of Thamūd*^d we sent their brother Saleh^e He said, O my people, worship God ye have no God besides him. Now hath a manifest proof come unto you

* Dwelling in the habitations of the antediluvians who preceded them not many centuries, or having the chief sway in the earth after them For the kingdom of Shedad, the son of Ad, is said to have extended from the sands of Alay to the trees of Oman⁶

^a See the Prelim Disc p 5

^{a*} "And that multiplied you and increased your power"—*Savary*

^b That is, concerning the idols and imaginary objects of your worship, to which ye wickedly give the names, attributes and honour due to the only true God.

[†] "Wait! I shall soon be spectator of your ruin —*Savary*

^c The dreadful destruction of the Adites we have mentioned in another place,⁷ and shall only add here some further circumstances of that calamity and which differ a little from what is there said, for the Arab writers acknowledge many inconsistencies in the histories of these ancient tribes⁸

The tribe of Ad having been for their incredulity previously chastised with a three years drought sent Kail Ebn Ithar and Morthed Ebn Saad, with seventy other principal men, to the temple of Mecca to obtain rain Mecca was then in the hands of the tribe of Amalek, whose prince was Moawiyah Ibn Beer and he, being without the city when the ambassadors arrived entertained them there for a month in so hospitable a manner, that they had forgotten the business they came about, had not the king, reminded them of it, not as from himself, lest they should think he wanted to be rid of them but by some verses which he put into the mouth of a singing-woman At which, being roused from their lethargy Morthed told them the only way they had to obtain what they wanted would be to repent and obey their prophet but thus displeasing the rest, they desired Moawiyah to imprison him lest he should go with him which being done, Kail with the rest entering Mecca, begged of God that he would send rain to the people of Ad Whereupon three clouds appeared a white one, a red one, and a black one, and a voice from heaven ordered Kail to choose which he would Kail failed not to make choice of the last, thinking it to be laden with the most rain but when this cloud passed over them, it proved to be fraught with the divine vengeance, and a tempest broke forth from it which destroyed them all⁹

^d Thamūd was another tribe of the ancient Arabs who fell into idolatry See the Prelim Disc sect 1

^e Al Beidawi deduces his genealogy thus Saleh the son of Obeid, the son of Asaf, the son of Masekh, the son of Obeid, the son of Hadher, the son of Thamūd¹

⁶ Al Beidawi. ⁷ Prelim Disc, sect 1. ⁸ Al Beidawi. Vide D Herbelot Bibl. Orient Art Houd ⁹ See the Prelim Disc, sect. 1. ¹ Abulfeda, Al Zamakhshari Vide D Herbel. Bibl Orient Art. Saleh,

from your LORD This she-camel of God is a sign unto you ^f therefore dismiss her freely, that she may feed in God's earth, and do her no hurt, lest a painful punishment seize you. And call to mind how he hath appointed you successors unto *the tribe of Ad*, and hath given you a habitation on earth, ye build *yourselves* castles on the plains thereof, and cut out the mountains into houses.^g Remember therefore the benefits of God, and commit not violence in the earth, acting corruptly The chiefs among his people, who were puffed up with pride, said unto those who were esteemed weak, *namely*, unto those who believed among them, Do ye know that Saleh hath been sent from his LORD? They answered, We do surely believe in that wherewith he hath been sent. Those who were elated with pride replied, verily we believe not in that wherein ye believe. And they cut off the feet of the camel,^h and insolently transgressed the command of their LORD,ⁱ and said, O Saleh, cause that to come upon us which thou hast threatened us, if thou art *one* of those who have been sent *by God* Whereupon a terrible noise from heaven^k assailed

^f The Thamudites, insisting on a miracle, proposed to Saleh that he should go with them to their festival and that they should call on their gods and he on his promising to follow that deity which should answer But after they had called on their idols a long time to no purpose, Jonda Ebn Amru, their prince, pointed to a rock standing by itself and bade Saleh cause a she camel big with young to come forth from it, solemnly engaging that if he did, he would believe, and his people promised the same Whereupon Saleh asked it of God, and presently the rock after several throes as if in labour, was delivered of a she camel answering the description of Jonda, which immediately brought forth a young one ready weaned and, as some say, as big as herself Jonda seeing this miracle believed on the prophet and some few with him, but the greater part of the Thamudites remained not withstanding incredulous Of this camel the commentators tell several very absurd stories as that when she went to drink she never raised her head from the well or river till she had drank up all the water in it and then she offered herself to be milked, the people drawing from her as much as they pleased, and some say that she went about the town crying aloud, *If any wants milk let him come forth*^g

^g The tribe of Thamud dwelt first in the country of the Adites, but their numbers increasing, they removed to the territory of Hajar for the sake of the mountains where they cut themselves habitations in the rocks, to be seen at this day

^h This extraordinary camel frightening the other cattle from their pasture, a certain rich woman named Oneiza Omm Ganem, having four daughters, dressed them out, and offered one Kedar his choice of them if he would kill the camel. Whereupon he chose one and with the assistance of eight other men, hamstrung and killed the dam, and pursuing the young one, which fled to the mountain, killed that also and divided his flesh among themⁱ Others tell the story somewhat differently, adding Sadaka Bint al Mokhtar as a joint conspiratress with Oneiza, and pretending that the young one was not killed, for they say that having fled to a certain mountain named Kara, he there cried three times, and Saleh bade them catch him if they could for then there might be hopes of their avoiding the divine vengeance, but this they were not able to do, the rock opening after he had cried, and receiving him within it^k

ⁱ Defying the vengeance with which they were threatened, because they trusted in their strong dwellings hewn in the rocks, saying that the tribe of Ad perished only because their houses were not built with sufficient strength^g

^k Like violent and repeated claps of thunder, which some say was no other than the voice of the angel Gabriel,^g and which rent their hearts^h It is said that after they had killed the camel, Saleh told them that on the morrow their faces should become yellow, the next day red and the third day black, and that on the fourth God's vengeance should light on them, and that the first three signs happening accordingly they sought to put him to death, but God delivered him, by sending him into Palestine^g

^g See the Prelim Disc sect 1 ubi supra.
^h Al Kessal.
ⁱ Al Beidawi.

^k Abulfeda
^g See the Prelim. Disc p 5
^h Al Beidawi. Vide D Herbel
ⁱ Abulfeda, Al

1, * and in the morning they were found in their dwellings prostrate on their breasts *and dead*¹ And Sâleh departed from them, and said,^m O my people, now have I delivered unto you the message of my Lord, and I advised you well, but ye love not those who advise you well. And remember Lot,ⁿ when he said unto his people, Do ye commit a wickedness, wherein no creature hath set you an example? Do ye approach lustfully unto men, leaving the women? Certainly ye are people who transgress *all modesty* * But the answer of his people was no other than that they said *the one to the other*, Expel them^o your city, for they are men who preserve themselves pure *from the crimes which ye commit* Therefore we delivered him and his family except his wife, she was *one* of those who stayed *behind* ^p and we rained a shower of stones upon them ^q Behold therefore what was the end of the wicked And unto Madian^r we sent their brother Shoaib^s He said *unto them*, O my people, worship

* "At that instant they felt the earth tremble under their feet"—*Savary*

¹ Mohammed in the expedition of Tabûc which he undertook against the Greeks in the ninth year of the Hejra passing by Hejr where this ancient tribe had dwelt forbade his army though much depressed with heat and thirst to draw any water there but ordered them if they had drank of that water to bring it up again or if they had kneaded any meal with it, to give it their camels,^o and wrapping up his face in his garment he set spurs to his mule crying out *Enter not the houses of those wicked men but rather weep lest that happen unto you which befell them* and having so said he continued galloping full speed with his face muffled up, till he had passed the valley¹

^m Whether this speech was made by Saleh to them at parting as seems most probable, or after the judgment had fallen on them the commentators are not agreed

ⁿ The commentators say conformably to the scripture that Lot was the son of Harun the son of Azer or Terah, and consequently Abraham's nephew, who brought him with him from Chaldea into Palestine, where they say, he was sent by God to reclaim the inhabitants of Sodom and the other neighbouring cities which were overthrown with it, from the unnatural vice to which they were addicted² And this Mohammedan tradition seems to be countenanced by the words of the apostle, that this righteous man dwelling among them in seeming and hearing vexed his righteous soul from day to day with their unlawful deeds³ whence it is probable that he omitted no opportunity of endeavouring their reformation The story of Lot is told with further circumstances in the eleventh chapter

* Will you violate the laws of nature? —*Savary*

^o Viz Lot and those who believe on him

^p See chap II

^q See *ibid.*

^r Madian, or Midian was a city of Hejra and the habitation of a tribe of the same name the descendants of Midian, the son of Abraham by Keturah,⁴ who afterwards coalesced with the Ismaelites as it seems Moses naming the same merchants who sold Joseph to Potiphar, in one place Ismaelites,⁵ and in another Midianites⁶

This city was situated on the Red Sea, south east of Mount Sinai and is doubtless the same with the Modiana of Ptolemy what was remaining of it in Mohammed's time was soon after demolished in the succeeding wars and it remains desolate to this day The people of the country pretend to show the well whence Moses watered Jethro's flocks⁷

^s Some Mohammedan writers make him the son of Mikail, the son of Yashîr, the son of Madian⁸ and they generally suppose him to be the same person with the father in law of Moses, who is named in scripture Reuel or Raguel, and Jethro¹ But Ahmed Ebn Abd alhalim charges those who entertain this opinion with ignorance Al Kessai says that his name was Sanûn and that he was first called 'Bouân and afterwards Shoaib, and adds that he was a comely person, but spare and lean very thoughtful, and of few words Doctor Prideaux writes this name, after the French translation Chaib²

¹ Abulfed Vit Moh p 124 ² Al Bokhari ³ Vide D Herbelot, Bibl Orient Art Loth ⁴ 2 Pet ii 8 ⁵ Gen xxv 2 ⁶ Gen xxxix 1 ⁷ Gen xxxvii 36 ⁸ Vide Golin not in Alfrag p 143 ⁹ Abulfeda Desc Arab p 42 Geogr Nub p 109 ¹⁰ Al Beidawi, Tarîh Montakhab ¹¹ Exod ii. 18, iii. 1 ¹² Life of Moham p 24.

GOD, ye have no GOD besides him Now hath an evident demonstration, come unto you from your LORD Therefore give full measure and just weight, and diminish not unto men *ought of their matters*,^u neither act corruptly in the earth, after its reformation^x This will be better for you, if ye believe. And beset not every way, threatening *the passenger*,^y and turning aside from the path of GOD him who believeth in him, and seeking to make it crooked. And remember when ye were few, and God multiplied you and behold, what hath been the end of those who acted corruptly And if part of you believe in that wherewith I am sent, and part believe not, wait patiently until God judge between us, for he is the best judge [* IX.] The chiefs of his people, who were elated with pride, answered, We will surely cast thee, O Shoaib, and those who believe with thee, out of our city, or elsethou shalt certainly return unto our religion. He said, What, though we be averse *thereto*? We shall surely imagine a lie against GOD, if we return unto your religion, after that GOD hath delivered us from the same and we have no *reason* to return unto it, unless GOD our LORD shall please to *abandon us* Our LORD comprehendeth every thing by *his* knowledge In GOD do we put our trust. O LORD, do thou judge between us and our nation with truth, for thou art the best judge And the chiefs of his people who believed not said, If ye follow Shoaib, ye shall surely perish Therefore a storm from heaven^z assailed them,^{*} and in the morning they were found in their dwellings *dead and* prostrate They who accused Shoaib of imposture *became* as though they had never dwelt therein, they who accused Shoaib of imposture perished themselves. And he departed from them, and said, O my people, now have I performed unto you the messages of my LORD, and I advised you aright but *why* should I be grieved for an unbelieving people We have never sent any prophet unto a city, but we afflicted the inhabitants thereof with calamity and adversity, that they might humble themselves Then we gave *them* in exchange good in lieu of evil, until they abounded, and said, Adversity and prosperity formerly happened unto our fathers, *as unto us* Therefore we took vengeance on them suddenly, and they perceived it not *beforehand* But if the inhabitants of *those* cities had believed and feared God, we

* This demonstration the commentators suppose to have been a power of working miracles though the Koran mentions none in particular However they say (after the Jews) that he gave his son in law that wonder working rod^s with which he performed all those miracles in Egypt and the desert, and also excellent advice and instructions,⁴ whence he had the surname of *Khatib al anbiya*, or the *preacher to the prophets*⁵

^u For one of the great crimes which the Midianites were guilty of was the using of diverse measures and weights a great and a small, buying by one and selling by another⁶

^x See before, p 121 note⁷

^y Robbing on the highway, it seems was another crying sin frequent among these people. But some of the commentators interpret this passage figuratively, of their besetting the way of truth, and threatening those who gave ear to the remonstrances of Shoaib⁷

^z Like that which destroyed the Thamudites Some suppose it to have been an earthquake for the original word signifies either or both and both these dreadful calamities may well be supposed to have jointly executed the divine vengeance

^{*} "They were overthrown by an earthquake. —*Savary*

^s Al Beidawi Vide *Shalshel hakkab* p 12 ⁴ Exod xviii 13, &c ⁵ Vide D Herbelot, *Bibl Orient* Art Shoaib ⁶ Vide ib Al Beidawi See Deut xxv 13, 14 ⁷ Idem

would surely have opened to them blessings both from heaven and earth. But they charged *our apostles* with falsehood, wherefore we took vengeance on them, for that which they had been guilty of. Were the inhabitants therefore of *those cities* secure that our punishment should not fall on them by night, while they slept? Or were the inhabitants of *those cities* secure that our punishment should not fall on them by day, while they sported? Were they therefore secure from the stratagem of God? * But none will think himself secure from the stratagem of God, except the people who perish. And hath it not manifestly appeared unto those who have inherited the earth after the *former* inhabitants thereof, that if we please, we can afflict them for their sins? But we will seal up their hearts, and they shall not hearken. We will relate unto thee some stories of these cities. Their apostles had come unto them with evident miracles, but they were not *disposed* to believe in that which they had before gainsaid. Thus will God seal up the hearts of the unbelievers. And we found not in the greater part of them any *observance* of their covenant, but we found the greater part of them wicked doers. Then we sent, after the *above-named apostles*, Moses with our signs unto Pharaoh ^b and his princes, who treated them unjustly ^c but behold what was the end of the corrupt doers. And Moses said, O Pharaoh, verily I am an apostle *sent* from the LORD of all creatures. It is just that I should not speak of God other than the truth. Now am I come unto you with an *evident* sign from your LORD send therefore the children of Israel away with me. Pharaoh answered, If thou comest with a sign, produce it, if thou speakest truth. Wherefore he cast down his rod, and behold, it *became* a visible serpent ^d And he drew forth his hand *out of his bosom*, and behold, it *appeared* white unto

* Hereby is figuratively expressed the manner of God's dealing with proud and ungrateful men by suffering them to fill up the measure of their iniquity without vouchsafing to bring them to a sense of their condition by chastisements and afflictions till they find themselves utterly lost when they least expect it ^e

^a "Thought they that they could escape the vigilance of God? Shall the wicked alone be able to elude it?" — *Savary*

^b This was the common title or name of the kings of Egypt (signifying king in the Coptic tongue) as Ptolemy was in after times, and as Cæsar was that of the Roman emperors and Koshir that of the kings of Persia. But which of the kings of Egypt this Pharaoh of Moses was, is uncertain. Not to mention the opinions of the European writers, those of the east generally suppose him to have been al Walid, who, according to some, was an Arab of the tribe of Al I or according to others, the son of Masab the son of Riyan the son of Walid ^g the Amalekite ¹. There are historians however, who suppose Kabûs, the brother and predecessor of al Walid was the prince we are speaking of, and pretend he lived 620 years and reigned 400, which is more reasonable, at least than the opinion of those who imagine it was his father Masab, or grandfather Riyan ². Abulfeda says, that Masab being one hundred and seventy years old, and having no child, while he kept the herds, saw a cow calve, and heard her say at the same time, O Masab, *be not grieved for thou shalt have a wicked son who will be at length cast into hell*. And he accordingly had this Walid, who, afterwards coming to be king of Egypt, proved an impious tyrant.

^c By not believing therein

^d The Arab writers tell enormous fables of this serpent or dragon. For they say that he was hairy and of so prodigious a size that when he opened his mouth his jaws were fourscore cubits asunder, and when he laid his lower jaw on the ground, his upper reached to the top of the palace that Pharaoh seeing this monster make towards him, fled from it, and was so terribly frightened, that he befouled himself,

^e Al Beidâwî ^g See the Prelim. Disc. p. 6. ¹ Abulfeda, &c. Kitab asfar lebâb, and ul Keshaf.

the spectators.* The chiefs of the people of Pharaoh said, This *man* is certainly an expert magician he seeketh to dispossess you of your land, what therefore do ye direct? They answered, Put off him and his brother *by fair promises for some time, and in the meanwhile send unto the cities persons who may assemble and bring unto thee every expert magician.* So the magicians¹ came unto Pharaoh, and they said, Shall we surely receive a reward, if we do overcome? He answered, Yea, and ye shall certainly be of those who approach near *unto my throne* They said, O Moses, either do thou cast down *thy rod first*, or we will cast down *ours* Moses answered, Do ye cast down *your rods first* And when they had cast *them* down, they enchanted the eyes of the men *who were present*, and terrified them and they performed a great enchantment² And we spake by revelation unto Moses, *saying*, Throw down thy rod. And behold, it swallowed up *the rods* which they had *caused falsely to appear changed into serpents*³ Wherefore the truth was confirmed, and that which they had wrought vanished. And *Pharaoh and his magicians* were overcome there, and were rendered contemptible And the magicians prostrated themselves, worshipping, and they said, We believe in the LORD of all creatures, the LORD of Moses and Aaron⁴ Pharaoh said, Have ye believed on him, before I

and that the whole assembly also betaking themselves to their heels no less than 25 000 of them lost their lives in the press They add also that Pharaoh upon this adjured Moses by God who had sent him to take away the serpent, and promised he would believe on him and let the Israelites go but when Moses had done what he requested he relapsed and grew as hardened as before⁵

* There is a tradition that Moses was a very swarthy man, and that when he put his hand into his bosom, and drew it out again it became extremely white and splendid surpassing the brightness of the sun⁶ Marracci⁷ says we do not read in scripture that Moses showed this sign before Pharaoh It is true, the scripture does not expressly say so, but it seems to be no more than a necessary inference from that passage where God tells Moses that if they will not hearken to the first sign they will believe the latter sign, and if they will not believe these two signs then directs him to turn the water into blood⁸

¹ The Arabian writers name several of these magicians, besides their chief priest Simeon viz Sadûr and Ghadûr Jaath and Mosfa, Waran and Zaman each of whom were attended with their disciples amounting in all to several thousands⁹

² They provided themselves with a great number of thick ropes and long pieces of wood, which they contrived by some means to move and make them twist themselves one over the other, and so imposed on the beholders, who at a distance took them to be true serpents¹⁰

³ The expositors add that when this serpent had swallowed up all the rods and cords he made directly towards the assembly and put them into so great a terror that they fled and a considerable number were killed in the crowd then Moses took it up and it became a rod in his hand as before Whereupon the magicians declared that it could be no enchantment, because in such case their rods and cords would not have disappeared¹¹

⁴ It seems probable that all the magicians were not converted by this miracle for some writers introduce Sadûr and Ghadûr only, acknowledging Moses's miracle to be wrought by the power of God These two, they say were brothers and the sons of a famous magician then dead, but on their being sent for to court on this occasion their mother persuaded them to go to their father's tomb to ask his advice Being come to the tomb the father answered their call and when they had acquainted him with the affair he told them that they should inform themselves whether the rod of which they spake became a serpent while its masters slept, or only when they were awake for said he, enchantments have no effect while the enchanter is asleep, and therefore if it be otherwise in this case, you may be assured that they act by a divine power

⁵ Al Beidawi ⁶ Idem ⁷ In Alcor p 294 ⁸ Exod iv 8 9 ⁹ Vide D'Herbel Bibl Orient art Mous p 643 &c Al Kessali ¹⁰ Al Beidawi Vide D'Herbelot, ubi sup and Koian c 20 ¹¹ Al Beidawi.

have given you permission? Verily this is a plot which ye have contrived in the city, that ye might cast forth from thence the inhabitants thereof.¹ But ye shall surely know *that I am your master*, for I will cause your hands and your feet to be cut off on the opposite sides,² then will I cause you all to be crucified.³ The *magicians* answered, We shall certainly return unto our LORD, *in the next life*, for thou takest vengeance on us only because we have believed in the signs of our LORD, when they have come unto us. O LORD, pour on us patience, and cause us to die Moslems.⁴ And the chiefs of Pharaoh's people said, Wilt thou let Moses and his people go, that they may act corruptly in the earth, and leave thee and thy gods?⁵ Pharaoh answered, We will cause their male children to be slain, and we will suffer their females to live,⁶ and *by that means* we shall prevail over them. Moses said unto his people Ask assistance of GOD, and suffer patiently for the earth is God's, he giveth it for an inheritance unto such of his servants as he pleaseth, and the *prosperous* end *shall be* unto those who fear *him*. They answered, We have been afflicted *by having our male children slain*, before thou camest unto us and also since thou hast come unto us. Moses said Peradventure it may happen that our LORD will destroy your enemy and will cause you to succeed *him* in the earth, that he may see how ye will act *therein*. And we formerly punished the people of Pharaoh with dearth and scarcity of fruits, that they might be warned. Yet when good happened unto them, they said,⁷ This is *owing* unto us but if evil befell them, they attributed *the same* to the ill luck of Moses, and those who *were* with him.⁸ Was not their ill luck with GOD?⁹ but most of them knew it not. And they said unto Moses, What-

These two magicians then arriving at the capital of Egypt, on inquiry found to their great astonishment that when Moses and Aaron went to rest their rod became a serpent and guarded them while they slept.¹ And this was the first step towards their conversion.

¹ *e* This is a confederacy between you and Moses entered into before ye left the city to go to the place of appointment to turn out the Copts, or native Egyptians, and establish the Israelites in their stead.²

² That is your right hands and your left feet.

³ Some say Pharaoh was the first inventor of this ignominious and painful punishment.

⁴ Some think these converted magicians were executed accordingly but others deny it and say that the king was not able to put them to death insisting on these words of the Koran *You two, and they who follow you shall overcome*.

⁵ Which were the stars, or other idols. But some of the commentators, from certain impious expressions of this prince, recorded in the Koran⁶ whereby he sets up himself as the only god of his subjects, suppose that he was the object of their worship and therefore instead of *alih utara thy gods* read *lahataca, thy worship*.⁷

⁶ That is, We will continue to make use of the same cruel policy to keep the Israelites in subjection as we have hitherto done. The commentators say that Pharaoh came to this resolution because he had either been admonished in a dream, or by the astrologers or divines, that one of that nation should subvert his kingdom.⁸

⁷ "The good which they had enjoyed they considered as a debt to them"—*Savary*.

⁸ Looking on him and his followers as the occasion of those calamities. The original word properly signifies to *take an ominous and sinister presage* of any future event, from the flight of birds, or the like.

⁹ By whose will and decree they were so afflicted, as a punishment for their wickedness.

¹ Vide D'Herbel ubi sup.

² Koran, chap. 26, 28.

³ Al Beidâwi.

⁴ Al Beidâwi.

⁵ Korân, chap. 28.

⁶ Idem, Jallalo ddin.

ever sign thou show unto us, to enchant us therewith, we will not believe on thee. Wherefore we sent upon them a flood,* and locusts, and lice,† and frogs, and blood, distinct miracles but they behaved proudly, and became a wicked people. And when the plague‡ fell on them, they said, O Moses, entreat thy LORD for us, according to that which he hath covenanted with thee verily, if thou take the plague from off us, we will surely believe thee, and we will let the children of Israel go with thee But when we had taken the plague from off them, until the term *which God had granted them* was expired, behold, they broke their promise Wherefore we took vengeance on them, and drowned them in the *Red Sea*,‡ because they charged our signs with falsehood, and neglected them And we caused the people who had been rendered weak to inherit the eastern parts of the earth and the western parts thereof,§ which we blessed *with fertility*, and the gracious word of thy LORD was fulfilled on the children of Israel, for that they had endured with patience and we destroyed the *structures* which Pharaoh and his people had made, and that which they had erected¶ And we caused the children of Israel to pass through the sea, and they came unto a people who gave themselves up to *the worship* of their idols* and they said, O Moses, make us a god, in like manner as these *people* have gods Moses answered, Verily ye are an ignorant people *for the religion* which these follow *will be destroyed*, and that which they do is vain He said, Shall I seek for you any other god than GOD, since he hath preferred you to the *rest of the world*? And *remember* when we delivered you from the people of Pharaoh, who grievously oppressed you, they slew your male children, and let your females live therein was a great trial from your LORD* And we appointed unto Moses *a fast of thirty nights before we gave*

* This inundation, they say, was occasioned by unusual rains which continued eight days together, and the overflowing of the Nile and not only covered their lands, but came into their houses, and rose as high as their backs and necks but the children of Israel had no rain in their quarters† As there is no mention of any such miraculous inundation in the Mosaic writings some have imagined this plague to have been either a pestilence or the small pox or some other epidemical distemper‡ For the word *tufân*, which is used in this place, and is generally rendered a *deluge*, may also signify any other universal destruction or mortality

† Some will have these insects to have been a larger sort of tick, others, the young locusts before they have wings‡

§ *Viz* any of the calamities already mentioned or the pestilence which God sent upon them afterwards

¶ See this wonderful event more particularly described in the tenth and twentieth chapters

* That is, the land of Syria, of which the eastern geographers reckon Palestine a part, and wherein the commentators say the children of Israel succeeded the kings of Egypt and the Amalekites†

† Particularly the lofty tower which Pharaoh caused to be built, that he might attack the God of Moses‡

‡ These people some will have to be of the tribe of Amalek whom Moses was commanded to destroy and others of the tribe of Lakhm Their idols, it is said, were images of oxen, which gave the first hint to the making of the golden calf§

§ Savary, referring the final clause to the deliverance, translates it, "This was an eminent favour from the divine goodness."

† Al Beidâwi Jallaloddin Abulfed.

‡ Idem. § Vide Korân, chap. 28, and 40

† Al Beidâwi.

‡ Al Beidâwi.

§ Idem.

him the law,^a and we completed them by *adding of ten more*, and the stated time of his LORD was fulfilled in forty nights. And Moses said unto his brother Aaron, Be thou my deputy among my people *during my absence* and behave uprightly, and follow not the way of the corrupt doers. And when Moses came at our appointed time, and his Lord spake unto him,^b he said, O LORD, show me *thy glory*, that I may behold thee. God answered, Thou shalt in no wise behold me, but look towards the mountain,^c and if it stand firm in its place, then thou shalt see me. But when his LORD appeared with glory in the mount,^d he reduced it to dust. And Moses fell down in a swoon. And when he came to himself, he said, Praise be unto thee! I turn unto thee with repentance, and I *am* the first of true believers.^e God said unto him O Moses, I have chosen thee above *all men*, by *honouring thee* with my commissions, and by my speaking unto thee receive therefore that which I have brought thee and be *one* of those who give thanks.^f And we wrote for him on the tables^g an admonition concerning every matter, and a decision in every case,^h and said, Receive this with reverence, and command thy people that they live according to the most excellent *precepts* thereof. I will show you the dwelling of the wicked.ⁱ I will turn aside from my signs those who behave themselves

^a The commentators say that God having promised Moses to give him the law directed him to prepare himself for the high favour of speaking with God in person by a fast of thirty days and that Moses accordingly fasted the whole month of Dhulkaada but not liking the savour of his breath he rubbed his teeth with a dentifrice upon which the angels told him that his breath before had the odour of musk,¹ but that his rubbing his teeth had taken it away. Wherefore God ordered him to fast ten days more, which he did and these were the first ten days of the succeeding month of al-Thayya. Others however, supposed that Moses was commanded to fast and pray thirty days only, and that during the other ten God discoursed with him.

^b The Arabs reckon by *nights* as we do by *days*. This custom doubtless had its rise from the excessive heat of their climate. They dwell amidst burning sands and while the sun is above the horizon they usually keep within their tents. When he sets they quit them and enjoy coolness and a most delightful sky. Night is, in a great measure to them that which day is to us. Their poets therefore never celebrate the charms of a beautiful day, but these words, *Laili! Laili! O night! O night!* are repeated in all their songs. —Savary.

^c Without the mediation of any other, and face to face, as he speaks unto the angels.²

^d This mountain the Mohammedans name al Zabir.

^e Or as it is literally *unto the mount*. For some of the expositors pretend that God endued the mountain with life and the sense of seeing.

^f This is not to be taken strictly. See the like expression in chap vi p 99.

^g The Mohammedans have a tradition that Moses asked to see God on the day of Arafat, and that he received the law on the day they slay the victims at the pilgrimage of Mecca, which days are the ninth and tenth of Dhulhajja.

^h These tables, according to some were seven in number, and according to others ten. Nor are the commentators agreed whether they were cut out of a kind of lotus-tree in Paradise called al Sedra or whether they were chrysolites, emeralds, rubies or common stone.³ But they say that they were each ten or twelve cubits long for they suppose that not only the ten commandments but the whole law was written thereon and some add that the letters were cut quite through the tables, so that they might be read on both sides,⁴ which is a fable of the Jews.

ⁱ That is, a perfect law, comprehending all necessary instructions, as well in regard to religious and moral duties as the administration of justice.

^j Viz, the desolate habitations of the Egyptians, or those of the impious tribes of Ad and Thamûd, or perhaps hell, the dwelling of the ungodly in the other world.

^a See the Prelim Disc sect. iv
Vide D Herbel Bibl Orient. p 650

^b Al Beidawi, Jallaloddin ^c Al Beidawi
^d Al Beidawi ^e Vide D Herbel ubi supra.

proudly in the earth, without justice and although they see every sign, yet they shall not believe therein, and although they see the way of righteousness, yet they shall not take that way, but if they see the way of error, they shall take that way. This shall come to pass because they accuse our signs of imposture, and neglect the same. But as for them who deny the truth of our signs and the meeting of the life to come, their works shall be vain shall they be rewarded otherwise than according to what they shall have wrought? And the people of Moses, after his departure took a corporeal calf,^k made of their ornaments,^l which lowed.^m Did they not see that it spake not unto them, neither directed them in the way? yet they took it for their god, and acted wickedly. But when they repented with sorrow,ⁿ and saw that they had gone astray, they said, Verily, if our LORD have not mercy upon us, and forgive us not, we shall certainly become of the number of those who perish. And when Moses returned unto his people, full of wrath and indignation, he said, An evil thing is it that ye have committed after my departure, have ye hastened the command of your LORD?^o And he threw down the tables,^p and took his brother by the hair of the head, and dragged him unto him. And Aaron said unto him Son of my mother, Verily the people prevailed against me,^q and it wanted little but they had slain me make not my enemies therefore to rejoice over me neither place me with the wicked people. Moses said, O LORD, forgive me and my brother, and receive us into thy mercy, for thou art the most merciful of those who exercise mercy. Verily, as for them who took the calf for their god, indignation shall overtake them from their LORD,^r and ignominy in this life thus will we reward those who imagine falsehood. But unto them who do evil, and afterwards repent, and believe in God, verily thy LORD will thereafter be clement and merciful. And when the anger of Moses was appeased, he took the tables,^s and in what was written thereon was a direction and mercy unto those who feared their LORD. And Moses chose out of his people seventy men, to go up with him to the mountain at the time appointed by us and when a storm of thunder and lightning had taken them away,^t he said, O LORD, if thou hadst pleased, thou hadst destroyed them before, and me also, wilt thou destroy us for

^k That is, as some understand it, consisting of flesh and blood, or as others, being, a mere body or mass of metal without a soul.²

^l Such as their rings and bracelets of gold and silver.³

^m See chap. xx, and the notes to chap. ii p. 7.

ⁿ Father Marracci seems not to have understood the meaning of this phrase, having literally translated the Arabic words, *wa lamma sokuta fi eidihim*, without any manner of sense, *Et cum cadere factus fuisset in manibus eorum*.

^o By neglecting his precepts, and bringing down his vengeance on you.

^p Which were all broken and taken up to heaven, except one only, and this, they say, contained the threats and judicial ordinances, and was afterwards put into the ark.⁴

^q Literally, *rendered me weak*.

^r See chap. 2, p. 8.

^s Or the fragments of that which was left.

^t "An earthquake swallowed them up"—Savary.

² See chap. 2, p. 8, and chap. 4, p. 78.

³ Al Beidawi. See chap. 20, and the notes to chap. 2, p. 7.

⁴ Al Beidawi. Vide D'Herbelot, ubi sup. p. 649.

¹ Vide ibid.

that which the foolish *men* among us have committed? This is only thy trial, thou wilt thereby lead into error whom thou pleasest, and thou wilt direct whom thou pleasest. Thou art our protector, therefore forgive us, and be merciful unto us, for thou art the best of those who forgive. And write down for us good in this world, and in the life to come, for unto thee are we directed. God answered, I will inflict my punishment on whom I please, and my mercy extendeth over all things and I will write down *good* unto those who shall fear *me*, and give alms, and who shall believe in our signs, who shall follow the apostle, the illiterate prophet,^u whom they shall find written down ^x with them in the law and the gospel he will command them that which is just and will forbid them that which is evil, and will allow them as lawful the good things *which were before forbidden*,^y and will prohibit those which are bad,^z and he will ease them of their heavy burden, and of the yokes which were upon them.^a And those who believe in him, and honour him, and assist him and follow the light which hath been sent down with him, *shall be happy*. Say, O men, Verily, I am the messenger of God unto you all ^b unto him *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, there is no God but he he giveth life, and he causeth to die. Believe therefore in God and his apostle, the illiterate prophet, who believeth in God and his word, and follow him, that ye may be *rightly* directed. Of the people of Moses *there is a party*^c who direct *others* with truth, and act justly according to the same. And we divided them into twelve tribes, *as unto so many* nations. And we spake by revelation unto Moses, when his people asked drink of him *and we said*, Strike the rock with thy rod, and there gushed thereout twelve fountains,^d and men knew their *respective* drinking place. And we caused clouds to overshadow them, and manna and quails^e to descend upon them, *saying*, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food and they injured not us,^f but they injured their own souls. And *call to*

^u That is Mohammed. See the Prelim Disc sect 11.

^x & ^y Both foretold by name and certain description

^y See chap 3 p 42

^z As the eating of blood and swine's flesh and the taking of usury, &c

^a See chap 2, p 35

^b That is to all mankind in general and not to one particular nation as the former prophets were sent

^c I.e., those Jews who seemed better disposed than the rest of their brethren to receive Mohammed's law, or perhaps such of them as had actually received it. Some imagine they were a Jewish nation dwelling somewhere beyond China, which Mohammed saw the night he made his journey to heaven, and who believed on him.

^d See chap 2 p 8

To what is said in the notes there we may add that, according to a certain tradition, the stone, on which this miracle was wrought was thrown down from paradise by Adam, and came into the possession of Shoaib who gave it with the rod to Moses, and that according to another, the water issued thence by three orifices on each of the four sides of the stone making twelve in all, and that it ran in so many rivulets to the quarter of each tribe in the camp.

^e See chap 2, p 7

^f "Their murmurs did injury only to themselves"—*Savary*

mind when it was said unto them, Dwell in this city,^f and eat of the *provisions* thereof wherever ye will, and say, Forgiveness, and enter the gate worshipping we will pardon you your sins, and will give increase unto the well doers But they who were ungodly among them changed the expression into another,^g which had not been spoken unto them Wherefore we sent down upon them indignation from heaven, because they transgressed And ask them concerning the city,^h which was situate on the sea, when they transgressed on the sabbath day when their fish came unto them on their sabbath day, *appearing* openly on the water, but on the day whereon they celebrated no sabbath, they came not unto them Thus did we prove them, because they were wicked doers And when a party of themⁱ said unto the others, Why do ye warn a people whom God will destroy or will punish with a grievous punishment? They answered, *This* is an excuse for us unto your Lord,^k and peradventure they will beware But when they had forgotten the admonitions which had been given them, we delivered those who forbade them to do evil, and we inflicted on those who had transgressed a severe punishment, because they had acted wickedly And when they proudly refused to *desist* from what had been forbidden them, we said unto them, Be ye transformed into apes, driven away from the society of men And remember when thy LORD declared that he would surely send against the Jews, until the day of resurrection, some nation who should afflict them with a grievous oppression ^l for thy LORD is swift in punishing, and he is also ready to forgive, and merciful and we dispersed them among the nations in the earth Some of them are upright persons, and some of them are otherwise And we proved them with prosperity and with adversity, that they might return from their disobedience, and a succession of their posterity hath succeeded after them, who have inherited the book of the law, who receive the temporal goods of this world,^m and say, It will surely be forgiven us and if a temporal advantage like the former be offered them, they accept it also Is it not the covenant of the book of the law established with them, that they should not speak of God

^f See this passage explained chap 2 p 7

^g Professor Sike says that being prone to leave spiritual for worldly matters instead of Hittaton they said Hintaton which signifies *wheat* ^h and comes much nearer the true word than the expression I have in the place last quoted, set down from Jallalo ddin Whether he took this from the same commentator or not, does not certainly appear though he mentions him just before, but if he did, his copy must differ from that which I have followed

^h This city was Ailah or Ilath on the Red Sea though some pretend it was Midian, and others Tiberias The whole story is already given in the notes to chap 2 p 9 Some suppose the following five or eight verses to have been recited at Medina

ⁱ Viz, the religious persons among them who strictly observed the sabbath and endeavoured to reclaim the others till they despaired of success But so he thinks these words were spoken by the offenders, in answer to the admonitions of the others

^k That we have done our duty in dissuading them from their wickedness

^l See chap 5 p 91, note ^f

^m By accepting of bribes for wresting judgment, and for corrupting the copies of the Pen'a such, and by extorting of usury, &c.^g

ought but the truth ?¹ Yet they diligently read that which is therein. But the enjoyment of the next life *will be* better for those who fear God *than the wicked gains of these people*, (Do ye not therefore understand ?) and for those who hold fast the book of the law, and are constant at prayer for we will by no means suffer the reward of the righteous to perish. And when we shook the mountain of *Sinar* over them² as though it had been a covering, and they imagined that it was falling upon them, *and we said*, Receive the *law* which we have brought you with reverence, and remember that which is *contained* therein, that ye may take heed. And when the LORD drew forth their posterity from the loins of the sons of Adam,³ and took them to witness against themselves, *saying*, Am not I your LORD ? They answered, Yea we do bear witness. *This was done* lest ye should say, at the day of the resurrection, Verily we were negligent as to this *matter*, *because we were not apprised thereof* or lest ye should say, Verily our fathers were formerly guilty of idolatry, and we are *their* posterity who have succeeded them, wilt thou therefore destroy us for that which vain men have committed ? Thus we explain *our* signs, that they may return *from their vanities*. And relate unto *the Jews* the history of him unto whom we brought our signs, and they departed from them, wherefore Satan followed him, and he became *one* of those who were seduced. And if we had pleased, we had surely raised him thereby *unto wisdom*, but he inclined unto the earth, and followed his own desire⁴. Wherefore his likeness as the likeness of a dog, which, if thou drive him away, putteth forth his tongue, or, if thou let him alone, putteth forth his tongue *also*. This is the likeness of the people, who accuse our signs of falsehood. Rehearse therefore *this* history *unto them*, that they may consider. Evil is

* Particularly by giving out that God will forgive their corruption without sincere repentance and amendment.

² See chap 2, p 9 note *

³ This was done in the plain of Dahia, in India, or, as others imagine in a valley near Mecca. The commentators tell us that God stroked Adam's back and extracted from his loins his whole posterity which should come into the world until the resurrection, one generation after another that these men were actually assembled all together in the shape of small ants, which were endued with understanding and that after they had in the presence of angels, confessed their dependence on God they were again caused to return into the loins of their great ancestor⁷. From this fiction it appears that the doctrine of pre existence is not unknown to the Mohammedans, and there is some little conformity between it and the modern theory of generation *ex animalculis in semine maritorum*.

⁴ Some suppose the person here intended to be a Jewish *rabbi* or one Ommeya Ebn Abi Isalt, who read the scriptures and found thereby that God would send a prophet about that time, and was in hopes that he might be the man, but when Mohammed declared his mission believed not on him through envy. But according to the more general opinion, it was Balaam the son of Beor of the Canaanitish race, well acquainted with part at least of the scripture, having even been favoured with some revelations from God who being requested by his nation to curse Moses and the children of Israel, refused it at first, saying *How can I curse those who are protected by the angels*⁸. But afterwards he was prevailed on by gifts, and he had no sooner done it than he began to put his tongue out like a dog, and it hung down upon his breast⁹.

⁷ Loving the wages of unrighteousness, and running greedily after error for reward.⁹

⁷ Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya. Vide D Herbelot, Bibl Orient p 54. * Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, al Zamakhshari. Vide D Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Art Balaam.
⁸ 2 Pet ii. 5. Jude 11

the multitude of those people who accuse our signs of falsehood, and injure their own souls. Whomsoever God shall direct, he *will be rightly directed*, and whomsoever he shall lead astray, they shall perish. Moreover we have created for hell many of the genus of men, they have hearts by which they understand not, and they have eyes by which they see not, and they have ears by which they hear not. These are like the brute beasts, yea they go more astray these are the negligent. God hath most excellent names ^a therefore call on him by the same, and withdraw from those who use his name perversely ^b they shall be rewarded for that which they shall have wrought. And of those whom we have created there are a people who direct *others* with truth, and act justly ^c according thereto ^d But those who devise lies against our signs, we will suffer them to fall gradually into ruin, by a *method* which they knew not ^e and I will grant them to enjoy a long and prosperous life, ^f for my stratagem is effectual. Do they not consider that there is no devil in their companion? ^g He is no other than a public preacher. Or do they not contemplate the kingdom of heaven and earth, and the things which God hath created, and *consider* that peradventure it may be that their end draweth nigh? And in what new declaration will they believe, after this? ^h He whom God shall cause to err, shall have no director, and he shall leave them in their impiety, wandering in confusion. They will ask thee concerning the *last* hour, at what time its coming is fixed? Answer, Verily the knowledge thereof is with my LORD, none shall declare the fixed time thereof, except he. *The expectation thereof* is grievous in heaven and on earth ⁱ it shall come upon you no otherwise than suddenly. They will ask thee, as though thou wast well acquainted therewith. Answer, Verily the knowledge thereof is with God alone but the greater part of men know it not. Say, I am able neither to procure advantage unto myself, nor to avert mischief *from me*, but as God pleaseth. If I knew the secrets *of God*, I should surely enjoy abundance of good, neither should evil befall me. Verily I am no other than a denouncer of threats, and a messenger of good tidings unto people

^a Expressing his glorious attributes. Of these the Mohammedan Arabs have no less than ninety nine, which are reckoned up by Marracci ¹

^b As did Walid Ebn al Mogheira who hearing Mohammed give God the title of al Rahman or *the merciful*, laughed aloud, saying that he knew none of that name, except a certain man who dwelt in Yamama ² or as the idolatrous Miceans did, who deduced the names of their idols from those of the true God, deriving, for example, Allat from Allah, al Uzza from al Aziz, *the mighty* and Manat from al Mannan, *the bountiful* ³

^c As it is said a little above that God had created many to eternal misery, so here he is said to have created others to eternal happiness. ⁴

^d By flattering them with prosperity in this life, and permitting them to sin in an uninterrupted security, till they find themselves unexpectedly ruined ⁵

^e "Though my vengeance be slow it is only the more terrible"—*Savary*

^f Viz in Mohammed, whom they gave out to be possessed when he went up to mount Safa, and from thence called to the several families of each respective tribe in order to warn them of God's vengeance if they continued in their idolatry ⁶

^g "After they have rejected the Koran. For what more evident revelation can they hereafter expect?"

^h Not only to men and genus, but to the angels also

¹ In Alc p 414. ² Marracc Vit. Moh p 19. ³ Al Beidawi, Jallalo ddin See the Prelim. Disc sect 1. ⁴ Al Beidawi. ⁵ Idem. ⁶ Idem. ⁷ Idem.

who believe It is he who hath created you from one person, and out of him produced his wife, that he might dwell with her and when he had known her, she carried a light burden *for a time*, wherefore she walked *easily* therewith But when it became more heavy,^b she called upon God their LORD, *saying*, If thou give us *a child* rightly shaped, we will surely be thankful Yet when he had given them *a child* rightly shaped, they attributed companions unto him, for that which he had given them ^c But far be that from God, which they associated *with him*! Will they associate *with him false gods* which create nothing, but are themselves created, and can neither give them assistance, nor help themselves? And if ye invite them to the *true* direction, they will not follow you it will be equal unto you, whether ye invite them, or whether ye hold your peace Verily, the *false deities* whom ye invoke besides God are servants like unto you ^d Call therefore upon them, and let them give you an answer if ye speak truth Have they feet, to walk with? Or have they hands, to lay hold with? Or have they eyes, to see with? Or have they ears to hear with? Say, Call upon your companions and then lay a snare for me and defer it not, for God is my protector, who sent down the book of the *Koran*, and he protecteth the righteous But they whom ye invoke besides him cannot assist you, neither do they help themselves, and if ye call on them to direct you, they will not hear Thou seest them look towards thee, but they see not Use indulgence,^e and command that which is just, and withdraw far from the ignorant And if an evil suggestion from Satan be

^b That is, when the child grew bigger in her womb

^c For the explaining of this whole passage the commentators tell the following story They say that when Eve was big with her first child the devil came to her and asked her whether she knew what she carried within her and which way she should be delivered of it suggesting that possibly it might be a boy: She being unable to give an answer to this question went in a fright to Adam and acquainted him with the matter, who not knowing what to think of it grew sad and pensive Whereupon the devil appeared to her again (or as others say to Adam) and pretended that he by his prayers would obtain of God that she might be safely delivered of a son in Adam's likeness provided they would promise to name him Abd alhareth or the *servant of al Hareth* (which was the devil's name among the angels) instead of Abdallah or the *servant of God* as Adam had designed This proposal was agreed to and accordingly, when the child was born they gave it that name upon which it immediately died ^d And with this Adam and Eve are here taxed as an act of idolatry The story looks like a *rabbinical* fiction and seems to have no other foundation than Cain's being called by Moses Obed adamah that is *a tiller of the ground* which might be translated into Arabic by Abd alhareth

But al Beidawi thinking it unlikely that a prophet as Adam is by the Mohammedans supposed to have been) should be guilty of such an action imagines the Korân in this place means Kosar one of Mohammed's ancestors and his wife, who being issued of God, and having four sons granted them called their names Abd Manaf Abd Shams, Abd al Uzza, and Abd al 'Dai after the names of four principal idols of the Koreish And the following words also he supposes to relate to their idolatrous posterity

^e Being subject to the absolute command of God For the chief idols of the Arabs were the sun, moon and stars ^f

^g Or as the words may also be translated *Take the superabundant overplus* meaning that Mohammed should accept such voluntary alms from the people as they could spare But the passage if taken in this sense, was abrogated by the precept of legal alms, which was given at Medina.

^h Al Beidâwi, Yahya. Vide D Herbelot Bibl Orient p 438, et Selden. de Jure Nat Sec Hebr lib 5, c 8 ⁱ See the Prelim Disc p 11, &c

suggested unto thee, to divert thee from thy duty, have recourse unto God for he heareth and knoweth Verily they who fear God, when a temptation from Satan assaileth them, remember the divine commands, and behold, they clearly see the danger of sin, and the wiles of the devil But as for the brethren of the devils, they shall continue them in error, and afterwards they shall not preserve themselves therefrom. And when thou bringest not a verse of the Korân unto them they say, Hast thou not put it together? Answer, I follow that only which is revealed unto me from my LORD This book containeth evident proofs from your LORD, and is a direction and mercy unto people who believe And when the Koran is read, attend thereto, and keep silence, that ye may obtain mercy And meditate on thy Lord in thine own mind, with humility and fear, and without loud speaking, evening and morning, and be not one of the negligent Moreover the angels who are with my LORD do not proudly disdain his service. but they celebrate his praise and worship him

CHAPTER VIII

INTITLED, THE SPOILS & REVEALED AT MEDINA.^a

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THEY will ask thee concerning the spoils Answer, The division of the spoils belongeth unto God and the apostle¹ Therefore fear God, and compose the matter amicably among you and obey God and his apostle, if ye are true believers. Verily the true believers are those whose hearts fear when God is mentioned, and whose faith increaseth when his signs are rehearsed unto them, and who trust in their LORD, who observe the stated

¹ Hast thou not yet contrived what to say, or canst thou obtain no revelation from God?

² This chapter was occasioned by the high disputes which happened about the division of the spoils taken at the battle of Bedr² between the young men who had fought, and the old men who had stayed under the ensigns, the former insisting they ought to have the whole, and the latter that they deserved a share³ To end the contention Mohammed pretended to have received orders from heaven to divide the booty among them equally having first taken thereout a fifth part for the purposes which will be mentioned hereafter

³ Except seven verses, beginning at these words And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted against thee &c Which some think were revealed at Mecca

⁴ It is related that Saad Ebn Abi Wakkas, one of the companions whose brother Omar was slain in this battle having killed Saad Ebn al As, took his sword and carrying it to Mohammed, desired that he might be permitted to keep it but the prophet told him, that it was not his to give away, and ordered him to lay it with the other spoils At this repulse and the loss of his brother, Saad was greatly disturbed, but in a very little while this chapter was revealed, and thereupon Mohammed gave him the sword, saying You asked this sword of me when I had no power to dispose of it, but now I have received authority from God to distribute the spoils, you may take it⁴

² See chap 3 p 36.

³ Al Beidâwi, Jallalo dîn

⁴ Al Beidâwi

times of prayer, and give alms out of that which we have bestowed on them These are really believers they shall have *superior* degrees of *felicity* with their LORD, and forgiveness, and an honourable provision As thy LORD brought thee forth from thy house ^k with truth, and part of the believers were averse to *thy directions* ^l they disputed with thee concerning the truth, after it had been made known unto them, ^m no otherwise than as if they had been led forth to death, and had *seen it with their eyes* ⁿ And *call to mind* when GOD promised you one of the two parties, that it should be *delivered* unto you, ^o and ye desired that the *party* which was not furnished with arms ^p should be *delivered* unto you but GOD purposed to make known the truth in his words, and to cut off the uttermost part of the

^k : e From Medina. The particle *as* having nothing in the following woras to answer it, al Beidāwī supposes the connection to be that the division of the spoils belonged to the prophet, notwithstanding his followers were averse to it, as they had been averse to the expedition itself

^l For the better understanding of this passage it will be necessary to mention some farther particulars relating to the expedition of Bedr

Mohammed having received private information (for which he pretended he was obliged to the angel Gabriel) of the approach of a caravan belonging to the Koreish which was on its return from Syria with a large quantity of valuable merchandise and was guarded by no more than thirty or as others say, forty men set out with a party to intercept it Abu Sofian who commanded the little convoy having notice of Mohammed's motions sent to Mecca for succours upon which Abu Jahl and all the principal men of the city except only Abu Laheb marched to his assistance with a body of nine hundred and fifty men Mohammed had no sooner received advice of this, than Gabriel descended with a promise that he should either take the caravan or beat the succours whereupon he consulted with his companions which of the two he should attack Some of them were for setting upon the caravan, saying that they were not prepared to fight such a body of troops as were coming with Abu Jahl but this proposal Mohammed rejected telling them that the caravan was at a considerable distance by the sea side whereas Abu Jahl was just upon them The others however insisted so obstinately on pursuing the first design of falling on the caravan that the prophet grew angry but by the interposition of Abu Be'r Omar, Saad Ibn Obadah and Mokdad Fbn Amru they at length acquiesced in his opinion Mokdad in particular assured him they were all ready to obey his order and would not say to him as the children of Israel did to Moses (*O thou and thy Lord to fight, for we will sit here* ^q but (*O thou and thy Lord to fight and we will fight with you* At this Mohammed smiled, and again sat down to consult with them applying himself chiefly to the Ansars or *helpers* because they were the greater part of his forces and he had some apprehension lest they should not think themselves obliged by the oath they had taken to him at al Akaba ^r to assist him against any other than such as should attack him in Medina But Saad Ibn Moadh in the name of the rest told him that they had received him as the apostle of God and had promised him obedience and were therefore all to a man ready to follow him where he pleased, though it were into the sea Upon which the prophet ordered them in God's name to attack the succours assuring them of the victory

^m That is concerning their success against Abu Jahl and the Koreish, notwithstanding they had God's promise to encourage them

ⁿ The reason of this great backwardness was the smallness of their number in comparison of the enemy, and their being unprepared for they were all foot having but two horses among them whereas the Koreish had no less than a hundred horse ^o

^p That is either the caravan, or the succours from Mecca Father Marracci, mistaking, *al fir* and *al nafir*, which are appellatives, and signify *the caravan* and *the troop* or body of succours, for proper names has thence coined two families of the Koreish never heard of before, which he calls Aïrensens and Naphirensens ^q

^r Viz the caravan which was guarded by no more than forty horse, whereas the other party was strong and well appointed.

^k Koran, chap 5, p 84

^o See the Prelim Disc p 34

ⁿ Al Beidawī.

^l Idem Vide Abulfed Vit M'J' p 56.

^q Marrace in Alc p 297

unbelievers,^a that he might verify the truth, and destroy falsehood, although the wicked were averse *thereto*. When ye asked assistance of your LORD,^b and he answered you, Verily, I will assist you with a thousand^c angels, following one another *in order*. And this God designed only as good tidings^d for you, and that your hearts might thereby rest secure for victory *is* from God alone, and God is mighty *and* wise. When a sleep fell on you as a security from him, and he sent down upon you water from heaven, that he might thereby purify you, and take from you the abomination of Satan,^e and that he might confirm your hearts, and establish *your* feet thereby. Also when thy LORD spake unto the angels, *saying*, Verily, I am with you, wherefore confirm those who believe. I will cast a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers. Therefore strike off *their* heads, and strike off all the ends of their *fingers*.^f This *shall they suffer*, because they have resisted God and his apostle. And whosoever shall oppose God and his apostle, verily God *will be* severe in punishing *him*. This *shall be your punishment*, taste it therefore. And the infidels shall *also* suffer the torment of *hell* fire. O true believers, when ye meet the unbelievers marching *in great numbers against you*, turn not *your* backs unto them. For whose shall turn his back unto them in that day unless he turneth aside to fight, or retreateth to *another party of the faithful*,^g shall draw on himself the indignation of God, and his abode shall be in hell, an ill journey *shall it be thither*. And ye slew not those *who were slain at Bedr yourselves*, but God slew them.^h Neither didst thou, O Mohammed, cast *the gravel into their eyes*, when thou didst *seem* to cast it, but it God cast

^a As if he had said Your view was only to gain the spoils of the caravan and to avoid danger, but God designed to exalt his true religion by extirpating its adversaries.¹

^b When Mohammed's men saw they could not avoid fighting they recommended themselves to God's protection and their prophet prayed with great earnestness crying out O God fulfil that which thou hast promised me O God if this party be cut off thou wilt be no more worshipped on earth. And he continued to repeat these words till his cloak fell from off his back.²

^c Which were afterwards reinforced with three thousand more.³ Wherefore some copies, instead of a *thousand*, read *thousands* in the plural.

^d See chap. 3, p. 52.

^e It is related, that the spot where Mohammed's little army lay was a dry and deep sand, into which their feet sank as they walked, the enemy having the command of the water. And that having fallen asleep the greater part of them were disturbed with dreams, wherein the devil suggested to them that they could never expect God's assistance in the battle since they were cut from the water and besides suffering the inconvenience of thirst, must be obliged to pray without washing though they imagined themselves to be the favourites of God, and that they had his apostle among them. But in the night rain fell so plentifully, that it formed a little brook and not only supplied them with water for all their uses but made the sand between them and the infidel army firm enough to bear them, whereupon the diabolical suggestions ceased.⁴

^f This is the punishment expressly assigned the enemies of the Mohammedan religion, though the Moslems did not inflict it on the prisoners they took at Bedr, for which they are reprehended in this chapter.

^g That is if it be not downright running away but done either with design to rally and attack the enemy again, or by way of feint or stratagem, or to succour a party which is hard pressed, &c.⁵

^h See chap. 3, p. 36, note.

¹ Al Beidawi.

² Idem Vide Abulfed Vit Moh. p. 58.

³ See chap. 3 p. 36, 52.

⁴ Al Beidawi.

⁵ Idem.

it,⁷ that he might prove the true believers by a gracious trial from himself, for GOD heareth and knoweth. This *was done* that GOD might also weaken the crafty devices of the unbelievers. If ye desire a decision of the matter between us, now hath a decision come unto you ^a and if ye desist from opposing the apostle, it will be better for you. But if ye return to attack him, we will also return to his assistance, and your forces shall not be of advantage unto you at all, although they be numerous, for GOD is with the faithful. O true believers, obey GOD and his apostle, and turn not back from him, since ye hear the admonitions of the Korân. And be not as those who say, We hear, when they do not hear. Verily the worst sort of beasts in the sight of GOD are the deaf and the dumb,^{*} who understand not. If GOD had known any good in them, he would certainly have caused them to hear ^a and if he had caused them to hear, they would surely have turned back, and have retired afar off. O true believers, answer GOD and his apostle, when he inviteth you unto that which giveth you life, and know that GOD goeth between a man and his heart,^b and that before him ye shall be assembled. Beware of sedition,^c it will not affect those who are ungodly among you particularly, but all of you in general, and know that GOD is severe in punishing. And remember when ye were few, and reputed weak in the land,^d ye feared lest men should snatch you away, but GOD provided you a place of refuge, and he strengthened you with his assistance, and bestowed on you good things, that ye might give thanks. O true believers, deceive not GOD and his apostle,^e neither violate your

⁷ See chap 3 p 36, note m

^a These words are directed to the people of Mecca whom Mohammed derides because the Koreish, when they were ready to set out from Mecca took hold of the curtains of the Caaba, saying, O God, grant the victory to the superior army, the party that is most rightly directed, and the most honourable ^a

^{*} "In the sight of the Eternal, a state more vile than that of the brute is to be deaf and dumb, and to understand not —Savary

^a That is, to hearken to the remonstrances of the Koran. Some say that the infidels demanded of Mohammed that he should raise Kosai, one of his ancestors, to life to bear witness to the truth of his mission, saying, he was a man of honour and veracity, and they would believe his testimony but they are here told that it would have been in vain ⁷

^b Not only knowing the innermost secrets of his heart, but overruling a man's design and disposing him either to belief or infidelity

^c The original word signifies any epidemical crime, which involves a number or people in its guilt: and the commentators are divided as to its particular meaning in this place.

^d Viz at Mecca. The persons here spoken to are the Mohajerin, or refugees who fled from thence to Medina.

^e Al Beidawi mentions an instance of such treacherous dealing in Abu Lobaba, who was sent by Mohammed to the tribe of the Koreidha, then besieged by that prophet, for having broken their league with him, and perfidiously gone over to the enemies at the war of the ditch ^a to persuade them to surrender at the discretion of Saad Fbn Moadh, prince of the tribe of Aws, their confederates which proposal they had refused. But Abu Lobaba's family and effects being in the hands of those of Koreidha, he acted directly contrary to his commission, and instead of persuading them to accept Saad as their judge, when they asked his advice about it, drew his hand across his throat, signifying that he would put them all to death. However he had no sooner done this than he was sensible of his crime, and going into a mosque tied himself to a pillar, and remained there seven days without meat or drink, till Mohammed forgave him

^a Al Beidawi ⁷ Idem See chap 6 p 109
p 85. Abulf. Vit. Moh. p 76, and the notes to chap 33.

^a See Frid. Life of Moh.

faith, against your own knowledge. And know that your wealth and your children are a temptation unto you,¹ and that with God is a great reward. O true believers, if ye fear God, he will grant you a distinction,² and will expiate your sins from you, and will forgive you, for God is endued with great liberality. And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted against thee, that they might either detain thee in bonds, or put to death, or expel thee the city,³ and they plotted against thee but God laid a plot against them,⁴ and God is the best layer of plots.* And when our signs are repeated unto them, they say, We have heard, if we pleased we could certainly pronounce a composition like unto this this is nothing but fables of the ancients.⁵ And when they said, O God, if this be the truth from thee, rain down stones upon us from heaven, or inflict on us some other grievous punishment.⁶ But God was not disposed to punish them while thou wast with them nor was God disposed to punish them when they asked pardon.⁷ But they have nothing to offer in excuse why God should not punish them, since they hindered the believers from visiting the holy temple,⁸ although they are not the guardians thereof.* The guardians thereof are those only who fear God, but the greater part of them know it not. And their prayer at the house of God is no other than whistling and clapping of the hands.⁹ Taste therefore the punishment, for that ye have been unbelievers. They who believe not expend their wealth to obstruct

¹ As they were to Abu Lobaba.

² i. e. A direction that you may distinguish between truth and falsehood, or success in battle to distinguish the believers from the infidels, or the like.

³ When the Meccans heard of the league entered into by Mohammed with those of Medina, being apprehensive of the consequence, they held a council whereat they say the devil assisted in the likeness of an old man of Najd. The point under consideration being what they should do with Mohammed, Abulbaktari was of opinion that he should be imprisoned, and the room walled up, except a little hole through which he should have necessities given him, till he died. This the devil opposed, saying that he might probably be released by some of his own party. Hesham Abn Amru was for banishing him but his advice also the devil rejected, insisting that Mohammed might engage some other tribes in his interest, and make war on them. At length Abu Jahl gave his opinion for putting him to death, and proposed the manner, which was unanimously approved.⁹

⁴ Revealing their conspiracy to Mohammed, and miraculously assisting him to deceive them, and make his escape,¹ and afterwards drawing them to the battle of Bedr.

* 'God, whose vigilance surpasses that of the wicked, will frustrate their plots.'—

Savary

¹ See chap 6, p 100

² This was the speech of Al Nodar Ebn al Hareth.³

³ Saying *God forgive us!* Some of the commentators, however suppose the persons who asked pardon were certain believers, who stayed among the infidels, and others think the meaning to be, that God would not punish them, *provided they asked pardon.*

⁴ Obliging them to flee from Mecca, and not permitting them so much as to approach the temple, in the expedition of al Hodeibiya.⁵

⁵ Because of their idolatry, and indecent deportment there. For otherwise the Koreish had a right to the guardianship of the Caaba, and it was continued in their tribe and in the same family even after the taking of Mecca.⁶

⁶ It is said that they used to go round the Caaba naked,⁷ both men and women whistling at the same time through their fingers, and clapping their hands. Or as others say they made this noise on purpose to disturb Mohammed when at his prayers, pretending to be at prayers also themselves.⁸

¹ Al Beidawi. See the Prelim. Disc. p 35

See the Prelim. Disc. p 37

² See chap 4. p 67, note "

³ Al Beidawi

⁴ See chap 7

p 118. ⁵ Al Beidawi.

the way of God ¹ they shall expend it, but afterwards it shall become matter of sighing and regret unto them, and at length they shall be overcome, and the unbelievers shall be gathered together into hell, that God may distinguish the wicked from the good, and may throw the wicked one upon the other, and may gather them all in a heap, and cast them into hell. These are they who shall perish. Say unto the unbelievers, that if they desist from opposing thee, what is already past ² all be forgiven them, but if they return to attack thee, the example of punishment of the former opposers of the prophets is already past and the like shall be inflicted on them. Therefore fight against them until there be no opposition in favour of idolatry, and the religion be wholly God's. If they desist, verily God seeth that which they do but if they turn back, know that God is your patron, *he is the best patron, and the best helper* * [X] And know that whenever ye gain any spoils, a fifth part thereof belongeth unto God, and to the apostle, and his kindred, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller, ³ if ye believe in God, and that which we have sent down unto our servant on the day of distinction, ⁴ on the day whereon the two armies met and God is almighty When ye were encamped on the hithermost side of the valley, ⁵ and they were encamped on the further side, and the caravan was below you, ⁶ and if ye had mutually appointed to come to a battle ye would certainly have declined the appointment, ⁷ but ye were brought to an engagement without any previous appointment, that God might accomplish the thing which was decreed to be done, ⁸ that he who perisheth hereafter may perish after demonstrative evidence, and that he who liveth may live by the same evidence, God both heareth and knoweth When thy LORD caused the enemy to appear unto thee in thy sleep few in num-

¹ The persons particularly meant in this passage were twelve of the Koreish who gave each of them ten camels every day to be killed for provisions for their army in the expedition of Bedr, or according to others, the owners of the effects brought by the caravan who gave great part of them to the support of the succours from Mecca. It is also said that Abu Soffan in the expedition of Ohod hired two thousand Arabs who cost him a considerable sum, besides the auxiliaries which he had obtained gratis ⁷

² According to this law, a fifth part of the spoils is appropriated to the particular uses here mentioned and the other four fifths are to be equally divided among those who were present at the action but in what manner or to whom the first fifth is to be distributed, the Mohammedan doctors differ as we have elsewhere observed ⁸ Though it be the general opinion that this verse was revealed at Bedr yet there are some who suppose it was revealed in the expedition against the Jewish tribe of Kainoka, which happened a little above a month after ⁹

³ i. e. Of the battle of Bedr, which is so called because it distinguished the true believers from the infidels

⁴ Which was much more inconvenient than the other because of the deep sand and want of water

⁵ Viz, by the sea side, making the best of their way to Mecca

⁶ "You were encamped near the rivulet ¹ the enemies were on the opposite bank. Your cavalry was inferior —Savary

⁷ Because of the great superiority of the enemy, and the disadvantages ye lay under

⁸ By granting a miraculous victory to the faithful, and overthrowing their enemies for the conviction of the latter, and the confirmation of the former ²

¹ Al Beidawi ² See the Prelim Disc sect vi ³ Al Beidawi ⁴ "Mahomet was encamped near Bedr This is the name of a well This post was a very advantageous one, because it enabled him to procure water, which is exceedingly scarce in Arabia —Savary ⁵ Al Beidawi

ber,^a and if he had caused them to appear numerous unto thee, ye would have been disheartened, and would have disputed concerning the matter^b but God preserved you from this, for he knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts of men. And when he caused them to appear unto you, when ye met, to be few in your eyes,^b and diminished your numbers in their eyes,^c that God might accomplish the thing which was decreed to be done and unto God shall all things return. O true believers, when ye meet a party of the infidels, stand firm, and remember God frequently, that ye may prosper and obey God and his apostle, and be not refractory, lest ye be discouraged, and your success depart from you, but persevere with patience, for God is with those who persevere. And be not as those who went out of their houses in an insolent manner, and to appear with ostentation unto men,^d and turned aside from the way of God, for God comprehendeth that which they do. And remember when Satan prepared their works for them,^e and said, No man shall prevail against you to-day, and I will surely be near to assist you. But when the two armies appeared in sight of each other, he turned back on his heels, and said, Verily I am clear of you. I certainly see that which ye see not, I fear God, for God is severe in punishing.^f When the hypocrites, and those in whose hearts there was an

^a With which vision Mohammed acquainted his companions for their encouragement.

^b Whether ye should attack the enemy or flee.

^c It is said that Ebn Mas'ud asked the man who was next him, whether he did not see them to be about seventy, to which he replied that he took them to be a hundred.³

^d This seeming contradictory to a passage in the third chapter,⁴ where it is said that the Moslems appeared to the infidels to be twice their own number the commentators reconcile the matter, by telling us that just before the battle began the prophet's party seemed fewer than they really were to draw the enemy to an engagement, but that so soon as the armies were fully engaged, they appeared superior to terrify and dismay their adversaries. It is related that Abu Jahl at first thought them so inconsiderable a handful that he said one camel would be as much as they could all eat.⁵

^e These were the Meccans, who, marching to the assistance of the caravan and being come as far as Jofha, were there met by a messenger from Abu Sofian to acquaint them that he thought himself out of danger and therefore they might return home, upon which Abu Jahl to give the greater opinion of the courage of himself and his comrades, and of their readiness to assist their friends swore that they would not return till they had been at Bedr and had there drunk wine and entertained those who should be present, and diverted themselves with singing women.⁶ The event of which bravado was very fatal, several of the principal Koreish, and Abu Jahl in particular losing their lives in the expedition.

^f By inciting them to oppose the prophet.

³ Some understand this passage figuratively of the private instigation of the devil and of the defeating of his designs and the hopes with which he had inspired the idolaters. But others take the whole literally, and tell us that when the Koreish on their march, bethought themselves of the enmity between them and the tribe of Kenana, who were masters of the country about Bedr that consideration would have prevailed on them to return had not the devil appeared in the likeness of Soraka Ebn Malec, a principal person of that tribe, and promised them that they should not be molested, and that himself would go with them. But when they came to join battle, and the devil saw the angels descending to the assistance of the Moslems, he retired, and al Hareth Ebn Hesham who had him then by the hand asking him whither he was going and if he intended to betray them at such a juncture, he answered in the words of this passage, *I am clear of you all, for I see that which ye see not*, meaning the celestial succours. They say further, that when the Koreish, on their return, laid the blame of their overthrow on Soraka, he swore that he did not so much as know of their march till he heard they were routed and afterwards, when they embraced Mohammedanism, they were satisfied it was the devil.⁷

³ Al Beidawi. ⁴ Page 36. ⁵ Al Beidawi, Jallalo ddin, Yahya. ⁶ Al Beidawi.

⁷ Idem Jallalo ddin.

infirmity, said, Their religion hath deceived these *men* ⁸ but whosoever confideth in God *cannot be deceived*, for God *is mighty and wise*. And if thou didst behold when the angels cause the unbelievers to die they strike their faces and their backs,^h and *say unto them*, Taste ye the pain of burning this *shall ye suffer* for that which your hands have sent before you,ⁱ and because God is not unjust towards *his* servants. *These have acted* according to the wont of the people of Pharaoh, and of those before them, who disbelieved in the signs of God therefore God took them away in their iniquity, for God *is mighty and severe* in punishing. *This hath come to pass* because God changeth not *his* grace, wherewith he hath favoured any people, until they change that which is in their souls, and for that God *both* heareth *and* seeth. According to the wont of the people of Pharaoh, and of those before them, who charged the signs of their LORD with imposture, *have they acted* wherefore we destroyed them in their sins, and we drowned the people of Pharaoh, for they were all unjust persons. Verily, the worst cattle in the sight of God are those who are *obstinate* infidels, and will not believe. As to those who enter into a league with thee, and afterwards violate their league at every *convenient* opportunity,^k and fear not God, if thou take them in war, disperse, by *making* them *an example*, those *who shall come* after them, that they may be warned, or, if thou apprehend treachery from any people, throw back *their league* unto them with like treatment, for God loveth not the treacherous. And think not^l that the unbelievers have escaped *God's vengeance*,^m for they shall not weaken *the power of God*. Therefore prepare against them what force ye are able, and troops of horse, whereby ye may strike a terror into the enemy of God, and your enemy, and into other *infidels* besides them, whom ye know not, *but* God knoweth them. And whatsoever ye shall expend in the defence of religion of God, it shall be repaid unto you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly. And if they incline unto peace, do thou *also* incline thereto, and put thy confidence in God, for it is he who heareth *and* knoweth. But if they seek to deceive thee, verily God *will be* thy support. It is he who hath strengthened thee with his help, and with *that of* the faithful, and hath united their hearts. If thou hadst expended whatever *riches are* in the earth, thou couldst not have united their hearts,ⁿ but God united them, for he *is mighty and wise*.

⁸ In tempting them to so great a piece of folly, as to attack so large a body of men with such a handful

^h This passage is generally understood of the angels who slew the infidels at Bedr, and who fought (as the commentators pretend) with iron maces which shot forth flames of fire at every stroke ⁸ Some, however, imagine that the words hint, at least, at the examination of the sepulchre, which the Mohammedans believe every man must undergo after death, and will be very terrible to the unbelievers.⁹

ⁱ See chap 2 p 13 note ^r

^k As did the tribe of Koreidha ¹

^l Some copies read it in the third person, *Let not the unbelievers think* &c

^m Viz, those who made their escape from Bedr

ⁿ Because of the inveterate enmity which reigned among many of the Arab tribes

⁸ Al Beidâwî, Jallalo ddin ⁹ See the Prelim Disc sect. iv p 54, &c.

¹ See before, p 141, and chap 33

O prophet, God is thy support, and such of the true believers who followeth thee.* O prophet, stir up the faithful to war if twenty of you persevere *with constancy*, they shall overcome two hundred, and if there be one hundred of you, they shall overcome a thousand of those who believe not, because they are a people which do not understand. Now hath God eased you, for he knew that ye were weak. If there be an hundred of you who persevere *with constancy*, they shall overcome two hundred, and if there be a thousand of you, they shall overcome two thousand,^p by the permission of God, for God is with those who persevere. It hath not been *granted* unto any prophet, that he should possess captives, until he hath made a great slaughter *of the infidels* in the earth.^q Ye seek the accidental goods of this world, but God regardeth the life to come, and God *is* mighty and wise. Unless a revelation had been previously delivered from God, verily a severe punishment had been inflicted on you, for *the ransom* which ye took *from the captives at Bedr*.^r Eat therefore of what ye have acquired,^s *that which is lawful and good*, for God *is* gracious and merciful. O prophet, say unto the captives who are in your hands, If God shall know any good *to be* in your hearts, he will give you better than what hath been

and therefore this reconciliation is reckoned by the commentators as no inconsiderable miracle, and a strong proof of their prophet's mission.

* This passage, as some say was revealed in a plain called al Beida, between Mecca and Medina, during the expedition of Bedr, and as others in the sixth year of the prophet's mission on the occasion of Omar's embracing Mohammedism.

^p See Lev xxvi 8, Josh xxiii 10.

^q Because severity ought to be used where circumstances require it, though clemency be more preferable where it may be exercised with safety. While the Mohammedans therefore were weak and their religion in its infancy God's pleasure was that the opposers of it should be cut off as is particularly directed in this chapter. For which reason they are here upbraided with their preferring the lucre of the ransom to their duty.

^r That is had not the ransom been, in strictness lawful for you to accept by God's having in general terms allowed you the spoil and the captives, ye had been severely punished.

Among the seventy prisoners whom the Moslems took in this battle were al Abbas one of Mohammed's uncles and Okail the son of Abu Taleb and brother of Ali when they were brought before Mohammed, he asking the advice of his companions what should be done with them, Abu Becr was for releasing them on their paying ransom, saying that they were near relations to the prophet, and God might possibly forgive them on their repentance but Omar was for striking off their heads, as professed patrons of infidelity. Mohammed did not approve of the latter advice but observed that Abu Becr resembled Abraham, he interceded for offenders, and that Omar was like Noah who prayed for the utter extirpation of the wicked antediluvians and thereupon it was agreed to accept a ransom from them and their fellow captives. Soon after which, Omar going into the prophet's tent found him and Abu Becr weeping, and asking them the reason of their tears Mohammed acquainted him that this verse had been revealed condemning their ill timed lenity towards their prisoners and that they had narrowly escaped the divine vengeance for it, adding, that if God had not passed the matter over, they had certainly been destroyed to a man, excepting only Omar, and Saad Ebn Moadh, a person of as great severity, and who was also for putting the prisoners to death.^s Yet did not this crime go absolutely unpunished neither, for in the battle of Ohod the Moslems lost seventy men equal to the number of prisoners taken at Bedr,^t which was so ordered by God, as a retaliation or atonement for the same.

^s i. e. Of the ransom which ye have received of your prisoners. For it seems on this rebuke, they had some scruple of conscience whether they might convert it to their own use or not.^t

^p See before, p 141, and chap. 33.

^r See chap 3, p 51

^t Al Beidawi.

taken from you,[†] and he will forgive you, for God *is gracious and merciful*. But if they seek to deceive thee,[‡] verily they have deceived God, wherefore he hath given *thee* power over them and God *is knowing and wise*. Moreover, they who have believed, and have fled their country, and employed their substance and their persons in fighting for the religion of God, and they who have given *the prophet* a refuge *among them*, and have assisted *him*, these *shall be deemed* the one nearest of kin to the other[§] But they who have believed, but have not fled their country, shall have no *right of kindred* at all with you, until they *also* fly Yet if they ask assistance of you on account of religion, *it belongeth* unto you to *give them* assistance, except against a people between whom and yourselves *there shall be* a league *subsisting* and God seeth that which ye do And as to the infidels, let them be *deemed* of kin the one to the other Unless ye do this, there will be a sedition in the earth, and grievous corruption. But as for them who have believed, and left their country, and have fought for God's true religion, and who have allowed *the prophet* a retreat *among them*, and have assisted *him*, these are really believers, they shall receive mercy, and an honourable provision And they who have believed since, and have fled their country, and have fought with you, these *also* are of you. And those who are related by consanguinity *shall be deemed* the nearest of kin to each other, *preferably to strangers* according to the book of God, God knoweth all things.

[†] That is If ye repent and believe, God will make you abundant retribution for the ransom ye have now paid It is said that this passage was revealed on the particular account of al Abbas who being obliged by Mohammed though his uncle to ransom both himself and his two nephews, Okail and Nawfal Ebn al Hareth complained that he should be reduced to beg alms of the Korish as long as he lived Whereupon Mohammed asked him what was become of the gold which he delivered to Omm al Fadl when he left Mecca telling her that he knew not what might befall him in the expedition, and therefore, if he lost his life, she might keep it herself for the use of her and her children? Al Abbas demanded who told him this, to which Mohammed replied that God had revealed it to him And upon this al Abbas immediately professed Islamism declaring that none could know of that affair except God because he gave her the money at midnight. Some years after, al Abbas reflecting on this passage, confessed it to be fulfilled for he was then not only possessed of a large substance, but had the custody of the well Zemzem, which, he said he preferred to all the riches of Mecca.[§]

[‡] By not paying the ransom agreed on

[§] "The believers who have abandoned their families to defend the cause of God with their substance and their lives, shall share the spoil with those who have given assistance and an asylum to the prophet — *Savary*

And shall consequently inherit one another's substance preferably to their relations by blood And this they say was practised for some time, the Mohâjerûn and Ansârs being judged heirs to one another exclusive of the deceased's other kindred till this passage was abrogated by the following, *Those who are related by blood shall be deemed the nearest of kin to each other*

CHAPTER IX.

INTITLED, THE DECLARATION OF IMMUNITY,* REVEALED
AT MEDINA.

A DECLARATION of immunity from God and his apostle, unto the idolaters, with whom ye have entered into league^b Go to and fro in the earth *securely* four months,^c and know that ye shall not weaken God, and that God will disgrace the unbelievers. And a declaration from God and his apostle unto the people, on the day of the greater pilgrimage,^d that God

* The reason why the chapter had this title appears from the last verse. Some however, give it other titles, and particularly that of *Repentance*, which is mentioned immediately after.

It is observable that this chapter alone has not the auspiciatory form, *In the name of the most merciful God*, prefixed to it, the reason of which omission, as some think was, because these words imply a concession of security which is utterly taken away by this chapter, after a fixed time, wherefore some have called it the chapter of *Punishment* others say that Mohammed (who died soon after he had received this chapter) having given no direction where it should be placed nor for the prefixing the Bismillah to it as had been done to the other chapters and the argument of this chapter bearing a near resemblance to that of the preceding his companions differed about it, some saying that both chapters were but one and together made the seventh of the seven long ones and others that they were two distinct chapters, whereupon to accommodate the dispute they left a space between them, but did not interpose the distinction of the Bismillah.¹

It is agreed that this chapter was the last which was revealed and the only one, as Mohammed declared, which was revealed entire and at once except the hundred and tenth.

Some will have the last two verses to have been revealed at Mecca.

^b Some understand this sentence of the *immunity* or *security* therein granted to the infidels, for the space of four months but others think that the words properly signify that Mohammed is here declared by God to be absolutely *free* and *discharged* from all truce or league with them, after the expiration of that time² and this last seems to be the truest interpretation.

Mohammed's thus renouncing all league with those who would not receive him as the apostle of God, or submit to become tributary, was the consequence of the great power to which he was now arrived. But the pretext he made use of was the treachery he had met with among the Jewish and idolatrous Arab, scarce any keeping faith with him, except Banu Damra, Banu Kenana, and a few others.³

* These months were Shawâl, Dhu'lkaada, Dhu'lhajja and Moharram the chapter being revealed in Shawâl. Yet others compute them from the tenth of Dhu'lhajja, when the chapter was published at Mecca, and consequently make them expire on the tenth of the former Rabi'⁴.

^d Viz, the tenth of Dhu'lhajja, when they slay the victims at Mina, which day is their great feast, and completes the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. Some suppose the adjective *greater* is added here to distinguish the pilgrimage made at the appointed time, from *lesser pilgrimages*, as they may be called, or *visitations* of the Caaba, which may be performed at any time of the year, or else because the course at the pilgrimage this year was greater than ordinary, both Moslems and idolaters being present at it.

The promulgation of this chapter was committed by Mohammed to Ali, who rode for that purpose on the prophet's slit eared camel from Medina to Mecca, and on

¹ Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya, &c.
Al Zamakhshirî, Jallalo'ddin

² Al Beidawi.

³ Idem.

⁴ Idem.

is clear of the idolaters, and his apostle *also* Wherefore, if ye repent, this will be better for you, but if ye turn back, know that ye shall not weaken God and denounce unto those who believe not, a painful punishment.* Except such of the idolaters with whom ye shall have entered into a league, and who afterwards shall not fail you in any instance, nor assist any *other* against you.^o Wherefore perform the covenant *which ye shall have made with them, until their time shall be elapsed*, for God loveth those who fear him. And when the months *wherein ye are not allowed to attack them* shall be past, kill the idolaters wheresoever ye shall find them,^f and take them *prisoners*, and besiege them, and lay wait for them in every convenient place But if they shall repent, and observe the appointed times of prayer, and pay the legal alms, dismiss them freely, for God is gracious and merciful And if any of the idolaters shall demand protection of thee, grant him protection, that he may hear the word of God and afterwards let him reach the place of his security^g This *shalt thou do*, because they are people which know not *the excellency of the religion thou preachest* How shall the idolaters be admitted into a league with God and with his apostle, except those with whom ye entered into a league at the holy temple?^h So long as they behave with fidelity towards you, do ye *also* behave with fidelity towards them, for God loveth those who fear him How *can they be admitted into a league with you* since, if they prevail against you, they will not regard in you *either* consanguinity or faith? They will please you with their mouths, but their hearts will be averse *from you*, for the greater part of them are wicked doers They sell the signs of God for a small price, and obstruct his way, it is certainly evil which they do They regard not in a believer *either* consanguinity or faith, and these are the transgressors. Yet if they repent, and observe the appointed times of prayer, and give alms, *they shall be deemed* your brethren in religion We distinctly propound *our* signs unto people who understand But if they violate their oaths, after their league, and revile your religion, oppose the leaders of infidelity, (for there is no trust in them,) that they may desist *from their treachery* Will ye not fight against people who have violated their oaths, and conspired to expel the apostle of God, and who of their

the day above mentioned standing up before the whole assembly at al Akaba, told them that he was the messenger of the apostle of God unto them whereupon they asking him what was his errand he read twenty or thirty verses of the chapter unto them, and then said, *I am commanded to acquaint you with four things*, 1 *That no idolater is to come near the temple of Mecca after this year*, 2 *That no man presume to compass the Caaba naked for the future*,^o 3 *That none but true believers shall enter paradise*, and 4 *That public faith is to be kept*^o

* "God and his apostle declare that, after the days of pilgrimage there shall be no pardon for the idolaters It highly concerns ye that ye be converted. Remember that ye cannot suspend the vengeance of Heaven —*Savary*

^o So that notwithstanding Mohammed renounces all league with those who had deceived him he declares himself ready to perform his engagements to such as had been true to him

^f Either within or without the sacred territory

^g That is, you shall give him a safe conduct, that he may return home again securely, in case he shall not think fit to embrace Mohammedism.

^h These are the persons before excepted

^o See before, chap 7, p 118 ^o Al Beidawi. Vide Abulfed Vit Moh p. 122, &c.

own accord assaulted you the first time!¹ Will ye fear them? But it is more just that ye should fear GOD, if ye are true believers. Attack them *therefore*, GOD shall punish them by your hands, and will cover them with shame, and will give you the victory over them, and he will heal the breasts of the people who believe,^k and will take away the indignation of their hearts for GOD will be turned unto whom he pleaseth, and GOD is knowing and wise. Did ye imagine that ye should be abandoned, whereas GOD did not yet know those among you who fought *for his religion*, and took not *any* besides GOD, and his apostle, and the faithful *for their friends*? GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. It is not *fitting* that the idolaters should visit the temples of GOD, being witnesses against their own souls of *their* infidelity. The works of these *men* are vain and they shall remain in *hell* fire for ever. But he only shall visit the temples of GOD, who believeth in GOD and the last day, and is constant at prayer, and payeth the legal alms, and feareth GOD alone. These perhaps may become of *the number* of those who are rightly directed.^{*1} Do ye reckon the giving drink to the pilgrims, and the visiting of the holy temple, *to be actions as meritorious as those performed by him who believeth in GOD and the last day, and fighteth for the religion of GOD?*^m They shall not be held equal with GOD for GOD directeth not the unrighteous people. They who have believed, and fled their country, and employed their substance and their persons in the defence of GOD's true religion, shall be in the highest degree *of honour* with GOD, and these are they who shall be happy. Their LORD sendeth them good tidings of mercy from him, and good will, and of gardens wherein they shall enjoy lasting pleasure they shall continue therein for ever for with GOD is a great reward. O true believers, take not your fathers or your brethren for friends, if they love infidelity above faith, and whosoever among you shall take them for *his* friends, they will be unjust doers. Say, if your fathers, and your sons, and your brethren, and your wives, and your relations, and *your* substance which ye have acquired, and *your* merchandize which ye apprehend may not be sold off and *your* dwellings wherein ye delight, be more dear unto you than GOD and his apostle, and the advancement of his religion, wait, until GOD shall

¹ As did the Koreish in assisting the tribe of Becr, against those of Khozaah⁷ and laying a design to ruin Mohammed without any just provocation and as several of the Jewish tribes did by aiding the enemy, and endeavouring to oblige the prophet to leave Medina, as he had been obliged to leave Mecca.⁸

^k *Viz*, those of Khozaah or, as others say, certain families of Yaman and Saba who went to Mecca, and there professed Mohammedism, but were very injuriously treated by the inhabitants, whereupon they complained to Mohammed, who bid them take comfort, for that joy was approaching.⁹

^{*} "For them the path of salvation is easy — *Savary*

¹ These words are to warn the believers from having too great a confidence in their own merits and likewise to deter the unbelievers, for if the faithful will but *perhaps* be saved, what can the others hope for?¹

^m This passage was revealed on occasion of some words of al Abbas, Mohammed's uncle who when he was taken prisoner, being bitterly reproached by the Moslems and particularly by his nephew Ali answered *You rip up our ill actions, but take no notice of our good ones, we visit the temple of Mecca, and adorn the Caaba with hangings, and give drink to the pilgrims* (of Zemzem water, I suppose) *and free captives.*²

⁷ See the Prelim Disc p 30
¹ *Idem.*

⁸ Al Beidâwî.

⁹ *Idem.*

¹ *Idem.*

send his command,* for GOD directeth not the ungodly people Now hath GOD assisted you in many engagements, and *particularly* at the battle of Honein,^o when ye pleased yourselves in your multitude, but it was no manner of advantage unto you, and the earth became too strait for you,^p notwithstanding it was spacious,* then did ye retreat, and turn your backs. Afterwards GOD sent down his security^q upon his apostle and upon the faithful, and sent down troops of *angels*,^r which ye saw not, and he punished those who disbelieved and this was the reward of the unbelievers. Nevertheless GOD will hereafter be turned unto whom he pleaseth,* for GOD is gracious and merciful O true believers, verily the idolaters are unclean, let them not therefore come near unto the holy temple after this year^s And if ye fear want, *by the cutting off trade and communication with them*, GOD will enrich you of his abundance,^t if he pleaseth for GOD is knowing and wise Fight against them who believe not in GOD, nor the last day,^u and forbid not that which GOD and his apostle have

^a Or shall punish you Some suppose the taking of Mecca to be here intended^s

^b The battle was fought in the eighth year of the Hejra in the valley of Honein which lies about three miles from Mecca towards Tayef between Mohammed, who had an army of twelve thousand men and the tribes of Hawazen and Thakif whose forces did not exceed four thousand The Mohammedans, seeing themselves so greatly superior to their enemies, made sure of the victory, a certain person whom some suppose to have been the prophet himself crying out *These can never be overcome by so few* But GOD was so highly displeased with this confidence that in the first encounter the Moslems were put to flight^t some of them running away quite to Mecca, so that none stood their ground except Mohammed himself and some few of his family, and they say the prophet's courage was so great, that his uncle al Abbās and his cousin Abu Sofīān Ebn al Hareth, had much ado to prevent his spurring his mule into the midst of the enemy, by laying hold of the bridle and stirrup Then he ordered al Abbās who had the voice of a Stentor, to recall his flying troops, upon which they rallied, and the prophet throwing a handful of dust against the enemy they attacked them a second time, and by the divine assistance gained the victory^u

^c For the valley being very deep and encompassed by craggy mountains, the enemy placed themselves in ambush on every side attacking them in the straits and narrow passages, and from behind the rocks, with great advantage^v

^d 'How often has the Omnipotent caused you to feel the effects of his protection' Remember ye the battle of Honein when the number of your troops puffed up your hearts with pride? Of what avail to you was that formidable army? The earth seemed to you to be too narrow in your precipitate flight —*Savary*

^e The original word is Sakinat which the commentators interpret in this sense, but it seems rather to signify the *divine presence* or Shechinah, appearing to aid the Moslems^w

^f As to the number of these celestial auxiliaries, the commentators differ some say they were five thousand some eight thousand, and others, sixteen thousand^x

^g Besides a great number of proselytes, who were gained by this battle Mohammed, on their request was so generous as to restore the captives (which were no less than six thousand) to their friends, and offered to make arrears himself to any of his men who should not be willing to part with his prisoners, but they all consented to it^y

^h Which was the ninth year of the Hejra In consequence of this prohibition, neither Jews, nor Christians, nor those of any other religion, are suffered to come near Mecca to this day

ⁱ This promise, says al Beidāwī was fulfilled by GOD's sending plenty of rain, and disposing the inhabitants of Tebāla and Jorash two towns in Yaman, to embrace Islām, who thereupon brought sufficient provisions to Mohammed's men, and also by the subsequent coming in of the Arabs from all quarters, to him

^j That is, who have not a just and true faith in these matters but either believe

^k Al Beidāwī ^l See Frīd Life of Moh. p. 96 &c. Hotting Hist. Orient. p. 271, &c. D Herbel Bibl. Orient. p. 601 ^m Al Beidāwī, Jallāloddin Abulfeda Vit. Moh. p. 112, &c. ⁿ Ebn Ishak ^o See chap. 2, p. 30, note¹ ^p Al Beidāwī ^q Idem.

forbidden, and profess not the true religion, of those unto whom the scriptures have been delivered, until they pay tribute by right of subjection,⁷ and they be reduced low. The Jews say, Ezra is the son of God⁸ and the Christians say, Christ is the Son of God. This is their a plurality of gods, or deny the eternity of hell torments,¹⁰ or the delights of paradise as described in the Koran. For, as it appears by the following words, the Jews and Christians are the persons here chiefly meant.

⁷ This I think the true meaning of the words *an yadin*, which literally signify *by or out of hand* and are variously interpreted, some supposing they mean that the tribute is to be paid *readily*, or by their *own hands* and not by another, or that tribute is to be exacted of the *rich* only, or those who are able to pay it, and not of the poor, or else that it is to be taken as a *favour* that the Mohammedans are satisfied with so small an imposition &c.¹

That the Jews and Christians are, according to this law, to be admitted to protection, on payment of tribute, there is no doubt, though the Mohammedan doctors differ as to those of other religions. It is said that Omar at first refused to accept tribute from a Magian, till Abd alrahmâd Ebn Awf assured him that Mohammed himself had granted protection to a Magian and ordered that the professors of that religion should be included among *the people of the book*, or those who found their religion on some book which they suppose to be of divine original. And it is the more received opinion that these three religions only ought to be tolerated on the condition of paying tribute others however, admit the Sabians also. Abu Hanifa supposed people of any religion might be suffered except the idolatrous Arabs, and Malec excepted only apostates from Mohammedism.

The least tribute that can be taken from every such person, is generally agreed to be a *dinâr*, or about ten shillings a year, nor can he be obliged to pay more unless he consent to it and thus they say ought to be laid as well on the poor as on the rich.² But Abu Hanifa decided that the rich should pay forty eight *dirhems* (twenty, and sometimes twenty five of which made a *dinâr*) a year, one in middling circumstances half that sum, and a poor man who was able to get his living a quarter of it but that he who was not able to support himself should pay nothing.³

⁴ This grievous charge against the Jews the commentators endeavour to support by telling us, that it is meant of some ancient heterodox Jews or else of some Jews of Medina, who said so for no other reason, than for that the law being utterly lost and forgotten during the Babylonish captivity, Ezra, having been raised to life after he had been dead one hundred years⁴ dictated the whole anew unto the scribes, out of his own memory, at which they greatly marvelled and declared that he could not have done it unless he were the son of God.⁵ Al Beidâwî adds that the imputation must be true, because this verse was read to the Jews and they did not contradict it, which they were ready enough to do in other instances.

That Ezra did thus restore not only the Pentateuch but also the other books of the Old Testament, by divine revelation was the opinion of several of the Christian fathers who are quoted by Dr Prideaux⁶ and of some other writers,⁷ which they seem to have first borrowed from a passage in that very ancient apocryphal book, called in our English Bible the *second book of Esdras*.⁸ Dr Prideaux⁹ tells us that herein the fathers attributed more to Ezra than the Jews themselves, who suppose that he only collected and set forth a correct edition of the scriptures, which he laboured much in and went a great way in the perfecting of it. It is not improbable, however, that the fiction came originally from the Jews, though they be now of another opinion, and I cannot fix it upon them by any direct proof. For not to insist upon the testimony of the Mohammedans (which yet I cannot but think of some little weight in a point of this nature), it is allowed by the most sagacious critics, that the second book of Ezra was written by a Christian indeed,¹⁰ but yet one who had been bred a Jew and was intimately acquainted with the fables of the Rabbins,¹ and the story itself is perfectly in the taste and way of thinking of those men.

¹⁰ See chap 2 p 11, and chap 3 p 37
de Jure Militari Mohammedanor p 17, et 50
p 31

¹ Al Beidâwî, al Zamakhshari &c

² Vide al Beidâwî

³ Al Beidâwî

⁴ Vide Reland,

⁵ See chap. 2,

⁶ Connect. part. 1 lib 5, p 329

saying in their mouths, they imitate the saying of those who were unbelievers in former times May God resist them How are they infatuated! They take their priests and their monks for *their* lords, besides God,^a and Christ the son of Mary, although they are commanded to worship one God only there is no God but he, far be that from him which they associate with him! * They seek to extinguish the light of God with their mouths, but God willeth no other than to perfect his light, although the infidels be averse *thereto* It is he who hath sent his apostle with the direction, and true religion that he may cause it to appear superior to every *other* religion, although the idolaters be averse *thereto* O true believers, verily many of the priests and monks devour the substance of men in vanity,^b and obstruct the way of God But unto those who treasure up gold and silver, and employ it not for the advancement of God's true religion, denounce a grievous punishment On the day of judgment *their treasures* shall be intensely heated in the fire of hell, and their foreheads, and their sides, and their backs shall be stigmatized therewith, *and their tormentors shall say*, This is what ye have treasured up for your souls, taste therefore that which ye have treasured up Moreover, the *complete* number of months with God, is twelve months,^c *which were ordained* in the book of God,^d on the day whereon he created the heavens and the earth of these, four are sacred ^e This is the right religion therefore deal not unjustly with yourselves therein. But attack the idolaters in all *the months*, as they attack you in all,^f and know that God is with those who fear him Verily the transferring of a *sacred month* to another month, is an additional infidelity ^g The unbelievers are led into an error thereby they allow a *month* to be violated one year, and declare it sacred *another* year,^h that they may agree in the number of *months* which God hath commanded to be

* See chap 3 p 44, note ^d

^a "The curse be on those whom they associate with him in his worship — *Savary*

^b By taking of bribes, says Al Beidawi, meaning probably, the money they took for dispensing with the commands of God and by way of commutation

^c According to this passage the intercalation of a month every third or second year, which the Arabs had learned of the Jews in order to reduce their lunar years to solar years is absolutely unlawful For by this means they fixed the time of the pilgrimage and of the feast of Ramadan to certain seasons of the year, which ought to be ambulatory ^a

^d *Viz*, the preserved table

^e See the Prelim Disc sect vii

^f For it is not reasonable that you should observe the sacred months with regard to those who do not acknowledge them to be sacred, but make war against you therein ^a

^g This was an invention or innovation of the idolatrous Arabs, whereby they avoided keeping a sacred month when it suited not their convenience by keeping a profane month in its stead, transferring, for example the observance of *Moharram* to the succeeding month *Safar* The first man who put this in practice, they say, was Jonada Fbn Awf, of the tribe of Kenana.⁴

These ordinances relating to the months were promulgated by Mohammed himself at the pilgrimage of *valediction* ^a

^h As did Jonada, who made public proclamation at the assembly of pilgrims, that their gods had allowed *Moharram* to be profane whereupon they observed it not, but the next year he told them that the gods had ordered it to be kept sacred ^a

^a See Prid Life of Moh p 65 &c and the Prelim Disc. sect. iv and vii ^b See chap 2, p 23 ^c Al Beidawi, Jallalo ddin Vide Poc Spec p 323, and the Prelim Disc. sect. vii. ^d Abulf Vit. Moh p 132. ^e Al Beidawi.

kapt sacred, and they allow that which God hath forbidden. The evil of their actions hath been prepared for them for God directeth not the unbelieving people. O true believers, what ailed you, that, when it was said unto you, Go forth to *fight* for the religion of God, ye inclined heavily towards the earth? ¹ Do ye prefer the present life to that which is to come? But the provision of this life in *respect* of that which is to come, is but slender. Unless ye go forth *when ye are summoned to war*, God will punish you with a grievous punishment, and he will place another people in your stead,² and ye shall not hurt him at all, for God is almighty. If ye assist not *the prophet*, verily God *will assist him*, as he assisted him formerly, when the unbelievers drove him out of *Mecca*, the second of two,³ when they *were* both in the cave, when he said unto his companions, Be not grieved, for God is with us.⁴ And God sent down his security⁵ upon him, and strengthened him with armies of *angels*, whom ye saw not.⁶ And he made the word of those who believed not to be abased, and the word of God was exalted, for God is mighty and wise. Go forth to *battle*, both light and heavy,⁷ and employ your substance and your persons for the advancement of God's religion. This will be better for you, if ye know it. If it had been a near advantage, and a moderate journey, they had surely followed thee,⁸ but the way seemed tedious unto them and yet they will swear by God, *saying* If we had been able, we had surely gone forth with you. They destroy their own souls, for God knoweth that they are liars. God forgive thee! why didst thou give them leave to *stay at home*,⁹ until they who speak the truth, *when they excuse themselves*, had become manifested unto thee, and thou hadst known the liars? They who believe in God and the last day, will not ask leave of thee to be excused from employing their substance and their persons for the advancement of God's true religion, and God knoweth those who fear *him*. Verily they only

¹ *Viz*, in the expedition of Tabûc, a town situate about half way between Medina and Damascus, which Mohammed undertook against the Greeks with an army of thirty thousand men in the ninth year of the Hejra. On this expedition the Moslems set out with great unwillingness because it was undertaken in the midst of the summer heats and at a time of great drought and scarcity, whereby the soldiers suffered so much, that this army was called the *distressed army*, besides, their fruits were just ripe, and they had much rather have stayed to have gathered them.

² See chap. 5, p. 89.

³ That is, having only Abu Beer with him.

⁴ See the Prelim. Disc. sect. 11 p. 36.

⁵ See before p. 6 note 4.

⁶ Who, as some imagine, guarded him in the cave. Or the words may relate to the succours from heaven which Mohammed pretended to have received in several encounters, as at Bedr, the war of the ditch, and the battle of Honein.

⁷ *i. e.* Whether the expedition be agreeable or not, or whether ye have sufficient arms and provisions or not, or whether ye be on horseback or on foot, &c.

⁸ "Young and old go forth to combat"—*Savary*.

⁹ That is, had there been no difficulties to surmount in the expedition of Tabûc, and the march thither had been short and easy, so that the plunder might have cost them little or no trouble, they would not have been so backward.

¹⁰ For Mohammed excused several of his men, on their request, from going on this expedition as Abdallah Ebn Obba, and his hypocritical adherents, and also three of the Ansârs, for which he is here reprehended.

will ask leave of thee *to stay behind*, who believe not in God and the last day, and whose hearts doubt *concerning the faith* wherefore they are tossed to and fro in their doubting If they had been willing to go forth *with thee*, they had certainly prepared for that *purpose* a provision of *arms and necessities* but God was averse to their going forth, wherefore he rendered them slothful, and it was said *unto them*, Sit ye still with those who sit still.^a If they had gone forth with you, they had only been a burden unto you, and had run to and fro between you, stirring you up to sedition, and *there would have been some* among you, who would have given ear unto them and God knoweth the wicked. They formerly sought to raise a sedition,^t and they disturbed thy affairs, until the truth came, and the decree of God was made manifest, although they were averse thereto There is of them who saith *unto thee*, Give me leave to *stay behind*, and expose me not to temptation.^u Have they not fallen into temptation *at home*?^x But hell will surely encompass the unbelievers. If good happen unto thee, it grieveth them but if a misfortune befall thee, they say, We ordered our business before,^y and they turn their backs and rejoice *at thy mishap* Say, Nothing shall befall us, but what God hath decreed for us he is our patron, and on God let the faithful trust. Say, Do ye expect *any other* should befall us, than one of the two most excellent things, *either victory or martyrdom*? But we expect concerning you, that God inflict a punishment on you, *either* from himself, or by our hands.^z Wait, therefore, *to see what will be the end of both*, for we will wait for you. Say, Expend *your money in pious uses*, *either* voluntarily, or by constraint it shall not be accepted of you, because ye are wicked people And nothing hindereth their contributions from being accepted of them, but that they believe not in God and his apostle, and perform not the *duty of prayer*, otherwise than sluggishly, and expend not *their money for God's service*, otherwise than unwillingly Let not therefore their riches, or their children cause thee to marvel. Verily God intendeth only to punish them by these things in this world, and that their souls may depart while they are unbelievers. They swear by God that they are of you,^a yet they are not of you, but are people who stand in fear^b If they find a place of refuge, or caves, or a retreating hole, they

^a i. e. With the women and children, and other impotent people

^b As they did at the battle of Ohod^s

^c By obliging me to go against my will on an expedition the hardships of which may tempt me to rebel or to desert It is related that one Jadd Dbn Kais said that the Ansars well knew he was much given to women and he dared not trust himself with the Greek girls, wherefore he desired he might be left behind, and he would assist them with his purse^d

^d Discovering their hypocrisy by their backwardness to go to war for the promotion of the true religion

^e "Many of them have said exempt us from war, involve us not in dissension. Were they not already fallen into it?"—*Savary*

^f That is, we took care to keep out of harm's way by staying at home

^g i. e. Either by some signal judgment from heaven, or by remitting their punishment to the true believers

^h Viz, staunch Moslems

ⁱ Hypocritically concealing their infidelity, lest ye should chastise them, as ye

surely turn towards the same, and in a headstrong manner, haste *thereto*. There is of them also who spreadeth ill reports of thee, in relation to *thy distribution of the alms* yet if they receive *part* thereof, they are well pleased, but if they receive not *a part* thereof, behold, they are angry.^a But if they had been pleased with that which God and his apostle had given them, and had said, God is our support, God will give unto us of his abundance, and his prophet *also*, verily unto God do we make our supplications *it would have been more decent*. Alms are to be distributed^d only unto the poor, and the needy,^e and those who are employed in *collecting and distributing* the same, and unto those whose hearts are reconciled,^f and for *the redemption of captives*, and unto those who are in debt and *insolvent*, and for the advancement of God's religion, and unto the traveller. This is an ordinance from God and God is knowing and wise. There are some of them who injure the prophet, and say, He is an ear.^g Answer, He is an ear of good unto you,^h he believeth in God, and giveth credit to the faithful, and is a mercy unto such of you who believe. But they who injure the apostle of God, shall suffer a painful punishment. They swear unto you by God, that they may please you, but it is more just that they should please God and his apostle, if they are true believers. Do they not know that he who opposeth God and his apostle, shall without doubt be *punished with the fire of hell*, and shall remain therein for ever? This will be great ignominy. The hypocrites are apprehensive lest a Surahⁱ should be revealed concerning them, to declare unto them that which is in their hearts. Say unto them, Scoff ye, but God will surely bring to light that which ye fear *should be discovered*. And if thou ask them *the reason of this scoffing*, they say, Verily we were only engaged in discourse, and *jesting among ourselves*.^k Say, Do ye scoff at God and his signs, and at

have done the professed infidels and apostates, and yet ready to avow their infidelity, when they think they may do it with safety

^a This person was Abul Jowadh the hypocrite who said Mohammed gave them away among the keepers of sheep only, or as others suppose Ebn Dhi Ikhl wasara, who found fault with the prophet's distribution of the spoils taken at Honein because he gave them all among the Meccans, to reconcile and gain them over to his religion and interest¹

^d See what is said as to this point in the Prelim Disc sect iv

^e The commentators make a distinction between these two words in the original *fakir* and *meskin* one, they say signifies him who is utterly destitute both of money and means of livelihood, the other one who is in want indeed but is able to get something towards his own support. But to which of the two words either of these different significations properly belongs, the critics differ

^f That is, who were lately enemies to the faithful but have now embraced Mohammedism, and entered into amity with them. For Mohammed to gain their hearts and confirm them in his religion, made large presents to the chief of the Koreish out of the spoils at Honein, as has been just now mentioned². But this law they say, became of no obligation when the Mohammedan faith was established, and stood not in need of such methods for its support

^g i.e. He hears every thing that we say, and gives credit to all the stories that are carried to him

^h Giving credit to nothing that may do you hurt

ⁱ So the Mohammedans call a chapter of the Koran³

^k It is related that in the expedition of l'abûc, a company of hypocrites, passing near

¹ Al Beidawî Vide Abulfed Vit. Moh pp 118, 119
the Prelim Disc sect. iii p 41

² Abulf ibid

³ See

his apostle? offer not an excuse now are ye become infidels, after your faith. If we forgive a part of you, we will punish a part, for that they have been wicked doers. Hypocritical men and women are the one of them or the other they command that which is evil, and forbid that which is just and shut their hands *from giving alms*. They have forgotten God, wherefore he hath forgotten them verily the hypocrites are those who act wickedly God denounceth unto the hypocrites, both men and women, and to the unbelievers, the fire of hell, they shall remain there *for ever* this will be their sufficient *reward*, God hath cursed them, and they shall endure a lasting torment. As they who have been before you, *so are ye*. They were superior to you in strength, and had more abundance of wealth and of children, and they enjoyed their portion *in this world*, and ye also enjoy your portion *here*, as they who have preceded you enjoyed their portion. And ye engage yourselves in vain discourses, like unto those wherein they engaged themselves. The works of these are vain *both* in this world and in that which is to come, and these are they who perish. Have they not been acquainted with the history of those who have been before them? of the people of Noah, and of Ad, and of Thamud, and of the people of Abraham, and of the inhabitants of Madian, and of the *cities which were overthrown*?¹ Their apostles came unto them with evident demonstrations, and God was not disposed to treat them unjustly, but they dealt unjustly with their own souls. And the faithful men, and the faithful women, are friends one to another they command that which is just, and they forbid that which is evil, and they are constant at prayer, and pay their appointed alms, and they obey God and his apostle unto these will God be merciful, for he *is* mighty and wise. God promiseth unto the true believers, both men and women, gardens through which rivers flow, wherein they shall remain for ever, and delicious dwellings in the gardens of perpetual abode² but good will from God *shall be their* most excellent *reward*. This *will be* great felicity O prophet, wage war against the unbelievers and the hypocrites, and be severe unto them for their dwelling shall be hell, an unhappy journey *shall it be thither*! They swear by God that they said not *what they are charged with* yet they spake the word of infidelity, and became unbelievers after they had embraced Islam.³ And

Mohammed, said to one another *Behold that man, he would take the strong holds of Syria away! away!* which being told the prophet, he called them to him and asked them why they had said so? whereto they replied with an oath that they were not talking of what related to him or his companions, but were only diverting themselves with indifferent discourse to beguile the tediousness of the way⁴

Namely, Sodom and Gomorrah, and the other cities which shared their fate, and are thence called Al Motakifât, or *the subverted*⁵

² Literally, *gardens* of Eden, but the commentators do not like the word Eden in the sense which it bears in Hebrew, as has been elsewhere observed⁶

(In Hebrew it signifies a place of delight. In the Arabic it means a place fit for the pasturing of flocks—*Savary*)

³ It is related that al Jallas Ebn So'aid, hearing some passages of this chapter, which sharply reprehended those who refused to go on the above mentioned expedition of Tabûc, declared, that if what Mohammed said of his brethren was true, they were

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² See chap. 11

³ See the Prelim. Disc. p. 133

they designed that which they could not effect,* and they did not disapprove the design for any other reason than because God and his apostle had enriched them of his bounty.² If they repent, it will be better for them, but if they relapse, God will punish them with a grievous torment in this world and in the next, and they shall have no patron on earth, nor any protector. There are some of them who made a covenant with God, saying, Verily if he give us of his abundance, we will give alms, and become righteous people.³ Yet when he had given unto them of his abundance, they became covetous thereof, and turned back, and retired afar off. Wherefore he hath caused hypocrisy to succeed in their hearts until the day whereon they shall meet him, for that they failed to perform unto God that which they had promised him, and for that they prevaricated. Do they not know that God knoweth whatever they conceal, and their private discourses, and that God is the knower of secrets? They who traduce such of the believers as are liberal in giving alms beyond what they are obliged, and those who find nothing to give but what they gain by their industry,⁴ and therefore scoff at them. God shall scoff at them, and they

worse than asses. Which coming to the prophet's ear he sent for him and he denied the words upon oath. But on the immediate revelation of this passage, he confessed his fault, and his repentance was accepted.⁵

² The commentators tell us that fifteen men conspired to kill Mohammed in his return from Tabûc by pushing him from his camel into a precipice as he rode by night over the highest part of al Akaba. But when they were going to execute their design Hodheifa, who followed, and drove the prophet's camel, which was led by Ammar Ebn Yaser, hearing the tread of camels and the clashing of arms gave the alarm, upon which they fled. Some however suppose the design here meant was a plot to expel Mohammed from Medina.⁶

³ For Mohammed's residing at Medina was of great advantage to the place, the inhabitants being generally poor, and in want of most conveniences of life but on the prophet's coming among them, they became possessed of large herds of cattle and money also. Al Beidawi says, that the above named al Jallas in particular, having a servant killed, received by Mohammed's order no less than ten thousand *dirhems* or about three hundred pounds as a fine for the redemption of his blood.

⁴ An instance of this is given in Thalaba Ebn Hateb who came to Mohammed, and desired him to beg of God that he would bestow riches on him. The prophet at first advised him rather to be thankful for the little he had than to covet more which might become a temptation to him but on Thalaba's repeated request and solemn promise that he would make a good use of his riches, he was at length prevailed on, and preferred the petition to God. Thalaba in a short time grew vastly rich, which Mohammed being acquainted with sent two collectors to gather the alms other people readily paid them, but when they came to Thalaba and read the injunction to him out of the Koran he told them that it was not alms, but tribute or next kin to tribute, and bid them go back till he had better considered of it. Upon which this passage was revealed, and when Thalaba came afterwards and brought his alms Mohammed told him that God had commanded him not to accept it, and threw dust upon his head saying, *This is what thou hast deserved*. He then offered his alms to Abu Becr, who refused to accept them, as did Omar some years after, when he was Khalif.⁷

⁵ Al Beidawi relates that Mohammed exhorting his followers to voluntary alms among others Abda Irahman Ebn Awf gave four thousand *dirhems*, which was one half of what he had. Asem Ebn Adda gave an hundred beasts loads of dates, and Abu Okail a Saâ, which is no more than the sixtieth part of a load, of the same fruit but was the half of what he had earned by a night's hard work. This Mohammed accepted, whereupon the hypocrites said that Abda Irahman and Asem gave what they did out of ostentation, and that God and his apostle might well have excused Abu Okail's mite, which occasioned this passage.

I suppose this collection was made to defray the charge of the expedition of Tabûc, towards which, as another writer tells us, Abu Becr contributed all that he had, and

⁷ Al Beidâwi. ⁸ Idem. ⁹ Idem.

shall suffer a grievous punishment Ask forgiveness for them, or do not ask forgiveness for them, *it will be equal* If thou ask forgiveness for them seventy times, God will by no means forgive them * This is the divine pleasure, for that they believe not in God, and his apostle, and God directeth not the ungodly people They who were left at home in the expedition of *Tabûc*, were glad of their staying behind the apostle of God, and were unwilling to employ their substance and their persons for the advancement of God's true religion, and they said, Go not forth in the heat † Say, the fire of hell will be hotter, if they understood this Wherefore let them laugh little, and weep much, as a reward for that which they have done * If God bring thee back unto some of them, ‡ and they ask thee leave to go forth to war with thee, say, Ye shall not go forth with me for the future, neither shall ye fight an enemy with me, ye were pleased with sitting at home the first time, sit ye at home therefore with those who stay behind Neither do thou ever pray over any of them who shall die, § neither stand at his grave, ¶ for that they believed not in God and his apostle, and die in their wickedness Let not their riches or their children cause thee to marvel for God intendeth only to punish them therewith in this world, and that their souls may depart, while they are in the world When a Sura * is sent down, wherein it is said, Believe in God, and go forth to war with his apostle, those who are in plentiful circumstances among them ask leave of thee to stay behind, and say Suffer us to be of the number of those who sit at home They are well pleased to be with those who stay behind, and their hearts are sealed

Othman very largely, viz. as it is said, three hundred camels for slaughter, and a thousand *dirhams* of gold †

* In the last sickness of Abdallah Ibn Obba the hypocrite (who died in the ninth year of the Hejra) his son, named also Abdallah, came and asked Mohammed to beg pardon of God for him which he did, and thereupon the former part of this verse was revealed But the prophet not taking that for a repulse, said he would pray seventy times for him, upon which the latter part of the verse was revealed declaring it would be absolutely in vain It may be observed that the numbers seven and seventy and seven hundred, are frequently used by the eastern writers to signify not so many precisely but only an indefinite number greater or lesser, ‡ several examples of which are to be met with in the scripture §

† This they spoke in a scoffing manner to one another because as has been observed, the expedition to *Tabûc* was undertaken in a very hot and dry season

* Let them laugh for a few moments! Long continued tears will be the consequence of their conduct — *Savary*

† That is if thou return in safety to Medina to the hypocrites who are here called some of them who stayed behind because they were not all hypocrites The whole number is said to have been twelve ‡

§ This passage was also revealed on account of Abdallah Ebn Obba. In his last illness he desired to see Mohammed and when he was come asked him to beg forgiveness of God for him and requested that his corpse might be wrapped up in the garment that was next his body (which might have the same efficacy with the habit of a Franciscan,) and that he would pray over him when dead Accordingly, when he was dead the prophet sent his shirt or inner vestment to shroud the corpse, and was going to pray over it, but was forbidden by these words. Some say they were not revealed till he had actually prayed for him §

¶ Either by assisting at his funeral or visiting his sepulchre.

* See before, p 156, note 1. and Prelim Disc p 41

† Abulfed. Vit. Moh p 123

‡ Al Beidawi

§ Matt xviii 22.

¶ Al Beidawi.

§ Idem

up, wherefore they do not understand. But the apostle, and those who have believed with him, expose their fortunes and their lives *for God's service*, they shall enjoy the good things of *either life*, and they shall be happy. God hath prepared for them gardens through which rivers flow, they shall remain therein *for ever*. This will be great felicity. And certain Arabs of the desert came to excuse themselves,^a *praying* that they might be permitted to *stay behind*, and they sat at home who had renounced God and his apostle. But a painful punishment shall be inflicted on such of them as believe not. In those who are weak, or are afflicted with sickness, or in those who find not wherewith to contribute to the war,^b it shall be no crime *if they stay at home*, provided they behave themselves faithfully towards God and his apostle. There is no room to *lay blame* on the righteous for God is gracious and merciful. nor on those, unto whom, when they came unto thee, *requesting* that thou wouldest supply them with necessaries for travelling, thou didst answer, I find not wherewith to supply you, returned, their eyes shedding tears for grief, that they found not wherewith to contribute to the expedition.^c But there is reason to *blame* those who ask leave of thee to sit at home, when they are rich. They are pleased to be with those who stay behind, and God hath sealed up their hearts, wherefore they do not understand. [*XI] They will excuse themselves unto you, when ye are returned unto them. Say, Excuse not yourselves, we will by no means believe you. God hath acquainted us with your behaviour, and God will observe his actions, and his apostle also. and hereafter shall ye be brought before him who knoweth that which is hidden, and that which is manifest, and he will declare unto you that which ye have done. They will swear unto you by God, when ye are returned unto them, that ye may let them alone.^d Let them alone, therefore, for they are an abomination, and their dwelling *shall be hell*, a reward for that which they have deserved. They will swear unto you, that ye may be well pleased with them, but if ye be well pleased with them, verily God will not be well pleased with people who prevaricate. The Arabs of the desert are more obstinate in their unbelief and hypocrisy, and it is easier for them to be ignorant of the ordinances of that which God hath sent down unto his apostle,^e and God is knowing and wise. Of the Arabs of the desert there is who reckoneth

^a These were the tribes of Asad and Ghatfân who excused themselves on account of the necessities of their families which their industry only maintained. But some write they were the family of Amer Ebn al Tofail who said that if they went with the army the tribe of Tav would take advantage of their absence, and fall upon their wives and children, and their cattle.⁶

^b By reason of their extreme poverty, as those of Jheima, Mozaina, and Bann Odhra.⁷

^c The persons here intended were seven men of the Ansars who came to Mohammed and begged he would give them some patched boots and soled shoes, it being impossible for them to march so far barefoot, in such a season, but he told them he could not supply them whereupon they went away weeping. Some however say these were the Banu Mokren, and others, Abu Masa, and his companions.⁸

^d And not chastise them.

^e Because of their wild way of life the hardness of their hearts, their not frequenting people of knowledge, and the few opportunities they have of being instructed.⁹

⁶ Al Beidâwi. ⁷ Idem. ⁸ Idem. ⁹ Idem. See the Prelim. Disc. p. 18 and 22.

that which he expendeth *for the service of God, to be as tribute,*^h and waiteth that some change of *fortune*ⁱ may befall you. A change for evil *shall happen* unto them, for God both heareth and knoweth. And of the Arabs of the desert there is who believeth in God, and in the last day, and esteemeth that which he layeth out *for the service of God* to be the *means* of bringing him near unto God, and the prayers of the apostle. Is it not unto them *the means* of a near approach? God shall lead them into his mercy, for God is gracious and merciful.^k As for the leaders and the first of the Mohâjerin, and the Ansârs,^l and those who have followed them in well doing God is well pleased with them, and they are well pleased in him and he hath prepared for them gardens watered by rivers, they shall remain therein for ever. This shall be great felicity. And of the Arabs of the desert who dwell round about you, *there are* hypocritical persons^m and of the inhabitants of Medina *there are some* who are obstinate in hypocrisy. Thou knowest them not, O prophet, but we know them. We will surely punish them twice,ⁿ afterwards shall they be sent to a grievous torment. And others have acknowledged their crimes.^o They have mixed a good action with another *which is* bad.^p peradventure God will be turned unto them, for God is gracious and merciful. Take alms of their substance, that thou mayest cleanse them, and purify them thereby,^q and pray for them. for thy prayers shall be a security of *mind* unto them, and

^a Or a contribution exacted by force the payment of which he can in nowise avoid

ⁱ Hoping that some reverse may afford a convenient opportunity of throwing off the burden

^k The Arabs meant in the former of these two passages, are said to have been the tribes of Asad, Ghatfan, and Banu Tamim, and those intended in the latter, Abdallah surnamed Dhûlbajadin, and his people.^l

^l The Mohâjerin, or *refugees*, were those of Mecca, who fled thence on account of their religion and the Ansârs or *helpers*, were those of Medina, who received Mohammed and his followers into their protection, and assisted them against their enemies. By the leaders of the Mohâjerin are meant those who believed on Mohammed before the Hejra or early enough to pray towards Jerusalem from which the Kebla was changed to the temple of Mecca, in the second year of the Hejra, or else such as were present at the battle of Bedr. The leaders of the Ansars were those who took the oath of fidelity to him at al Akaba, either the first or the second time.^m

^m ⁿ ^o In the neighbourhood of Medina. These were the tribes of Joheina, Mozeina, Aslam, Ashja, and Ghifar.^p

^q Either by exposing them to public shame and putting them to death or by either of those punishments and the torment of the sepulchre, or else by exacting alms of them by way of fine, and giving them corporeal punishment.^r

^s Making no hypocritical excuses for them. These were certain men, who having stayed at home instead of accompanying Mohammed to Tabûc, as soon as they heard the severe reprehensions and threats of this chapter against those who had stayed behind, bound themselves to the pillars of the mosque, and swore that they would not loose themselves, till they were loosed by the prophet. But when he entered the mosque to pray, and was informed of the matter, he also swore that he would not loose them without a particular command from God, whereupon this passage was revealed, and they were accordingly dismissed.^t

^u Though they were backward in going to war, and held with the hypocrites, yet they confessed their crime and repented.

^v When these persons were loosed, they prayed Mohammed to take their substance, for the sake of which they had stayed at home, as alms, to cleanse them from their transgression but he told them he had no orders to accept any thing from them upon which this verse was sent down, allowing him to take their alms.^w

God both heareth and knoweth Do they not know that God accepteth repentance from his servants, and accepteth alms, and that God is easy to be reconciled, and merciful? Say unto them, Work as ye will, but God will behold your work, and his apostle also, and the true believers and ye shall be brought before him who knoweth that which is kept secret, and that which is made public, and he will declare unto you whatever ye have done And there are others who wait with suspense the decree of God whether he will punish them, or whether he will be turned unto them ^r but God is knowing and wise There are some who have built a temple to hurt the faithful, and to propagate infidelity, and to foment division among the true believers, ^s and for a lurking place for him who hath fought against God and his apostle in time past, ^t and they swear, saying, Verily we intended no other than to do for the best but God is witness that they do certainly lie Stand not up to pray therein for ever There is a temple founded on piety, ^u from the first day of its building ^v It is more just that thou stand up to pray therein therein are men who love to be purified, ^x

^r The persons here intended were the three Ansars whose pardon is granted a little below

^s When Banu Amru Ebn Awf had built the temple or mosque of Koba, which will be mentioned by and by, they asked Mohammed to come and pray in it and he complied with their request This exciting the envy of their brethren, Banu Ganem Ebn Awf, they also built a mosque, intending that the Imam or priest who should officiate there should be Abu Amer a Christian monk, but he dying in Syria, they came to Mohammed and desired he would consecrate, as it were, their mosque by praying in it The prophet accordingly prepared himself to go with them but was forbidden by the immediate revelation of this passage, discovering their hypocrisy and ill design whereupon he sent Malec Ibn al Dokhshom Mian Ebn Addi, Amer Ebn al Sacan, and al Wahsha the Ethiopian to demolish and burn it, which they performed, and made it a dunghill According to another account this mosque was built a little before the expedition of Tabuk, with a design to hinder Mohammed's men from engaging therein and when he was asked to pray there, he answered that he was just setting out on a journey but that when he came back with God's leave, he would do what they desired, but when they applied to him again, on his return, this passage was revealed ⁷

^t That is Abu Amer the monk, who was a declared enemy to Mohammed having threatened him at Ohod, that no party should appear in the field against him but he would make one of them, and to be as good as his word, he continued to oppose him till the battle of Honein, at which he was present, and being put to flight with those of Hawazen, he retreated into Syria designing to obtain a supply of troops from the Grecian emperor to renew the war but he died at Kinnisim Others say that this monk was a confederate at the war of the ditch, and that he fled thence into Syria. ⁸

^u Viz, that of Koba, a place about two miles from Medina where Mohammed rested four days before he entered that city, in his flight from Mecca, and where he laid the foundation of a mosque, ^v which was afterwards built by Banu Amru Ebn Awf But according to a different tradition, the mosque here meant was that which Mohammed built at Medina.

^x "Beware of entering therein The foundation of the true temple is established upon piety —Savary

^y Al Beidawi says, that Mohammed walking once with the Mohajerin in Koba found the Ansars sitting at the mosque door, and asked them whether they were believers, and, on their being silent, repeated the question whereupon Omar answered, that they were believers; and Mohammed demanding whether they acquiesced in the judgment Omar had made of them they said, Yes He then asked them whether they would be patient in adversity, and thankful in prosperity, to which they answering in the affirmative, he swore by the Lord of the Caaba, that they were true believers. Afterwards he examined them as

⁷ Al Beidawi, Jallal oddin ⁸Idem ⁹Idem, Ebn Shohnah Vide Abulfid Vit. Moh p 52 Where the translator taking this passage of the Koran, which is there cited for the words of his author, has missed the true sense.

for God loveth the clean. Whether therefore is he better, who hath founded ~~his~~ building on the fear of God and *his* good will, or he who hath founded his building on the brink of a bank of earth which is washed away by waters, so that it falleth with him into the fire of hell? God directeth not the ungodly people. Their building which they have built will not cease to be an occasion of doubting in their hearts, until their hearts be cut in pieces,⁷ and God is knowing and wise. Verily God hath purchased of the true believers their souls, and their substance, promising them the enjoyment of paradise, on condition that they fight for the cause of God, whether they slay or be slain, the promise for the same is assuredly due by the law, and the gospel, and the Korân. And who performeth his contract more faithfully than God? Rejoice therefore in the contract which ye have made. This shall be great happiness. The penitent, and those who serve God, and praise him, and who fast and bow down, and worship, and who command that which is just, and forbid that which is evil, and keep the ordinances of God, shall likewise be rewarded with paradise wherefore bear good tidings unto the faithful. It is not allowed unto the prophet, nor those who are true believers, that they pray for idolaters,² although they be of kin, after it is become known unto them, that they are inhabitants of hell.³ Neither did Abraham ask forgiveness for his father, other wise than in pursuance of a promise which he had promised unto him^b but when it became known unto him, that he was an enemy unto God, he declared himself clear of him^c Verily, Abraham was pitiful and compassionate. Nor is God disposed to lead people into error,^d after that he hath directed them, until that which they ought to avoid is become known unto

to their manner of performing the legal washings and particularly, what they did after easing themselves they told him that in such a case they used three stones, and after that washed with water upon which he repeated these words of the Koran to them

⁷ Some interpret these words of their being deprived of their judgment and understanding, and others of the punishment they are to expect, either of death in this world or of the rack of the sepulchre, or the pains of hell

² This passage was revealed, as some think, on account of Abu Taleb Mohammed's uncle and great benefactor, who, on his death bed being pressed by his nephew to speak a word which might enable him to plead his cause before God, that is to profess Islam, absolutely refused. Mohammed however told him that he would not cease to pray for him till he should be forbidden by God which he was by these words. Others suppose the occasion to have been Mohammed's visiting his mother Amana's sepulchre at al Abwa, soon after the taking at Mecca for they say that while he stood at the tomb he burst into tears, and said *I asked leave of God to visit my mother's tomb, and he granted it me, but when I asked leave to pray for her, it was denied me*¹

^a By their dying infidels. For otherwise it is not only lawful, but commendable to pray for unbelievers while there are hopes of their conversion

^b Viz, to pray that God would dispose his heart to repentance. Some suppose this was a promise made to Abraham by his father, that he would believe in God for the words may be taken either way

^c Desisting to pray for him, when he was assured by inspiration that he was not to be converted or after he actually died an infidel. See chap 6, p 106

^d i. e. To consider or punish them as transgressors. This passage was revealed to excuse those who had prayed for such of their friends as had died idolaters, before it was forbidden, or else to excuse certain people who had ignorantly prayed towards the first Kebla, and drank wine, &c.

them, for God knoweth all things. Verily unto God *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and of earth he giveth life, and he causeth to die, and ye have no patron or helper besides God. God is reconciled unto the prophet, and unto the Mohajerin and the Ansars,^a who followed him in the hour of distress,^f after that it had wanted little but that the hearts of a part of them had swerved from their duty afterwards was he turned unto them for he *was* compassionate and merciful towards them. And *he is* also reconciled unto the three who were left behind,^b so that the earth became too strait for them, notwithstanding its spaciousness, and their souls became straitened within them, and they considered that there was no refuge from God, otherwise than *by having recourse* unto him. Then was he turned unto them, that they might repent, for God *is* easy to be reconciled and merciful. O true believers, fear God, and be with the sincere. There was no *reason* why the inhabitants of Medina, and the Arabs of the desert who dwell around them, should stay behind the apostle of God, or should prefer themselves before him.^h This *is unreasonable* because they are not distressed either by thirst, or labour, or hunger, for the defence of God's true religion, neither do they stir a step, which may irritate the unbelievers, neither do they receive from the enemy any damage, but a good work is written down unto them for the same, for God suffereth not the reward of the righteous to perish. And they contribute not any sum either small or great, nor do they pass a valley,^{*} but it is written down unto them, that God may reward them with a recompense exceeding that which they have wrought. The believers are not *obliged* to go forth to war all together if a part of every band of them go not forth, *it is* that they may diligently instruct themselves in *their* religion,ⁱ and may admonish their

* Having forgiven the crime they committed, in giving the hypocrites leave to be absent from the expedition to Tabûc or for the other sins which they might, through inadvertence, have been guilty of. For the best men have need of repentance.²

^f *Viz*, in the expedition of Tabûc wherein Mohammed's men were driven to such extremities, that, besides what they endured by reason of the excessive heat, ten men were obliged to ride by turns on one camel, and provisions and water were so scarce that two men divided a date between them, and they were obliged to drink the water out of the camels' stomachs.³

^g Or, as it may be translated *who were left in suspense* whether they should be pardoned or not.⁴ These were three Ansars named Caab Fbn Malec Heial Ebn Omeyya, and Merara Ebn Rabi, who went not with Mohammed to Tabûc, and were therefore on his return, secluded from the fellowship of the other Moslems the prophet forbidding any to salute them or to hold discourse with them. Under which interdiction they continued fifty days till, on their sincere repentance, they were at length discharged from it, by the revelation of this passage.⁵

^h By not caring to share with him the dangers and fatigues of war. Al Beidawi tells us, that after Mohammed had set out for Tabûc, one Abu Khaithama sitting in his garden, where his wife a very beautiful woman had spread a mat for him in the shade, and had set new dates and fresh water before him after a little reflection, cried out, *This is not well that I should thus take my ease and pleasure while the apostle of God is exposed to the scorching of the sunbeams, and the inclemencies of the air* and immediately mounting his camel, took his sword and lance, and went to join the army.

ⁱ "That which they expend the passing of a torrent, all that they do written in the book of God, are so many claims to his glorious recompenses — *Savary*

¹ That is, if some of every tribe or town be left behind, the end of their being so left

^a Al Beidawi ² Idem ³ See before, p 162, note

⁴ Al Beidawi Jallalo ddin,

Abulf Vât Moh pp 133, 126

people, when they return unto them, that they may take heed to themselves O true believers, wage war against such of the infidels as are near you,* and let them find severity¹ in you and know that God is with those who fear *him*. Whenever a Sura is sent down, there are some of them who say, Which of you hath thus caused to increase in faith? It will increase the faith of those who believe, and they shall rejoice but unto those in whose hearts there is an infirmity, it will add *farther* doubt unto their *present* doubt, and they shall die in their infidelity Do they not see that they are tried every year once or twice?^m yet they repent not, neither are they warned And whenever a Sura is sent down, they look at one another, *saying*, Doth any one see you?ⁿ then do they turn aside* God shall turn aside their hearts *from the truth*, because they are a people who do not understand Now hath an apostle come unto you of our own nation,^o an excellent *person* it is *grievous* unto him that ye commit wickedness, *he is* careful over you, *and* compassionate and merciful towards the believers If they turn back, say, GOD is my support there is no GOD but he On him do I trust, and he is the LORD of the magnificent throne

is that they may apply themselves to study and attain a more exact knowledge of the several points of their religion so as to be able to instruct such as by reason of their continual employment in the wars have no other means of information They say that after the preceding passages were revealed, reprehending those who had stayed at home during the expedition of Tabûc every man went to war so that the study of religion, which is rather more necessary for the defence and propagation of the faith than even arms themselves became wholly laid aside and neglected to prevent which for the future a convenient number are hereby directed to be left behind that they may have leisure to prosecute their studies

* Either of your kindred or neighbours, for these claim your pity and care in the first place, and their conversion ought first to be endeavoured The persons particularly meant in this passage are supposed to have been the Jews of the tribes of Khoreidha and Nadhir, and those of Khaibar, or else the Greeks of Syria^a

¹ Or fierceness in war

^m & e By various kinds of trials, or by being called forth to war and by being made witnesses of God's miraculous protection to the faithful

ⁿ They wink at one another to rise and leave the prophet's presence if they think they can do it without being observed, to avoid hearing the severe and deserved reproofs which they apprehend in every new revelation The persons intended are the hypocritical Moslems

* See they not that once or twice a year the anger of heaven weighs heavy upon them? These warnings open not their eyes nor excite them to repentance. Should another chapter be sent to them they would look on each other and if no one saw them would take to flight God has led their hearts astray, because they hearken not to wisdom —*Savary*

^o See chap 3, p 54, note ^m

CHAPTER X.

INTITLED, JONAS,^p REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

AL R^q These are the signs of the wise book. Is it a strange thing unto the men of *Mecca*, that we have revealed *our will* unto a man from among them,^r saying, Denounce threats unto men *if they believe not*, and bear good tidings unto those who believe, that on the merit of their sincerity they have an interest with their LORD? The unbelievers say, This is manifest sorcery.^s Verily your LORD is GOD, who hath created the heavens and the earth in six days, and then ascended *his* throne, to take on himself the government of *all* things. There is no intercessor, but by his permission.^t This is GOD, your LORD, therefore serve him. Will ye not consider? Unto him shall ye all return, *according to* the certain promise of GOD, for he produceth a creature, and then causeth it to return again, that he may reward those who believe and do that which is right, with equity. But as for the unbelievers, they shall drink boiling water, and *they shall suffer* a grievous punishment, for that they have disbelieved. It is he who hath ordained the sun to shine *by day*, and the moon for a light *by night*, and hath appointed her stations, that ye might know the number of years, and the computation of *time*. GOD hath not created this, but with truth. He explaineth *his* signs unto people who understand. Moreover in the vicissitude of night and day, and whatever GOD hath created in heaven and earth, are surely signs unto men who fear *him*. Verily they who hope not to meet us *at the last day*, and delight in this present life, and rest securely in the same, and who are negligent of our signs, their dwelling shall be *hell* fire, for that which they have deserved. But as to those who believe, and work righteousness, their LORD will direct them because of their faith, they shall have rivers flowing through gardens of pleasure. Their prayer therein *shall be*, Praise be unto thee, O GOD! and their salutation^u therein *shall be* Peace! and the end of

^p This prophet is mentioned towards the end of the chapter. (After the name, Savary adds, "Peace be with him.")

^q See the Prelim Disc sect iii pp 42, 43

^r And not one of the most powerful among them neither so that the Koreish said it was a wonder God could find out no other messenger than the orphan pupil of Abu Taleb.

^s Meaning the Koran. According to the reading of some copies, the words may be rendered, *This man* (i. e., Mohammed) *is no other than a manifest sorcerer*.

^t These words were revealed to refute the foolish opinion of the idolatrous Meccans, who imagined their idols were intercessors with God for them.

^u Either the mutual salutation of the blessed to one another, or that of the angels to the blessed.

their prayer *shall be*, Praise be unto God, the LORD of all creatures! If God should cause evil to hasten unto men, according to their desire of hastening good, verily their end hath been decreed. Wherefore we suffer those who hope not to meet us *at the resurrection*, to wander amazedly in their error. When evil befalleth a man, he prayeth unto us *lying* on his side, or sitting, or standing ^v but when we deliver him from his affliction, he continueth *his former course of life*, as though he had not called upon us *to defend him* against the evil which had befallen him. Thus was that which the transgressors committed prepared for them ^{*} We have formerly destroyed the generations *who were* before you, *O men of Mecca*, when they had acted unjustly, and our apostles had come unto them with evident *miracles*, and they would not believe. Thus do we reward the wicked people. Afterwards did we cause you to succeed them in the earth, that we might see how ye would act. When our evident signs are recited unto them, they who hope not to meet us *at the resurrection*, say, Bring a different Koran from this, or make some change therein. Answer It is not *fit* for me, that I should change it at my pleasure. I follow that only which is revealed unto me. Verily I fear, if I should be disobedient unto my LORD, the punishment of the great day. Say, ¹ "God had so pleased, I had not read it unto you, neither had I taught you the same. I have already dwelt among you to the *age of forty years*,^x before *I received it*. Do ye not therefore understand? And who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie against God, or accuseth his signs of falsehood? Surely the wicked shall not prosper. They worship besides God, that which can neither hurt them nor profit them, and they say, These are our intercessors with God."^y Answer, Will ye tell God that which he knoweth not, neither in heaven nor in earth?^z Praise be unto him ¹ and far be that from him,[†] which they associate *with him*! Men were professors of one religion only,^a but they dissented *therefrom*, and if a decree had not previously issued from thy LORD, *deferring their punishment*, verily the *matter* had been decided between them, concerning which they disagreed. They say, Unless a sign be sent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe*. Answer, Verily that which is hidden *is known* only unto God. wait, therefore, *the*

^v : e In all postures and at all times

^{*} "Thus the ungodly man delighteth in his ingratitude. —*Savary*

^x For so old was Mohammed before he took upon him to be a prophet ⁸ during which time his fellow citizens well knew that he had not applied himself to learning of any sort, nor frequented learned men nor had ever exercised himself in composing verses or orations, whereby he might acquire the art of rhetoric, or elegance of speech ⁹ A flagrant proof, says Al Beidâwi, that this book could be taught him by none but God

^y See the Prelim Disc sect 1. p 11 &c.

^z Viz, that he hath equals or companions either in heaven, or on earth, since he acknowledgeth none?

[†] "Accused be their chimerical deities. —*Savary*

^a That is to say, the true religion, or Islâm, which was generally professed, as some say, till Abel was murdered, or, as others, till the days of Noah. Some suppose the first ages after the flood are here intended. others, the state of religion in Arabia, from the time of Abraham to that of Amru Ebn Lohai, the great introducer of idolatry into that country

⁸ See the Prelim Disc. p. 30. Abulfed. Vit. Moh c 7
Disc. p 19, &c.

⁹ See the Prelim.

pleasure of God, and I also will wait with you. And when we caused the men of *Mecca* to taste mercy, after an affliction which had befallen them, behold, they *devised* a stratagem against our signs.^b Say unto them, God is more swift in *executing* a stratagem, *than ye*. Verily our messengers^c write down that which ye deceitfully devise. It is he who hath given you conveniences for travelling by land and by sea, so that ye be in ships, which sail with them, with a favourable wind, and they rejoice therein. And when a tempestuous wind overtaketh them, and waves come upon them from every side, and they think themselves to be encompassed with inevitable dangers, they call upon God, exhibiting the pure religion unto him,^d and saying, Verily, if thou deliver us from this *peril*, we will be of those who give thanks. But when he hath delivered them, behold, they behave themselves insolently in the earth, without justice. O men, verily the violence which ye commit against your own souls, *is for the enjoyment of this present life only*, afterwards unto us shall ye return, and we will declare unto you that which ye have done. Verily the likeness of this present life is no other than as water, which we send down from heaven, and wherewith the productions of the earth are mixed, of which men eat, and cattle *also*, until the earth receive its vesture, and be adorned with various plants the inhabitants thereof imagine that they have power over the same, but our command cometh unto it by night, or by day, and we render it as though it had been mowen, as though it had not yesterday abounded with fruits. Thus do we explain our signs unto people who consider. God inviteth unto the dwelling of peace,^e and directeth whom he pleaseth into the right way. They who do right shall receive a most excellent reward, and a superabundant addition,^f neither blackness^g nor shame shall cover their faces. These shall be the inhabitants of paradise, they shall continue therein *for ever*. But they who commit evil shall receive the reward of evil, equal thereunto,^h and they shall be covered with shame, (for they shall have no protector against God,) as though their faces were covered with the profound darkness of the night. These shall be the inhabitants of hell fire, they shall remain therein *for ever*. On the day of the resurrection we will gather them altogether, then will we say unto the idolaters, *Get ye to your place*, ye and your companionsⁱ and we will separate them from one another, and their companions will

^b For it is said that they were afflicted with a dearth for seven years, so that they were very near perishing but no sooner relieved by God's sending them plenty, than they began again to charge Mohammed with imposture, and to ridicule his revelations.¹

^c The guardian angels.

^d That is, applying themselves to God only and neglecting their idols their fears directing them in such an extremity to ask help of him only who could give it.

^e Viz. paradise.

^f For their reward will vastly exceed the merit of their good works. Al Ghazali supposes this additional recompense will be the beatific vision.²

^g See the Prelim. Disc. p. 62, &c.

^h Though the blessed will be rewarded beyond their deserts, yet God will not punish any beyond their demerits, but treat them with the exactest justice.

ⁱ That is, your idols, or the companions which ye attributed unto God.

¹ Al Baidawi.

² See the Prelim. Disc. p. 71

say unto them, Ye did not worship us,^k and God is a sufficient witness between us and you, neither did we mind your worshipping of us. There shall every soul experience^l that which it shall have sent before it,^m and they shall be brought before God their true LORD, and the *false deities* which they vainly imagined, shall disappear from before them. Say, Who provideth you food from heaven and earth? or who hath the absolute power over the hearing and the sight? and who bringeth forth the living from the dead, and bringeth forth the dead from the living? and who governeth *all* things? They will surely answer, God. Say, will ye not therefore fear him? This is therefore God, your true LORD and what *remaineth there* after truth, except error? How therefore are ye turned aside *from the truth*? Thus is the word of thy LORD verified upon them who do wickedly, that they believe not. Say, is there any of your companions who produceth a creature, and then causeth it to return *unto himself*? Say, God produceth a creature, and then causeth it to return *unto himself*. How therefore are ye turned aside *from his worship*? Say, Is there any of your companions who directeth unto the truth? Say, God directeth unto the truth. Whether is he therefore, who directeth unto the truth, more worthy to be followed, or he who directeth not, unless he be directed? What aileth you, therefore, that ye judge as ye do? And the greater part of them follow an *uncertain* opinion only, but a *mere* opinion attaineth not unto any truth.* Verily God knoweth that which they do. This Korân could not have been composed by *any* except God, but *it is* a confirmation of that which was *revealed* before it, and an explanation of the scripture, there is no doubt thereof, *sent down* from the LORD of all creatures. Will they say, *Mohammed* hath forged it? Answer, Bring therefore a chapter like unto it, and call whom you may *to your assistance*, besides God, if ye speak truth. But they have charged that with falsehood, the knowledge whereof they do not comprehend, neither hath the interpretation thereof come unto them. In the same manner did those who were before them accuse *their prophets* of imposture, but behold, what was the end of the unjust! There are some of them who believe therein, and there are some of them who believe not thereinⁿ and thy LORD well knoweth the corrupt doers. If they accuse thee of imposture, say, I have my work, and ye have your work, ye shall be clear of that which I do,

^k But ye really worshipped your own lusts, and were seduced to idolatry not by us, but by your own superstitious fancies. It is pretended that God will at the last day, enable the idols to speak and that they will thus reproach their worshippers instead of interceding for them, as they hoped. Some suppose the angels who were also objects of the worship of the pagan Arabs, are particularly intended in this place.

^l Some copies, instead of *tablu*, read *tathu*, i. e. *shall follow*, or *meditate upon*.

^m See chap. 2, p. 13, note ^r.

ⁿ "Their only rule is their opinion and it has no conformity with truth"—*Savary*.

^o i. e. There are some of them who are inwardly well satisfied of the truth of thy doctrine though they are so wicked as to oppose it, and there are others of them who believe it not, through prejudice and want of consideration. Or the passage may be understood in the future tense, of some who should afterwards believe, and repent, and of others who should die infidels.³

and I will be clear of that which ye do. There are some of them who hearken unto thee, but wilt thou make the deaf to hear, although they do not understand? And there are some of them who look at thee, but wilt thou direct the blind, although they see not?° Verily GOD will not deal unjustly with men in any respect, but men deal unjustly with their own souls.² On a certain day he will gather them together, as though they had not tarried³ above an hour of a day, they shall know one another.⁴ Then shall they perish who have denied the meeting of GOD, and were not rightly directed. Whether he cause thee to see a part of the punishment wherewith we have threatened them, or whether we cause thee to die before thou see it, unto us shall they return, then shall GOD be witness of that which they do. Unto every nation hath an apostle been sent, and when their apostle came, the matter was decided between them with equity,⁵ and they were not treated unjustly. The unbelievers say, When will this threatening be made good, if ye speak truth? Answer, I am able neither to procure advantage unto myself, nor to avert mischief from me, but as GOD pleaseth. Unto every nation is a fixed term decreed, when their term therefore is expired, they shall not have respite for an hour, neither shall their punishment be anticipated. Say, Tell me, if the punishment of GOD overtake you by night, or by day, what part thereof will the ungodly wish to be hastened?⁶ When it falleth on you, do you then believe it? Now do ye believe, and wish it far from you, when as ye formerly desired it should be hastened? Then shall it be said unto the wicked, Taste the punishment of eternity, would ye receive other than the reward of that which ye have wrought? They will desire to know of thee, whether this be true. Answer, yea, by my LORD, it is certainly true, neither shall ye weaken GOD's power so as to escape it. Verily, if every soul which hath acted wickedly, had whatever is on the earth, it would willingly redeem itself therewith at the last day. Yet they will conceal their repentance,⁷ after they shall have seen the punishment, and the matter shall be decided between them with equity, and they shall not be unjustly treated. Doth not whatsoever is in heaven and on earth belong unto GOD? Is not the promise of GOD true? But the greater part of them know it not. He

* These words were revealed on account of certain Meccans who seemed to attend while Mohammed read the Korân to them, or instructed them in any point of religion, but yet were as far from being convinced or edified, as if they had not heard him at all.⁴

² For GOD deprives them not of their senses, or understanding, but they corrupt and make an ill use of them.

³ Either in the world or in the grave.

⁴ As if it were but a little while since they parted. But this will happen during the first moments only of the resurrection, for afterwards the terror of the day will disturb and take from them all knowledge of one another.⁵

⁵ By delivering the prophet and those who believed on him, and destroying the obstinate infidels.

⁶ "Should the divine vengeance fall on you unawares, either by day or by night, think you that it can have been hastened by the wicked?"—Savary.

⁷ To hide their shame and regret,⁶ or because their surprise and astonishment will deprive them of the use of speech.⁷ Some, however, understand the verb which is here rendered *will conceal*, in the contrary signification, which it sometimes bears, and then it must be translated, *They will openly declare their repentance, &c*

⁴ Al Beidâwi. See chap 6 p 100. ⁵ Idem. ⁶ Jalla'ô'ddin. ⁷ Al Beidâwi.

giveth life, and he causeth to die and unto him shall ye *all* return. O men, now hath an admonition come unto you from your LORD, and a remedy for the *doubts* which are in *your* breasts, and a direction, and mercy unto the true believers. Say, Through the grace of God, and his mercy therein therefore let them rejoice, this will be better than what they heap together of *worldly riches*. Say, Tell me, of that which God hath sent down unto you for food, have ye declared *part to be lawful*, and *other part to be unlawful*?^u Say, Hath God permitted you to *make this distinction*? or do ye devise a *lie* concerning God? But what will be the opinion of those who devise a lie concerning God,* on the day of the resurrection? Verily God is endued with beneficence towards mankind, but the greater part of them do not give thanks. Thou shalt be *engaged* in no business, neither shalt thou be *employed* in meditating on *any passage* of the Korân, nor shall ye do any action, but we will be witnesses over you, when ye are employed therein. Nor is so much as the weight of an ant^z hidden from thy LORD, in earth or in heaven neither *is there any thing* lesser than that, or greater, but it is *written* in the perspicuous book.^y Are not the friends of God *the persons* on whom no fear shall come, and who shall not be grieved? They who believe and fear God shall receive good tidings in this life, and in that which is to come There is no change in the words of God This *shall be* great felicity Let not their discourse^z grieve thee, for all might *belongeth* unto God he *both* heareth *and* knoweth. Is not whoever *dwelleth* in heaven and on earth *subject* unto God? What therefore do they follow, who invoke idols, besides God? They follow nothing but a *vain* opinion, and they only utter lies It is he who hath ordained the night for you, that ye may take your rest therein, and the clear day *for labour* verily herein are signs unto people who hearken They say, God hath begotten children God forbid! He is self sufficient Unto him *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth ye have no demonstrative proof of this Do ye speak of God that which ye know not? Say, Verily they who imagine a lie concerning God shall not prosper *They may enjoy* a provision in this world, but afterwards unto us shall they return, and we will then cause them to taste a grievous punishment, for that they were unbelievers Rehearse unto them the history of Noah ^a when he said unto his people, O my people, if my standing forth *among you*, and my warning *you* of the signs of God, be grievous unto you, in God do I put my trust Therefore lay your design *against me*, and assemble your false gods, but let not your design be *carried on* by you *in* the dark, then come forth against me, and delay not And if ye turn *aside from my admonitions*, I ask not any reward of you *for the same*,^b I expect my reward from God alone, and I am commanded to be *one*

^u See chap 6, p. 113 &c

^{*} "Of what does the blasphemer think, who denies the resurrection?"—*Savary*

^z See chap 4, p 65, note ^z

^y The *preserved table* wherein God's decrees are recorded.

^a *Viz*, the impious and rebellious talk of the infidels

^b See chap 7, p 121, &c.

^c Therefore ye cannot excuse yourselves by saying that I am burdensome to you.

of those who are resigned *unto him*. But they accused him of imposture, wherefore we delivered him, and those who *were* with him in the ark, and we caused them to survive *the flood*, but we drowned those who charged our signs with falsehood. Behold, therefore, what was the end of those who were warned *by Noah*. Then did we send, after him, apostles unto their *respective* people,^a and they came unto them with evident demonstrations yet they were not *disposed* to believe in that which they had before rejected as false. Thus do we seal up the hearts of the transgressors. Then did we send, after them, Moses and Aaron unto Pharaoh and his princes with our signs ^d but they behaved proudly, and were a wicked people. And when the truth from us had come unto them,* they said, Verily this is manifest sorcery. Moses said *unto them*, Do ye speak *this* of the truth, after it hath come unto you? Is this sorcery? but sorcerers shall not prosper. They said, Art thou come unto us to turn us aside from that *religion* which we found our fathers practise, and that ye two may have the command in the land? But we do not believe you. And Pharaoh said, Bring unto me every expert magician. And when the magicians were come, Moses said unto them, Cast down that which ye are about to cast down. And when they had cast down *their rods and cords*, Moses said *unto them*, The enchantment which ye have performed shall God surely render vain, for God prospereth not the work of the wicked doers, and God will verify the truth of his words, although the wicked be averse *thereto*. And there believed not *any* on Moses, except a generation of his people,^e for fear of Pharaoh and of his princes, lest he should afflict them. And Pharaoh was lifted up with pride in the earth, and was surely *one* of the transgressors. And Moses said, O my people, if ye believe in God, put your trust in him, if ye be resigned *to his will*. They answered, We put our trust in God. O LORD, suffer us not to be afflicted by unjust people, but deliver us, through thy mercy, from the unbelieving people. And we spake by inspiration unto Moses and his brother, *saying*, Provide habitations for your people in Egypt, and make your houses a place of worship,^f and be constant at prayer, and bear good news unto the true believers. And Moses said, O LORD, verily thou hast given unto Pharaoh and his people *pompos* ornaments,^g

^a As Hûd, Sâleh, Abraham, Lot, and Shoaib, to those of Ad, Thamûd, Babel, Sodom, and Midian.

^d See chap 7, p 127, &c

* "They saw the truth, and they accused it of falsehood."—*Savary*

^e For when he first began to preach, a few of the younger Israelites only believed in him, the others not giving ear to him for fear of the king. But some suppose the pronoun *his* refers to Pharaoh, and that these were certain Egyptians, who, together with his wife Asia, believed in Moses.^h

^f So Jallaloddin expounds the original word *Kebla*, which properly signifies that place or quarter towards which one prays. Wherefore al Zamakhshari supposes, that the Israelites are here ordered to dispose their oratories in such a manner, that, when they prayed, their faces might be turned towards Mecca, which he imagines was the *Kebla* of Moses, as it is that of the Mohammedans. The former commentator adds, that Pharaoh had forbidden the Israelites to pray to God, for which reason they were obliged to perform that duty privately in their houses.

^g As magnificent apparel, chariots, and the like.

and riches in this present life, O LORD, that they may be seduced from thy way O LORD, bring their riches to nought, and harden their hearts, that they may not believe, until they see *their* grievous punishment. God said, Your petition is heard ^h be ye upright therefore,ⁱ and follow not the way of those who are ignorant And we caused the children of Israel to pass through the sea, and Pharaoh and his army followed them in a violent and hostile manner, until, when he was drowning, he said, I believe that there is no GOD but he on whom the children of Israel believe, and I am *one* of the resigned ^k Now *dost thou believe*, when thou hast been hitherto rebellious, and one of the wicked doers? This day will we raise thy body^l *from the bottom of the sea*, that thou mayest be a sign unto those who shall be after thee, and verily a great number of men are negligent of our signs And we prepared for the children of Israel an established dwelling *in the land of Canaan*, and we provided good things for their sustenance, and they differed not *in point of religion*, until knowledge had come unto them, ^m verily thy LORD will judge between them on the day of resurrection, concerning that wherein they disagreed If thou art in a doubt concerning *any part of* that which we have sent down unto thee,ⁿ ask them who have read the book *of the law* before thee Now hath the truth come unto thee from thy LORD, be not therefore *one* of those who doubt, neither be thou *one* of those who charge the signs of GOD with falsehood, lest thou become *one* of those who perish Verily those against whom the word of thy LORD is decreed, shall not believe, although there come unto them every *kind of* miracle, until they see the grievous punishment *prepared for them* And if *it were* not so, some city, *among the many which have been destroyed*, would have believed, and the faith of its inhabitants would have been of advantage unto them, *but none of them believed, before the execution of their sentence*, except the people of Jonas,*

^h The pronoun is in the dual number, the antecedent being Moses and Aaron. The commentators say that, in consequence of this prayer all the treasures of Egypt were turned into stones⁹

ⁱ Or, as al Budawi interprets it, Be ye constant and steady in preaching to the people The Mohammedans pretend that Moses continued in Egypt no less than forty years, after he had first published his mission which cannot be reconciled to scripture

^k These words, it is said Pharaoh repeated often in his extremity that he might be heard But his repentance came too late for Gabriel soon stopped his mouth with mud, lest he should obtain mercy, reproaching him at the same time in the words which follow

^l Some of the children of Israel doubting whether Pharaoh was really drowned, Gabriel by God's command, caused his naked corpse to swim to shore that they might see it¹ The word here translated *body*, signifying also a *coat of mail*, some imagine the meaning to be, that his corpse floated armed with his coat of mail, which they tell us was of gold by which they knew that it was he

^m ⁿ After the law had been revealed, and published by Moses

^o That is concerning the truth of the histories which are here related The commentators doubt whether the person here spoken to, be Mohammed himself, or his auditor

^p *Viz* the inhabitants of Nineveh, which stood on or near the place where al Mawsel now stands. This people having corrupted themselves with idolatry Jonas the son of Mattai (or Amittai which the Mohammedans suppose to be the name of his mother) an Israelite of the tribe of Benjamin, was sent by God to preach to, and reclaim them When he first began to exhort them to repentance, instead of hearkening to him, they used him very ill, so that he was obliged to leave the city, threatening

When they believed, we delivered them from the punishment of shame in this world, and suffered them to enjoy *their lives and possessions* for a time.* But if thy LORD had pleased, verily all who are in the earth would have believed in general. Wilt thou therefore forcibly compel men to be true believers? No soul can believe but by the permission of GOD and he shall pour out *his* indignation on those who will not understand. Say, Consider whatever is in heaven and on earth but signs are of no avail, neither preachers, unto people who will not believe. Do they therefore expect any other than *some terrible judgment*, like unto the judgments *which have fallen* on those who have gone before them? Say, Wait ye *the issue*, and I also will wait with you, then will we deliver our apostles and those who believe. Thus is it a justice due from us, that we should deliver the true believers. Say, O men of *Mecca*, if ye be in doubt concerning my religion, verily I worship not the *idols* which ye worship, besides GOD, but I worship GOD, who will cause you to die and I am commanded to be *one* of the true believers. And *it was said unto me*, Set thy face towards the *true* religion, and be orthodox, and by no means be *one* of those who attribute companions *unto GOD*, neither invoke, besides GOD, that which can neither profit thee nor hurt thee for if thou do, thou *wilt* then certainly *become one* of the unjust. If GOD afflict thee with hurt, there is none who can relieve thee from it, except he, and if he willeth thee any good, there is none who can keep back his bounty he will confer it on such of his servants as he pleaseth, and he *is* gracious and merciful. Say, O men, now hath the truth come unto you from your LORD. He therefore who shall be directed, will be directed *to the advantage* of his own soul but he who shall err, will err only against the same. I am no guardian over you. Do thou, *O prophet*, follow that which is revealed unto thee and persevere with patience, until GOD shall judge, for he is the best judge.

them, at his departure, that they should be destroyed within three days or, as others say, within forty.² But when the time drew near, and they saw the heavens overcast with a black cloud, which shot forth fire, and filled the air with smoke, and hung directly over their city they were in a terrible consternation and getting into the fields with their families and cattle they put on sackcloth, and humbled themselves before GOD calling aloud for pardon and sincerely repenting of their past wickedness. Whereupon GOD was pleased to forgive them, and the storm blew over.³

² : e Until they died according to the ordinary course of nature.

³ See Jonah iii. 4. ³ Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin, Abulfed. See chap. 21, and 37

CHAPTER XL

INTITLED HUD,* REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

AL R.' THIS book, the verses whereof are guarded against corruption,^q and are also distinctly explained,^t *is a revelation* from the wise, the knowing God that ye serve not *any other* God,* (verily I am a denouncer of threats, and a bearer of good tidings unto you from him,) and that ye ask pardon of your LORD, and then be turned unto him. He will cause you to enjoy a plentiful provision, until a prefixed time and unto every one that hath merit *by good works* will he give his abundant reward. But if ye turn back, verily I fear for you the punishment of the great day unto God shall ye return, and he is almighty. Do they not double *the folds* of their breasts,[†] that they may conceal *their designs* from him? When they cover themselves with their garments, doth not he know that which they conceal, and that which they discover? For he knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts of men.[‡] [* XII.] There is no creature which creepeth on the earth, but God *provideth* its food, and he knoweth the place of its retreat, and where it is laid up.[§] The whole *is written* in the perspicuous book of

q The story of which prophet is repeated in this chapter (Savary's translation adds, 'Peace be with him')

† See the Prelim Disc p 42, &c

* According to the various senses which the verb *ohlmat* in the original may bear, the commentators suggest as many different interpretations. Some suppose the meaning to be, according to our version that the Koran is not liable to be corrupted 'as the law and the gospel have been in the opinion of the Mohammedans others, that every verse in this particular chapter is in full force, and not one of them abrogated others that the verses of the Koran are disposed in a clear and perspicuous method or contain evident and demonstrative arguments and others, that they comprise judicial declarations to regulate both faith and practice'

† The signification of the verb *fossilat* which is here used being also ambiguous, the meaning of this passage is supposed to be, either that the verses are distinctly proposed or expressed in a clear manner or that the subject matter of the whole may be distinguished or divided into laws, monitions, and examples, or else that the verses were revealed by parcels

‡ "A judicious method is observed in this book. It is the work of one who possesseth wisdom and knowledge. The unity of God is enjoined to you therein."

--Savary

§ Or, as it may be translated, *Do they not turn away their breasts?* &c.

† 'Do they not wrap their hearts in a twofold veil, that they may escape the glance of the Most High?' --Savary

‡ This passage was occasioned by the words of the idolaters, who said to one another *When we let down our curtains*, (such as the women use in the East to screen themselves from the sight of the men when they happen to be in the room,) *and wrap ourselves up in our garments, and fold up our breasts, to conceal our mahes against Mohammed, how should he come to the knowledge of it?* Some suppose this passage relates to certain hypocritical Moslems, but this opinion is generally rejected, because this verse was revealed at Mecca, and the birth of hypocrisy among the Mohammedans happened not till after the Hejra.

§ i. e. Both during its life, and after its death, or the repository of every animal before its birth, in the loins and wombs of the parents.

* See the Prelim Disc. p 53 * Al Beidawi, Jallali'ddin, Al Zamakhshari. &

his decrees It is he who hath created the heavens and the earth in six days, (but his throne was above the waters *before the creation thereof*;) ^a that he might prove you, and see which of you would excel in works. If thou say, ye shall surely be raised again, after death, the unbelievers will say, This is nothing but manifest sorcery. And verily if we defer their punishment unto a determined season, they will say, What hindereth it *from falling on us*? Will it not come upon them on a day, wherein there shall be none to avert it from them, and that which they scoffed at shall encompass them? Verily, if we cause man to taste mercy from us, and afterwards take it away from him, he *will* surely become desperate, ^a and ungrateful. And if we cause him to taste favour, after an affliction hath befallen him, he will surely say, The evils *which I suffered* are passed from me, and he *will become* joyful and insolent, except those who persevere with patience, and do that which is right, they shall receive pardon, and a great reward. Peradventure thou wilt omit to *publish* part of that which hath been revealed unto thee, ^a and thy breast will become straitened, lest they say, Unless a treasure be sent down unto him, or an angel come with him, to bear witness unto him, we *will not believe*. Verily, thou art a preacher only, and God is the governor of all things. Will they say, He hath forged the *Korân*? Answer, Bring therefore ten chapters ^b like unto it forged *by yourselves* and call on whomsoever ye may to *assist you*, except God, if ye speak truth. But if they *whom ye call to your assistance* hear you not, know that *this book* hath been revealed by the knowledge of God only, ^c and that there is no God but he. Will ye therefore become Moslems? Whoso chooseth the present life, and the pomp thereof, unto them will we give the recompense of their works therein, and the same shall not be diminished unto them. These are they for whom no other reward is prepared in the next life, except the fire of hell that which they have done in *this life* shall perish, and that which they have wrought shall be vain. Shal he therefore be compared with them, who followeth the evident declaration of his LORD, and whom a witness from him ^d attendeth, preceded by the book of Moses, ^e which was revealed for a guide, and out of mercy to man-

^a For the Mohammedans suppose this throne and the waters wherein it stands which waters they imagine are supported by a spirit or wind were, with some other things, created before the heavens and earth. This fancy they borrowed from the Jews, who also say that the throne of glory then stood in the air, and was borne on the face of the waters by the breath of God's mouth.

^a Casting aside all hopes of the divine favour for want of patience and trust in God.

^a Should some of my precepts slide from thy memory, or should it be required from thee that thou shouldst cause a treasure to appear, or that an angel should accompany thee, be not afflicted. —Savary.

^b This was the number which he first challenged them to compose but they not being able to do it, he made the matter still easier challenging them to produce a single chapter only ^c comparable to the Koran in doctrine and eloquence.

^c Or containing several passages wrapped up in dark and mysterious expressions, which can proceed from, and are perfectly comprehended by none but God.

^d Viz the Koran or as others suppose, the angel Gabriel.

^e Which bears testimony thereto.

^a Rashi, ad Gen. 1. 2. Vide Reland, de Relig. Moh. p. 50, &c. ^b See chap. 2, p. 3. chap. 10, p. 169, &c. ^c See chap. 3, p. 35.

kind? These believe in the *Korân* but whosoever of the confederate *infidels* believeth not therein, is threatened the fire of *hell*, which threat shall certainly be executed be not therefore in a doubt concerning it, for it is the truth from thy LORD but the greater part of men will not believe. Who is more unjust than he who imagineth a lie concerning GOD? They shall be set before the LORD, at the day of judgment, and the witnesses^f shall say, These are they who devised lies against their LORD Shall not the curse of GOD fall on the unjust, who turn *men* aside from the way of GOD, and seek to render it crooked, and who believe not in the life to come? These were not able to prevail against God on earth, so as to escape punishment, neither had they any protectors besides GOD their punishment shall be doubled unto them^g They could not hear, neither did they see. These are they who have lost their souls, and the *idols* which they falsely imagined have abandoned them There is no doubt but they shall be most miserable in the world to come But as for those who believe, and do good works, and humble themselves before their LORD, they shall be the inhabitants of paradise, they shall remain therein for ever The similitude of the two parties^h is as the blind and the deaf, and as he who seeth and heareth shall they be compared as equal? Will ye not therefore consider? We formerly sent Noahⁱ unto his people, and he said, Verily I am a public preacher unto you, that ye worship GOD alone, verily I fear for you the punishment of the terrible day But the chiefs of the people, who believed not, answered, We see thee to be no other than a man, like unto us, and we do not see that any follow thee, except those who are the most abject among us, who have believed on thee by a rash judgment,^k neither do we perceive any excellence in you above us but we esteem you to be liars. Noah said, O my people, tell me, if I have received an evident declaration from my LORD, and he hath bestowed on me mercy from himself, which is hidden from you, do we compel ye to receive the same, in case ye be averse thereto? O my people, I ask not of you riches, for my preaching unto you my reward is with GOD alone I will not drive away those who have believed^l verily they shall meet their LORD at the resurrection, but I perceive that ye are ignorant men O my people who shall assist me against GOD, if I drive them away? Will ye not therefore consider? I say not unto you, The treasures of GOD are in my power, neither do I say, I know the secrets of GOD neither do I say, Verily I am an angel,^m neither do I say of those whom your eyes do contemn, GOD will by no means bestow good on them (GOD best knoweth that which is in their souls,)

* "What crime can be more horrible than to accuse God of falsehood?"—Savary

^f That is, The angels, and prophets and their own members

^g For they shall be punished both in this life, and in the next.

^h i. e. The believers and the infidels.

ⁱ See chap 7 p 121, &c.

^k For want of mature consideration, and moved by the first impulse of their fancy

^l For this they asked him to do because they were poor mean people The same thing the Koreish demanded of Mohammed, but he was forbidden to comply with their request^o

^m See chap 6, p 103

^o See chap 6, p 103.

for then should I certainly be *one* of the unjust They answered, O Noah, thou hast already disputed with us, and hast multiplied disputes with us, now therefore do thou bring that *punishment* upon us wherewith thou hast threatened us, if thou speakest truth Noah said, Verily GOD alone shall bring it upon you, if he pleaseth, and ye shall not prevail against him *so as to escape the same* Neither shall my counsel profit you, although I endeavour to counsel you aright, if GOD shall please to lead you into error He is your LORD * and unto him shall ye return Will the *Meccans* say, *Mohammed* hath forged the *Korân*? Answer, If I have forged it, on me be my guilt and let me be clear of that which ye are guilty of And it was revealed unto Noah, *saying*, Verily none of thy people shall believe, except he who hath already believed be not therefore grieved for that which they are doing But make an ark in our presence, *according to the form and dimensions* which we have revealed unto thee and speak not unto me in behalf of those who have acted unjustly, for they are doomed to be drowned And he built the ark, and so often as a company of his people passed by him, they derided him ^a but he said, Though ye scoff at us now, we will scoff at you *hereafter*, as ye scoff at us, and ye shall surely know on whom a punishment shall be inflicted, which shall cover him with shame, and on whom a lasting punishment shall fall *Thus were they employed* until our sentence was put in execution, and the oven poured forth water ^b And we said unto Noah, Carry into the ark of every species of animals one pair, ^c and thy family, ^d (except him on whom a previous sentence

* "He is your Lord, and wise unto him shall we all return —*Savary*

^a For building a vessel in an inland country and so far from the sea and for that he was turned carpenter after he had set up for a prophet ¹

^b Or as the original literally signifies *boiled over* which is consonant to what the Rabbins say, that the waters of the deluge were boiling hot

This oven was, as some say, at Cûfa in a spot whereon a mosque now stands or as others rather think in a certain place in India or else at Ain warda in Mesopotamia, ² and its exundation was the sign by which Noah knew the flood was coming ³ Some pretend that it was the same oven which Eve made use of to bake her bread in, being of a form different from those we use having the mouth in the upper part and that it descended from patriarch to patriarch till it came to Noah ⁴ It is remarkable that Mohammed, in all probability, borrowed this circumstance from the Persian Magi who also fancied that the first waters of the deluge gushed out of the oven of a certain old woman named Zala Cûfa ⁵

But the word *tannûr*, which is here translated oven, also signifying the *superficies of the earth, or a place whence waters spring forth or where they are collected*, some suppose it means no more in this passage, than the spot or fissure whence the first eruption of waters brake forth

^c Or, as the words may also be rendered, and some commentators think they ought, *two pair*, that is two males and two females of each species wherein they partly agree with divers Jewish and Christian writers, ⁶ who from the Hebrew expression, *seven and seven and two and two, the male and his female*, ⁷ suppose there went into the ark fourteen pair of every clean and two pair of every unclean species There is a tradition that God gathered together unto Noah all sorts of beasts, birds, and other animals, (it being indeed difficult to conceive how he should come by them all, without some supernatural assistance,) and that, as he laid hold on them, his right hand constantly fell on the male and his left on the female ⁸

^d Namely thy wife, and thy sons, and their wives ⁹

¹ Al Beidâwî ² Idem ³ Jallalo ddin &c ⁴ Vide D Herbelot, Bibl Orient. art Noah ⁵ Vide Hyde de Rel Vet. Persar, and Lord's account of the Relig of the Persees p 9 ⁶ Aben Ezra, Justin Martyr Origen, &c ⁷ Gen. vii. 2. ⁸ Jallalo ddin. ⁹ Al Beidâwî.

of destruction hath passed,*) and those who believe * But there believed not with him, except a few * And Noah said, Embark thereon, in the name of God, while it moveth forward, and while it standeth still, * for my LORD is gracious and merciful And the ark swam with them between waves like mountains † and Noah called unto his son, ‡ who was separated from him, saying, Embark with us, my son, and stay not with the unbelievers. He answered, I will get on a mountain, which will secure me from the water Noah replied, there is no security this day from the decree of God, except for him on whom he shall have mercy And a wave passed between them, and he became one of those who were drowned * And it was said, O earth, swallow up thy waters, and thou, O heaven, withhold thy rain And immediately the water abated, and the decree was fulfilled, and the ark rested on the mountain Al Judi, § and it was said, Away with the

* This was an unbelieving son of Noah, † named Canaan * or Yam * though others say he was not the son of Noah, but his grandson by his son Ham, or his wife's son by another husband nay some pretend he was related to him no farther than by having been educated and brought up in his house ‡ The best commentators add, that Noah's wife named Waila who was an infidel was also comprehended in this exception and perished with her son §

¶ Noah's family being mentioned before, it is supposed that by these words are intended the other believers, who were his proselytes but not of his family whence the common opinion among Mohammedans, of a greater number than eight being saved in the ark seems to have taken its rise ¶

* Viz his other wife who was a true believer his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet and their wives and seventy two persons more †

‡ That is omit no opportunity of getting on board According to a different reading the latter words may be rendered who shall cause it to move forward and to stop as there shall be occasion The commentators tell us that the ark moved forwards or stood still as Noah would have it, on his pronouncing only the words, In the name of God §

It is to be observed that the more judicious commentators make the dimensions of the ark to be the same with those assigned by Moses, ¶ notwithstanding others have enlarged them extravagantly † as some Christian writers ‡ have also done They likewise tell us that Noah was two years in building the ark which was framed of Indian plane tree ‡ that it was divided into three stories, of which the lower was designed for the beasts the middle one for the men and women and the upper for the birds ‡ and that the men were separated from the women by the body of Adam which Noah had taken into the Ark ‡ This last is a tradition of the eastern Christians ‡ some of whom pretended that the matrimonial duty was superseded and suspended during the time Noah and his family were in the ark ‡ though Ham has been accused of not observing continency on that occasion, his wife it seems, bringing forth (as in the very ark ‡

¶ The waters prevailing fifteen cubits above the mountains ‡ * See note *

* The waters arose and all men were swallowed up —Savary

† This mountain is one of those which divide Armenia, on the south from Mesopotamia, and that part of Assyria, which is inhabited by the Kurds, from whom the mountains took the name of Cardu or Gardu, by the Greeks turned into Gordyæni, and other names ‡ Mount al Jûdi (which name seems to be a corruption thence it be constantly so written by the Arabs, for Jordi or Giordi) is also called Thamanin, ‡ probably from a town at the foot of it, ‡ so named from the number of

1 Yahya. 2 Jallaloddin, Al Beidawi. 3 Ebn Shohnah. 4 Al Zamakhshari Vide D'Herbel Bibl Orient p 676. 5 Jallaloddin, Al Zamakhshari, Al Beidawi. 6 See chap 7 p 122. 7 See ibid. note b. 8 Al Beidawi &c. 9 Idem &c. 10 Yahya. Vide Marracc in Alcor p 340. 11 Origen contr Cels lib 4. Vide Kircher de Arca Noe c 8. 12 Al Beidawi. Vide D'Herbel p 675, and Eutyck p 34. 13 Al Beidawi. Vide Eutyck Annal p 34. 14 Yahya. 15 Jacob. Fdssenus, apud Barcepham de Parad part 1, chap 14. Eutyck ubi sup. Vide etiam Elieser pirke chap 23. 16 Ambros de Noa et Arca chap 21. 17 Vide Heidegger Hist Patriarchar v 1, p 409. 18 Al Beidawi. 19 See Bochart. Phaleg lib 1, c 3. 20 Geogr Num p 202. 21 Vide D'Herbelot, Bibl Orient. p 404, and 676, et Agathiam. lib 14 v 135.

ungodly people! And *Noah* called upon his LORD, and said, O LORD, verily my son is of my family, and thy promise is true ^b for thou art the most just of those who exercise judgment. God answered, O Noah, verily he is not of thy family, ^c this *intercession of thine for him* is not a righteous work ^d. Ask not of me therefore that wherein thou hast no knowledge. I admonish thee that thou become not *one* of the ignorant. *Noah* said, O LORD, I have recourse unto thee *for the assistance of thy grace*, that I ask not of thee that wherein I have no knowledge, and unless thou forgive me, and be merciful unto me, I shall be *one* of those who perish. It was said unto him, O Noah, come down from the ark, ^e with peace from us, and blessings upon thee, and upon a part of those who are with thee, ^f but as for a part of them, ^g we will suffer them to enjoy the provision of this world, and afterwards shall a grievous punishment from us be inflicted on them, *in the life to come*. This is a secret history, which we reveal unto thee thou didst not know it, neither did thy people before this. Wherefore persevere with patience for the *prosperous* issue shall attend the pious. And unto the tribe of Ad we sent their brother Hud ^h. He said, O my people, worship God, ye have no God besides him, ye only imagine falsehood, *in setting up idols and intercessors of your own making*. O my people, persons saved in the ark, the word *thamania* signifying eighty and overlooks the country of Diyar Rabiha near the cities of Mawsil, Iorda, and Jazirat Ebn Omar, which last place one affirms to be but four miles from the place of the ark, and says that a Mohammedan temple was built there with the remains of that vessel by the Khalif Omar Ebn Abd alaziz whom he by mistake calls Omar Ebn al Khattab ⁱ.

The tradition which affirms the ark to have rested on these mountains must have been very ancient, since it is the tradition of the Chaldeans themselves ^j the Chaldee paraphrasts consent to their opinion ^k which obtained very much formerly especially among the eastern Christians ^l. To confirm it, we are told that the remainders of the ark were to be seen on the Gordyean mountains. Berosus and Abydenus both declare there was such a report in their time ^m the first observing that several of the inhabitants thereabouts scraped the pitch off the planks as a rarity and carried it about them for an amulet and the latter saying, that they used the wood of the vessel against many diseases with wonderful success. The relics of the ark were also to be seen here in the time of Epiphanius if we may believe him, ⁿ and we are told the emperor Heraclius went from the town of Thamanin up to the mountain al Jûdi, and saw the place of the ark ^o. There was also formerly a famous monastery, called the *monastery of the ark* upon some of these mountains where the Nestorians used to celebrate a feast day on the spot where they supposed the ark rested, but in the year of Christ 776, that monastery was destroyed by lightning, with the church and a numerous congregation in it ^p. Since which time it seems the credit of this tradition hath declined and given place to another, which obtains at present, and according to which the ark rested on Mount Masis in Armenia, called by the Turks, Aghir dagh or the heavy or great mountain, and situate about twelve leagues south east of Erivan ^q.

^b Noah here challenges God's promise, that he would save his family

^c Being cut off from it on account of his infidelity

^d According to a different reading, this passage may be rendered, *For he hath acted unrighteously*

^e The Mohammedans say that Noah went into the ark on the tenth of Rajeb, and came out of it the tenth of al Moharram, which therefore became a fast. So that the whole time of Noah's being in the ark, according to them, was six months ^f.

^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q

^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q

^h See chap 7, p 122.

ⁱ Benjamin, Itiner p 61 ^j Berosus, apud Joseph Antiq lib 1 c 4 ^k Onkelos et Jonathan, in Gen. viii 4 ^l Vide Fatyeh Annal p 41 ^m Berosus, apud Joseph. ubi sup ⁿ Abydenus apud Euseb Præp Ev lib 9, c 4. ^o Epiph. Hæres. 18 ^p Elmacin lib 1 c 1 ^q Vide Chron. Dionys. Patriarch. Jacobitar apud Asseman. Bibl Orient. tom. 2, p. 113. ^r Al Beidâwi ^s Idem. Sec D Herbel ubi sup.

I ask not of you for this *my preaching*, any recompense *my recompense do I expect* from him only, who hath created me. Will ye not therefore understand? O my people, ask pardon of your LORD, and be turned unto him he will send the heaven to pour forth rain plentifully upon you,¹ and he will increase your strength by *giving* unto you *farther strength* ² therefore turn not aside to commit evil They answered, O Hud, thou hast brought us no proof of *what thou sayest*, therefore we will not leave our gods for thy saying, neither do we believe thee We say no other than that some of our gods have afflicted thee with evil¹ He replied, Verily I call GOD to witness and do ye also bear witness, that I am clear of that which ye associate *with God* besides him. Do ye all therefore *join* to devise a plot against me, and tarry not, for I put my confidence in GOD, my LORD and your LORD There is no beast, but he holdeth *it* by its forelock ³ verily my LORD *proceedeth* in the right way But if ye turn back, I have already declared unto you that with which I was sent unto you, and my LORD shall substitute another nation in your stead, and ye shall not hurt him at all for my LORD *is* guardian over all things And when our sentence came to be put in execution, we delivered Hud, and those who had believed with him,⁴ through our mercy, and we delivered them from a grievous punishment And this *tribe* of Ad wittingly rejected the signs of their LORD, and were disobedient unto his messengers, and they followed the command of every rebellious perverse person Wherefore they were followed in this world by a curse, and they *shall be followed by the same* on the day of resurrection Did not Ad disbelieve in their LORD? Was it not said, Away with Ad, the people of Hud? And unto the *tribe* of Thamud we sent their brother Saleh⁵ He said *unto them*, O my people, worship GOD, ye have no GOD besides him It is he who hath produced you out of the earth, and hath given you an habitation therein Ask pardon of him therefore, and be turned unto him, for my LORD is near,⁶ and ready to answer They answered, O Saleh, thou wast a *person* on whom we placed our hopes before this.⁷ Dost thou forbid us to worship that which our fathers worshipped? But we are certainly in doubt concerning the religion to which thou dost invite us, as justly to be suspected Saleh said, O my people, tell me, if I have received an evident declaration from my LORD, and he hath

¹ For the Adites were grievously distressed by a drought for three years ⁴

² By giving, you children the wombs of their wives being also rendered barren, during the time of the drought as well as their lands ⁵

³ Or madness having deprived thee of thy reason for the indignities thou hast offered them

⁴ That is he exerciseth an absolute power over it A creature held in this manner being, supposed to be reduced to the lowest subjection.

⁵ Who were in number four thousand ⁶

⁷ See chap 7, p 123

⁸ 'Repent! Turn unto him! He is near unto you, and hears you'—Savary

⁹ Designing to have made thee our prince, because of the singular prudence and other good qualities which we observed in thee but thy dissenting from us in point of religious worship has frustrated those hopes ⁷

bestowed on me mercy from himself, who will protect me from *the vengeance of God*, if I be disobedient unto him? For ye shall not add unto me other than loss. And *he said*, O my people, this she-camel of God is a sign unto you, therefore dismiss her freely, that she may feed in God's earth, and do her no harm, lest a swift punishment seize you. Yet they killed her, and *Saleh* said, Enjoy yourselves in your dwellings for three days,^a *after which ye shall be destroyed*. This is an infallible prediction. And when our decree came to be executed, we delivered Saleh and those who believed with him, through our mercy, from the disgrace of that day, for thy LORD is the strong, the mighty God. But a terrible noise from heaven assailed those who had acted unjustly, and in the morning they were found in their houses, lying dead and prostrate, as though they had never dwelt therein. Did not Thamud disbelieve in their LORD? Was not Thamud cast far away? Our messengers^r also came formerly unto Abraham, with good tidings they said, Peace be upon thee. And he answered, and on you be Peace! and he tarried not, but brought a roasted calf. And when he saw that their hands did not touch the meat,^s he disliked them, and entertained a fear of them.^t But they said, Fear not for we are sent unto the people of Lot.^u And his wife Sarah was standing by,^v and she laughed,^w and we promised her Isaac, and after Isaac, Jacob. She said, Alas! shall I bear a son, who am old, this my husband also being advanced in years?^x Verily this would be a wonderful thing. The angels answered, Dost thou wonder at the effect of the command of God? The mercy of God and his blessings be upon you, the family of the house.^y

^a Viz., Wednesday Thursday and Friday.^s See chap 7 p 124 note^s

^r These were the angels who were sent to acquaint Abraham with the promise of Isaac, and to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah. Some of the commentators pretend they were twelve or nine, or ten in number, but others, agreeable to scripture, say they were but three, viz Gabriel Michael, and Israfil.^o

^s "When he saw that they did not touch his hand. †—Savary

^t Apprehending that they had some ill design against him, because they would not eat with him.

^u Being angels, whose nature needs not the support of food.¹

^v Either behind the curtain, or door of the tent, or else waiting upon them.

^w The commentators are so little acquainted with scripture that, not knowing the true occasion of Sarah's laughter they strain their inventions to give some reason for it. One says that she laughed at the angels discovering themselves and ridding Abraham and herself of their apprehensions, and another, that it was at the approaching destruction of the Sodomites (a very probable motive in one of her sex). Some however interpret the original word differently and will have it that she did not laugh, but that her courses which had stopped for several years, came upon her at this time, as a previous sign of her future conception.²

^x Al Beidāwī writes that Sarah was then ninety, or ninety nine years old, and Abraham a hundred and twenty.

^y Or the stock whence all the prophets were to proceed for the future. Or the ex-

¹ Idem

² Al Beidāwī, Jallālō ddīn. See Gen xviii

† When the Orientals meet, after having made the ordinary salutation, *Peace be with you* they move the hand to the left side and mutually shake hands. When they are very intimate, they repeat this ceremony, and wish good wishes to each other. If they do not know the person whom they meet, they merely give him the salutation and if it be an unbeliever, they content themselves by saying, Good day. Abraham seeing that the two celestial messengers did not touch his hand, concluded them to be strangers to whom he was not known.—Savary

¹ Al Beidāwī. ² Idem, Jallālō ddīn, Al Zamakhshārī.

for he is praiseworthy, and to be glorified. And when his apprehension had departed from Abraham, and the good tidings of Isaac's birth had come unto him, he disputed with us concerning the people of Lot,* for Abraham was a pitiful, compassionate, and devout person. The angels said unto him, O Abraham, abstain from this, for now is the command of thy LORD come, to put their sentence in execution, and an inevitable punishment is ready to fall upon them. And when our messengers came unto Lot, he was troubled for them,^a and his arm was straitened concerning them,^b and he said, This is a grievous day. And his people came unto him, rushing upon him, and they had formerly been guilty of wickedness. Lot said unto them, O my people, these my daughters are more lawful for you therefore fear God, and put me not to shame, by *wronging* my guests. Is there not a man of prudence among you?^c They answered, Thou knowest that we have no need of thy daughters, and thou well knowest what we would have. He said, if I had strength sufficient to oppose you, or I could have recourse unto a powerful support, I would certainly do it. The angels said, O Lot, verily we are the messengers of thy LORD, they shall by no means come in unto thee.^d Go forth, therefore with thy family, in some part of the night, and let not any of you turn back but as for thy wife,^e that shall happen unto her, which shall happen unto them. Verily the prediction of their punishment shall be fulfilled in the morning is not the morning near? And when our command came, we turned those cities upside down,^f and we rained upon them stones of baked clay,^g one follow-

pression may perhaps refer to Abraham and Ismael's building the Caaba, which is often called by way of excellence *the house*.

* That is, he interceded with us for them.¹ Jallaloddin instead of the numbers mentioned by Moses says that Abraham first asked whether God would destroy those cities if three hundred righteous persons were found therein and so fell successively to two hundred forty fourteen and at last came to one but there was not one righteous person to be found among them except only Lot and his family.

^a Because they appeared in the shape of beautiful young men, which must needs tempt those of Sodom to abuse them.²

^b i. e. He knew himself unable to protect them against the insults of his townsmen.

* "Is all shame extinct among you? — *Savary*

• Al Beidawi says that Lot shut his door and argued the matter with the riotous assembly from behind it but at length they endeavoured to get over the wall: whereupon Gabriel, seeing his distress, struck them on the face with one of his wings and blinded them, so that they moved off, crying out for help, and saying that Lot had magicians in his house.

^d This seems to be the true sense of the passage but, according to a different reading of the vowel some interpret it *Except thy wife*, the meaning being that Lot is here commanded to take his family with him *except his wife*. Wherefore the commentators cannot agree whether Lot's wife went forth with him or not, some denying it and pretending that she was left behind and perished in the common destruction, and others affirming it, and saying that when she heard the noise of the storm, and overthrow of the cities she turned back lamenting their fate, and was immediately struck down and killed by one of the stones mentioned a little lower.³ A punishment she justly merited for her infidelity and disobedience to her husband.⁴

• For they tell us that Gabriel thrust his wing under them and lifted them up so high that the inhabitants of the lower heaven heard the barking of the dogs, and the crowing of the cocks and then inverting them, threw them down to the earth.⁵

The kiln wherein they were burned some imagine to have been hell.

¹ Vide Gen. xviii. 23, &c. ² Jallaloddin, Al Beidawi. Vide Joseph Antiq. lib. 1 c. 11. ³ Idem interpretes. ⁴ See c. 66. ⁵ Jallaloddin, Al

ing another, and being marked⁸ from thy LORD, and they are not far distant from those who act unjustly⁹ And unto Madian we sent their brother Shoaib¹ he said, O my people, worship God ye have no God but him and diminish not measure and weight Verily, I see you to be in a happy condition² but I fear for you the punishment of the day which will encompass the *ungodly* O my people, give full measure, and just weight, and diminish not unto men *aught* of their matters, neither commit injustice in the earth, acting corruptly The residue *which shall remain unto you as the gift of God, after ye shall have done justice to others*, will be better for you, *than wealth gotten by fraud*, if ye be true believers. I am no guardian over you. They answered, O Shoaib, do thy prayers enjoin thee, that we should leave the *gods* which our fathers worshipped, or that we should not do what we please with our substance¹ Thou *only*, it seems, art the wise *person*, and fit to direct. He said, O my people, tell me if I have received an evident declaration from my LORD, and he hath bestowed on me an excellent provision, and I will not consent unto you in that which I forbid you, do I seek *any other* than *your* reformation, to the utmost of my power? My support is from God alone on him do I trust, and unto him do I turn me. O my people, let not *your* opposing of me draw on you a *vengeance* like unto that which fell on the people of Noah, or the people of Hud, or the people of Saleh neither *was* the people of Lot far distant from you^m* Ask pardon, therefore, of your LORD, and be turned unto him for my LORD is merciful and loving They answered, O Shoaib, we understand not much of what thou sayest, and we see thee to be a *man* of no powerⁿ among us if it had not been *for the sake of thy family*,^o we had surely stoned thee, neither couldst thou have prevailed against us. Shoaib said, O my people, is my family more worthy in your opinion than God? and do ye cast him behind

* That is as some suppose streaked with white and red or having some other peculiar mark to distinguish them from ordinary stones But the common opinion is that each stone had the name of the person who was to be killed by it written thereon⁸ The army of Arahah al Ashrum was also destroyed by the same kind of stones

¹ This is a kind of threat to other wicked persons and particularly to the infidels of Mecca, who deserved and might justly apprehend the same punishment.

² See chap 7 p 125 &c

³ That is enjoying plenty of all things and therefore having the less occasion to defraud one another, and being the more strongly bound to be thankful and obedient unto God

⁴ For this liberty they imagined was taken from them by his prohibition of false weights and measures or to diminish or adulterate their coin⁹

^m For Sodom and Gomorrah were situate not a great way from you and their destruction happened not many ages ago neither did they deserve it, on account of their obstinacy and wickedness much more than yourselves.

ⁿ "O my people let not your falling off from the faith bring down upon you the scourges which have caused to perish the people of Noah, of Hud and of Saleh, and the inhabitants of Sodom, whose chastisement was so recently inflicted."—Savary

^o The Arabic word *daff* weak, signifying also in the Hamvartic dialect blind, some suppose that Shoaib was so and that the Midianites objected that to him, as a defect which disqualified him for the prophetic office

¹ For the respect we bear to thy family and relations whom we honour as being of our religion and not for any apprehension we have of their power to assist you against us The original word here translated *family*, signifies any number from three to seven or ten, but not more.¹

⁸ Jalaleddin Al Beidawi.

⁹ Al Beidawi.

¹ Idem.

you with neglect? Verily my LORD comprehendeth that which ye do. O my people, do ye work according to your condition, I will surely work according to my duty.^p And ye shall certainly know on whom will be inflicted a punishment which shall cover him with shame, and who is a liar. Wait, therefore, *the event*, for I also will wait it with you. Wherefore, when our decree came to be executed, we delivered Shoaib and those who believed with him, through our mercy and a terrible noise from Heaven assailed those who had acted unjustly, and in the morning they were found in their houses lying dead and prostrate, as though they had never dwelt therein. Was not Madian removed from off the earth, as Thamud had been removed? And we formerly sent Moses with our signs, and manifest power unto Pharaoh and his princes,^q but they followed the command of Pharaoh, although the command of Pharaoh did not direct them aright. Pharaoh shall precede him on the day of resurrection, and he shall lead them into hell fire, an unhappy way shall it be which they shall be led. They were followed in this life by a curse, and on the day of resurrection miserable shall be the gift which shall be given them. This is a part of the histories of the cities, which we rehearse unto thee. Of them there are some standing, and others which are utterly demolished.^r And we treated them not unjustly, but they dealt unjustly with their own souls and their gods which they invoked, besides God, were of no advantage unto them at all, when the decree of thy LORD came to be executed on them, neither were they any other than a detriment unto them. And thus was the punishment of thy LORD inflicted, when he punished the cities which were unjust, for his punishment is grievous and severe. Verily herein is a sign unto him who feareth the punishment of the last day that shall be a day, whereon all men shall be assembled, and that shall be a day whereon witness shall be borne, we defer it not, but to a determined time. When that day shall come, no soul shall speak to excuse itself, or to intercede for another, but by the permission of God. Of them, one shall be miserable, and another shall be happy. And they who shall be miserable shall be thrown into hell fire, there shall they wail and bemoan themselves.^s they shall remain therein so long as the heavens and the earth shall endure,^t except what thy LORD shall please to remit of their sentence,^u for thy LORD effecteth that which

^p See chap 6, p 112 note m

^q See chap p 127 &c

^r Literally *mown down* the sentence presenting the different images of corn standing, and cut down which is also often used by the sacred writers

The two words in the original signify properly the vehement drawing in and expiration of one's breath, which is usual to persons in great pain and anguish, and particularly the reciprocation of the voice of an ass, when he brays

^s This is not to be strictly understood as if either the punishment of the damned should have an end or the heavens and the earth should endure for ever, the expression being only used by way of image or comparison which needs not agree in every point with the thing signified. Some, however think the future heavens and earth into which the present shall be changed, are here meant.²

^u See the Prelim. Disc sect iv pp 66, 67

he pleaseth But they who shall be happy, *shall be admitted* into paradise, they shall remain therein so long as the heavens and the earth endure, besides what thy LORD shall please to *add unto their bliss*, a bounty which shall not be interrupted. Be not therefore in doubt concerning that which these men worship they worship no other than what their fathers worshipped before them, and we will surely give them their full portion, not in the least diminished. We formerly gave unto Moses the book of the law, and disputes arose among his people concerning it and unless a previous decree had proceeded from thy LORD, to bear with them during this life, the matter had been surely decided between them. And thy people are also jealous and in doubt concerning the Korân But unto every one of them will thy LORD render the reward of their works, for he well knoweth that which they do Be thou steadfast, therefore, as thou hast been commanded, and let him also be steadfast who shall be converted with thee, and transgress not, for he seeth that which ye do And incline not unto those who act unjustly, lest the fire of hell touch you for ye have no protectors except God, neither shall ye be assisted against him Pray regularly morning and evening,^v and in the former part of the night,^w for good works drive away evils. This is an admonition unto those who consider wherefore per severe with patience, for God suffereth not the reward of the righteous to perish Were such of the generations before you, endued with understanding and virtue, who forbade the acting corruptly in the earth, any more than a few only of those whom we delivered? But they who were unjust followed the delights which they enjoyed in this world,^x and were wicked doers^y and thy LORD was not of such a disposition as to destroy the cities unjustly,^z while the inhabitants behaved themselves uprightly And if thy LORD pleased, he would have made all men of one religion but they shall not cease to differ among themselves, unless those on whom thy LORD shall have mercy and unto this hath he created them, for the word of thy LORD shall be fulfilled, when he said, Verily I will fill hell altogether with genui and men. The whole which we have related of the histories of our apostles do we relate unto thee, that we may confirm thy heart thereby, and herein is the truth come unto thee, and an admonition, and a warning unto the true believers. Say unto those who believe not, Act ye according to your condition, we surely will act according to our duty^a and

^v Literally, in the two extremities of the day

^w That is, after sunset, and before supper, when the Mohammedans say their fourth prayer called by them *Salât al moghreb*, or the evening prayer³

^x Making it their sole business to please their luxurious desires and appetites, and placing their whole felicity therein.

^y Al Beidâwi says, that this passage gives the reason why the nations were destroyed of old, viz for their violence and injustice, their following their own lusts, and for their idolatry and unbelief.

^z Or, as the commentator just named explains it, for their idolatry only, when they observed justice in other respects.

^a See chap 6, p 112, note =

want *the issue*, for we certainly want *it also*. Unto God *is known* that which is secret in heaven and earth, and unto him shall the whole matter be referred. Therefore worship him, and put thy trust in him, for thy LORD is not regardless of that which ye do.

CHAPTER XII.

INTITLED, JOSEPH,^b REVEALED AT MECCA.*

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

AL R ° These are the signs of the perspicuous book, which we have sent down in the Arabic tongue, that, peradventure, ye might understand. We relate unto thee a most excellent history, by revealing unto thee this Korân,^d whereas thou wast before *one* of the negligent.* When Joseph said unto his father,^f O my father, verily I saw *in my dream* eleven stars,^g and the sun and the moon, I saw them make obeisance unto me Jacob said, O my child, tell not thy vision to thy brethren, lest they devise some plot against thee,^h for the devil is a professed enemy unto man and thus, *according to thy dream*, shall thy LORD choose thee, and teach thee the interpretation of *dark sayings*,ⁱ and he shall accomplish his favour upon thee and upon the family of Jacob, as he hath formerly accomplished it upon thy

^b The Koreish thinking to puzzle Mohammed at the instigation and by the direction of certain Jewish Rabbins demanded of him how Jacob's family happened to go down into Egypt, and that he would relate to them the history of Joseph with all its circumstances whereupon he pretended to have received this chapter from heaven containing the story of that patriarch ⁴ It is said however to have been rejected by two Mohammedan sects branches of the Kharejites, called the Ajaredites and Maimûniens as apocryphal and spurious

* The Mohammedan, says al Beidawî, who shall read this chapter or teach it to his friends or servants shall have an easy death, and strength of mind sufficient to envy no one — *Savary*

° See the Prelim Disc p 42 &c.

^d Or this particular chapter For the word *Korân* as has been elsewhere observed ⁵ properly signifying no more than a *reading* or *lecture* is often used to denote not only the whole volume but any distinct chapter or section of it

* *a. e* So far from being acquainted with the story that it never so much as entered into thy thoughts a certain argument, says al Beidawî, that it must have been revealed to him from heaven

^f Who was Jacob, the son of Isaac, and the son of Abraham ⁶

^g The commentators give us the names of these stars (which I think it needless to trouble the reader with) as Mohammed repeated them, at the request of a Jew, who thought to entrap him by the question ?

^h For they say, Jacob, judging that Joseph's dream portended his advancement above the rest of the family, justly apprehended his brethren's envy might tempt them to do him some mischief

ⁱ That is, of dreams or, as others suppose, of the profound passages of scripture, and all difficulties respecting either religion or justice.

⁴ Al Beidawî.
Al Zamakhshari.

⁵ Prelim. Disc. sect. iii. p 40.

⁶ Al Beidawî, &c.

⁷ Idem.

fathers Abraham and Isaac, for thy LORD is knowing and wise. Surely in the history of Joseph and his brethren there are signs of God's providence to the inquisitive, when they said to one another, Joseph and his brother^k are dearer to our father than we, who are the greater number: our father certainly maketh a wrong judgment.* Wherefore slay Joseph, or drive him into some distant or desert part of the earth, and the face of your father shall be cleared towards you,^l and ye shall afterwards be people of integrity. One of them^m spoke and said, Slay not Joseph, but throw him to the bottom of the well, and some travellers will take him up, if ye do this. They said unto Jacob, O father, why dost thou not intrust Joseph with us since we are sincere wellwishers unto him? Send him with us to-morrow, into the field, that he may divert himself, and sport,ⁿ and we will be his guardians. Jacob answered, It grieveth me that ye take him away, and I fear lest the wolf devour him,^o while ye are negligent of him. They said, surely if the wolf devour him, when there are so many of us,^p we shall be weak indeed.^p And when they had carried him with them, and agreed to set him at the bottom of the well,^q they executed their design and we sent a revelation unto him,^r saying, Thou shalt hereafter declare this

^k *Viz*, Benjamin his brother by the same mother

* "Joseph and Benjamin enjoy all the tenderness of Jacob yet we are more deserv- ing than they. He commits a flagrant injustice against us — *Savary*

^l Or he will settle his love wholly upon you and ye will have no rival in his favour

^m This person as some say, was Judah the most prudent and noble minded of them all or, according to others Reuben, whom the Mohammedan writers call Rubil^o. And both these opinions are supported by the account of Moses who tells us that Reuben advised them not to kill Joseph but to throw him into a pit privately intending to release him^o and that afterwards Judah in Reuben's absence, persuaded them not to let him die in a pit but to sell him to the Ishmaelites¹⁰

ⁿ Some copies read in the first person plural *that we may divert ourselves* &c.

^o The reason why Jacob feared this beast in particular as the commentators say, was either because the land was full of wolves or else because Jacob had dreamed he saw Joseph devoured by one of those creatures¹

^p Should he be attacked by a wild beast, we are numerous, and we will die in his defence — *Savary*

^q *i. e.* It will be an instance of extreme weakness and folly in us, and we shall be justly blamed for his loss

^r This well, say some, was a certain well near Jerusalem or not far from the river Jordan, but others call it the well of Egypt, or Midian. The commentators tell us, that when the sons of Jacob had gotten Joseph with them in the field they began to abuse and to beat him so unmercifully that they had killed him had not Judah on his crying out for help insisted on the promise they had made not to kill him but to cast him into the well. Whereupon they let him down a little way but as he held by the sides of the well they bound him, and took off his inner garment, desir- ing to stain it with blood to deceive their father. Joseph begged hard to have his garment returned him, but to no purpose, his brothers telling him with a sneer that the eleven stars, and the sun and the moon might clothe him and keep him company. When they had let him fall thence to the bottom and there being water in the well (though the scripture says the contrary) he was obliged to get upon a stone, on which he stood weeping, the angel Gabriel came to him with the revelation mentioned immediately¹

¹ Joseph being then but seventeen years old, Al Beidawi observes that herein he resembled John the Baptist and Jesus who were also favoured with the divine communication very early. The commentators pretend that Gabriel also clothed him in the well with a garment of silk of paradise. For they say that when Abraham was thrown into the fire by Nimrod,³ he was stripped, and that Gabriel brought

¹ Al Beidawi Al Zamakhshari

² Gen xxxvii 21 22

¹⁰ Ibid v 26 27

¹ Al Beidawi, Jallalo ddn, Al Zamakhshari

³ *Ibidem*.

³ See chap 21

their action unto them, and they shall not perceive *thee to be Joseph*. And they came to their father at even, weeping, *and* said, Father, we went and ran races with one another,^a and we left Joseph with our baggage, and the wolf hath devoured him, but thou wilt not believe us, although we speak the truth. And they produced his inner garment *stained* with false blood. Jacob answered, Nay, but *ye yourselves have contrived the thing for your own sakes* ¹ however patience is most becoming, and God's assistance is to be implored *to enable me to support the misfortune which ye relate*. And certain travellers² came, and sent *one*³ to draw water for them, and he let down his bucket,⁷ and said, Good news!⁴ this is a youth. And they concealed him,⁵ *that they might sell him* as a piece of merchandize but God knew that which they did. And they sold him for a mean price, for a few pence,⁶ and valued him lightly. And the Egyptian who bought him⁶ said to his wife,^d use him honourably, peradventure he may be serviceable to us, or we may adopt him for our son⁶. Thus did we prepare an establishment

this garment and put it on him, *as* that from Abraham it descended to Jacob, who folded it up, and put it into an amulet, which he hung about Joseph's neck, whence Gabriel drew it out⁴.

These races they used by way of exercise and the commentators generally understand here that kind of race wherein they also showed their dexterity in throwing darts which is still used in the East.

¹ This Jacob had reason to suspect, because when the garment was brought to him, he observed that *though* it was bloody yet it was not torn⁵.

² *Yaz*, a caravan or company travelling from Midian to Egypt, who rested near the well three days after Joseph had been thrown into it.

³ The commentators are so exact as to give us the name of this man who as they pretend was Malec Ebn Dhôr of the tribe of Khozaab⁶.

⁷ And Joseph, making use of the opportunity, took hold of the cord, and was drawn up by the man.

^a The original words are *Ya boshra* the latter of which some take for the proper name of the water drawer's companion whom he called to his assistance, and then they must be translated, O Boshra (Savary's translation agrees with Sale's).

^b The expositors are not agreed whether the pronoun *they* relates to Malec and his companions or to Joseph's brethren. They who espouse the former opinion say, that those who came to draw water concealed the manner of their coming by him from the rest of the caravan that they might keep him to themselves pretending that some people of the place had given him to them to sell for them in Egypt. And they who prefer the latter opinion tell us that Judah carried victuals to Joseph every day while he was in the well, but not finding him there on the fourth day, he acquainted his brothers with it whereupon they all went to the caravan and claimed Joseph as their slave he not daring to discover that he was their brother, lest something worse should befall him and at length they agreed to sell him to them⁷.

^b Namely twenty or twenty two *dirhems* and those not full weight neither, for having weighed one ounce of silver only the remainder was paid by tale, which is the most unfair way of payment⁶.

^c His name was Kitfir, or Iffir, (a corruption of Potiphar,) and he was a man of great consideration, being superintendent of the royal treasury⁹.

The commentators say, that Joseph came into his service at seventeen, and lived with him thirteen years, and that he was made prime minister in the thirty-third year of his age, and died at a hundred and twenty.

They who suppose Joseph was twice sold, differ as to the price the Egyptian paid for him some saying it was twenty *dirhems* of gold, a pair of shoes and two white garments and others, that it was a large quantity of silver, or of gold.

^d Some call her Rail but the name she is best known by, is that of Zoleikha.

^e Kitfir having no children It is said that Joseph gained his master's good opi-

^a Al Beidawi. Al Zamakhshari.
¹ Idem ² Idem.

³ Al Beidawi.

⁴ Idem.

⁵ Idem.

for Joseph in the earth, and we taught him the interpretation of *dark sayings* for God is well able to effect his purpose, but the greater part of men do not understand. And when he had attained his age of strength, we bestowed on him wisdom, and knowledge, for thus do we recompense the righteous. And she, in whose house he was, desired him to lie with her, and she shut the doors and said, Come hither. He answered, God forbid! verily my lord^a hath made my dwelling *with him* easy, and the ungrateful shall not prosper. But she resolved within herself to *enjoy* him, and he would have resolved to *enjoy* her, had he not seen the evident demonstration of his LORD^b. So we turned away evil and filthiness from him, because he was one of our sincere servants. And they ran to *get one before the other* to the door,^c and she rent his inner garment behind. And they met her lord at the door. She said, What *shall be* the reward of him who seeketh to *commit* evil in thy family, but imprisonment, and a painful punishment? And Joseph said, She asked me to lie with her. And a witness of her family^d bore witness, *saying*, If his garment be rent before, she speaketh truth, and he is a liar. but if his garment be rent behind, she lieth, and he is a speaker of truth. And when *her husband* saw that his garment was torn behind, he said, This is a cunning contrivance of your sex, for surely your cunning is great. O Joseph, take no farther notice of this *affair* and thou, O woman, ask pardon for thy crime, for thou art a guilty person. And certain women asked *publicly*^e in the city, The noble man's wife asked her servant to lie with her, he hath inflamed her breast with his love, and we perceive her to be in manifest error. And when she heard of their subtle behaviour, she sent unto them,^f and prepared a banquet for them, and she gave to each of them a knife, and she said *unto*

nion so suddenly by his countenance which Kitfir who, they pretend, had great skill in physiognomy, judged to indicate his prudence and other good qualities.

^a Viz, Kitfir. But others understand it to be spoken of God.

^b That is had he not seriously considered the filthiness of whoredom and the great guilt thereof. Some however suppose that the words mean some miraculous voice or apparition sent by God to divert Joseph from executing the criminal thoughts which began to possess him. For they say that he was so far tempted with his mistress's beauty and enticing behaviour that he sat in her lap, and even began to undress himself, when a voice called to him, and bid him beware of her but he taking no notice of this admonition though it was repeated three times, at length the angel Gabriel or as others will have it, the figure of his master, appeared to him but the more general opinion is that it was the apparition of his father Jacob, who bit his fingers ends, or as some write, struck him on the breast whereupon his lubricity passed out at the ends of his fingers¹.

For this fable so injurious to the character of Joseph the Mohammedans are obliged to their old friends the Jews² who imagine that he had a design to lie with his mistress from these words of Moses,³ *And it came to pass—that Joseph went into the house to do his business* &c.

^c He flying from her, and she running after to detain him.

^d Viz, a cousin of hers, who was then a child in the cradle⁴.

^e These women whose tongues were so free with Zoleikha's character on this occasion, were five in number and the wives of so many of the king's chief officers, viz his chamberlain his butler, his baker, his jailor, and his herdsman⁵.

^f The number of all the women invited was forty, and among them were the five ladies above mentioned⁶.

¹ Al Beidawi, Al Zamakhshari, Jallaloddin, Yahya Nashim p. 36. Vide Bartolocci. Bibl. Rabb. part 3, p. 509.

² Supra citatu interpretes.

³ Al Beidawi.

⁴ Idem.

⁵ Talm. Babyl. Sed.

⁶ Gen. xxxix. 11.

Joseph, Come forth unto them * And when they saw him, they praised him greatly, ^m and they cut their own hands,ⁿ and said, O God ! this is not a mortal, he is no other than an angel, deserving the highest respect. And *his mistress* said, This is he, for whose sake ye blamed me I asked him to lie with me, but he constantly refused. But if he do not perform that which I command him, he shall surely be cast into prison, and he shall be made *one* of the contemptible *Joseph* said, O LORD, a prison is more eligible unto me than *the crime* to which they invite me, but unless thou turn aside their snares from me, I shall youthfully incline unto them, and I shall become *one* of the foolish. Wherefore his LORD heard him, and turned aside their snare from him, for he *both* heareth *and* knoweth. And it seemed good unto them ^o *even* after they had seen the signs of *innocency*, to imprison him for a time And there entered into the prison with him two of the *king's* servants ^p One of them ^q said, it seemed to me *in my dream* that I pressed wine out of grapes And the other said, It seemed unto me *in my dream* that I carried bread on my head, whereof the birds did eat. Declare unto us the interpretation of *our dreams*, for we perceive that thou art a beneficent person. *Joseph* answered, No food, wherewith ye may be nourished, shall come unto you, but I will declare unto you the interpretation thereof, before it come unto you,^r This *knowledge* is a part of that which my LORD hath taught me, for I have left the religion of people who believe not in God, and who deny the life to come, and I follow the religion of my fathers, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob It is

* "The Egyptian women frequently visit and give entertainments to each other Men are excluded Only the slaves necessary to wait on the company are admitted The pleasures of the table are succeeded by music and dancing They are passionately fond of both The *Alme* that is to say *the learned women*, are the delight of these entertainments They sing verses in praise of guests, and conclude with love songs They afterwards exhibit voluptuous dances, the licentiousness of which is often carried to excess"—*Savary*

^m The old Itatin translators have strangely mistaken the sense of the original word *acbarnah*, which they render *menstruate sunt* and then rebuke Mohammed for the indecency, crying out demurely in the margin, *O fedum et obscenum prophetam* ! Erpenius ^r thinks that there is not the least trace of such a meaning in the word, but he is mistaken for the verb *cabara* in the fourth conjugation, which is here used, has that import though the subjoining of the pronoun to it here (which possibly the Latin translators did not observe) absolutely overthrows that interpretation

ⁿ Through extreme surprise at the wonderful beauty of Joseph, which surprise Zoleikha foreseeing, put knives into their hands, on purpose that this accident might happen Some writers observed, on occasion of this passage, that it is customary in the East for lovers to testify the violence of their passion by cutting themselves, as a sign that they would spend their blood in the service of the person beloved, which is true enough, but I do not find that any of the commentators suppose these Egyptian ladies had any such design

^o That is to Kitfir and his friends The occasion of Joseph's imprisonment is said to be, either that they suspected him to be guilty notwithstanding the proofs which had been given of his innocence, or else that Zoleikha desired it, feigning, to deceive her husband, that she wanted to have Joseph removed from her sight, till she could conquer her passion by time, though her real design was to force him to compliance.

^p Viz, his chief butler and baker, who were accused of a design to poison him.

^q Namely, the butler

^r The meaning of this passage seems to be, either that Joseph, to show he used no arts of divination or astrology, promises to interpret their dreams to them immediately, even before they should eat a single meal, or else, he here offers to prophesy to them beforehand the quantity of the victuals which should be brought them, as a taste of his skill.

In Not ad Hist. Josephi.

not lawful for us to associate anything with God. This knowledge of the divine unity hath been given us of the bounty of God towards us, and towards mankind, but the greater part of men are not thankful. O my fellow prisoners, are sundry lords better, or the only true and mighty God? Ye worship not, besides him, other than the names which I have named,* ye and your fathers, concerning which God hath sent down no authoritative proof yet judgment *belongeth* unto God alone, who hath commanded that ye worship none besides him. This is the right religion, but the greater part of men know it not. O my fellow prisoners, verily the one of you shall serve wine unto his lord, *as formerly*, but the other shall be crucified, and the birds shall eat from off his head. The matter is decreed, concerning which ye seek to be informed. And Joseph said unto him whom he judged to be the person who should escape of the two, Remember me in the presence of thy lord. But the devil caused him to forget to make mention of Joseph unto his lord,† wherefore he remained in the prison some years.‡ And the king of Egypt § said, Verily, I saw in my dream seven fat kine, which seven lean kine devoured, and seven green ears of corn, and other seven withered ears. O nobles, expound my vision unto me, if ye be able to interpret a vision. They answered, *They are confused dreams, neither are we skilled in the interpretation of such kind of dreams.* And Joseph's fellow-prisoner who had been delivered, said, (for he remembered Joseph after a certain space of time,) I will declare unto you the interpretation thereof, wherefore let me go unto the person who will interpret it unto me. And he went to the prison, and said, O Joseph, thou man of veracity, teach us the interpretation of seven fat kine, which seven lean kine devoured, and of seven green ears of corn, and other seven withered ears, which the king saw in his dream, that I may return unto the men who have sent me, that peradventure they may understand the same. Joseph answered, Ye shall sow seven years as usual and the corn which ye shall reap, do ye leave in its ear,¶ except a little whereof ye may eat. Then shall there come, after this, seven grievous years of famine, which shall consume what ye shall have laid up as a provision for the same, except a little which ye shall have kept. Then shall there come, after this

* See chap 7, p 123, note b

† According to the explication of some, who take the pronoun *him* to relate to Joseph, this passage may be rendered, *But the devil caused him (i. e. Joseph) to forget to make his application unto his Lord* and to beg the good offices of his fellow prisoner for his deliverance, instead of relying on God alone, as it became a prophet especially to have done.

‡ The original word signifying any number from three to nine or ten, the common opinion is that Joseph remained in prison seven years, though some say he was confined no less than twelve years.

§ This prince, as the oriental writers generally agree, was Riyân, the son of al Walid, the Amalekite,¹ who was converted by Joseph to the worship of the true God, and died in the lifetime of that prophet. But some pretend that the Pharaoh of Joseph and of Moses were one and the same person, and that he lived (or rather reigned) four hundred years.²

¶ To preserve it from the weevil.³

* Al Beidâwî. § Idem, Jallalo'ddin. ¹ See the Prelim. Disc p 6. § Al Beidâwî. See chap 7, p 127, note b. ² Idem, *ibid*.

a year wherein men shall have plenty of rain,** and wherein they shall press wine and oil. And when the chief butler had reported this, the king said, Bring him unto me. And when the messenger came unto Joseph, he said, Return unto thy LORD, and ask of him, what was the intent of the women who cut their hands; * for my LORD well knoweth the snare which they laid for me^b. And when the women were assembled before the king, he said unto them, What was your design,† when ye solicited Joseph to unlawful love? They answered, God be praised! we know not any ill of him. The nobleman's wife said, Now is the truth become manifest. I solicited him to lie with me, and he is one of those who speak truth. And when Joseph was acquainted therewith, he said, This discovery hath been made, that my lord might know that I was not unfaithful unto him in his absence, and that God directeth not the plot of the deceivers. [*XIII.] Neither do I absolutely justify myself^c since every soul is prone unto evil, except those on whom my LORD shall show mercy, for my LORD is gracious and merciful. And the king said, Bring him unto me. I will take him into my own peculiar service. And when Joseph was brought unto the king, and he had discoursed with him, he said, Thou art this day firmly established with us, and shalt be intrusted with our affairs^d. Joseph answered

Notwithstanding what some ancient authors write to the contrary^e it often rains in winter in the Lower Egypt and even snow has been observed to fall at Alexandria, contrary to the express assertion of Seneca^f. In the Upper Egypt indeed, towards the cataracts of Nile it rains very seldom^g. Some however suppose that the rains here mentioned are intended of those which should fall in Ethiopia and occasion the swelling of the Nile the great cause of the fertility of Egypt, or else of those which should fall in the neighbouring countries, which were also afflicted with famine during the same time.

* "Then a time shall come, when men shall grow corrupt and shall press the grape —Savary

^a Joseph it seems cared not to get out of prison, till his innocence was publicly known and declared. It is observed by the commentators that Joseph does not bid the messenger move the king to inform himself of the truth of the affair, but bids him directly to ask the king to incite him to make inquiry with the greater earnestness. They also observe that Joseph takes care not to mention his mistress, out of respect and gratitude for the favours he had received while in her house⁷.

^b Endeavouring, both by threats and persuasions, to entice me to commit folly with my mistress.

† The king inquired of them. What success had ye in your trials of Joseph? Prince, replied they his heart was proof against wickedness —Savary

^c According to a tradition of Ebn Abbas, Joseph had no sooner spoken the foregoing words, asserting his innocence, than Gabriel said to him, *What! not when thou wast deliberating to lie with her?* Upon which Joseph confessed his frailty⁸.

^d The commentators say that Joseph being taken out of prison, after he had washed and changed his clothes was introduced to the king whom he saluted in the Hebrew tongue, and on the king's asking what language that was he answered, that it was the language of his fathers. This prince, they say understood no less than seventy languages, in every one of which he discoursed with Joseph, who answered him in the same, at which the king greatly marvelling desired him to relate his dream, which he did, describing the most minute circumstances whereupon the king placed Joseph by him on his throne and made him his Wazir or chief minister. Some say that his master Kitfir dying about this time, he not only succeeded him in his place, but, by the king's command married the widow, his late mistress, whom he found to be a virgin, and who bore him Ephraim and Manasses⁹. So that according to this tradition, she was the same woman who is called Asenath

⁴ Plato, in Timæo Pomp Mela. Descr. of the Pyramids, p 74, &c
⁷ Al Beidawi, &c. ⁸ Idem, ibid.

⁵ Nat. Quæst. lib 4.
⁹ Idem, Kitab Tafasir, &c.

⁶ See Greaves's Rays Collection of Travels, tom. 2, p. 92

Set me over the storehouses of the land, for I *will be* a skilful keeper *thereof*. Thus did we establish Joseph in the land, that he might provide himself a dwelling therein, where he pleased. We bestow our mercy on whom we please, and we suffer not the reward of the righteous to perish and certainly the reward of the next life is better, for those who believe, and fear God. Moreover, Joseph's brethren came,⁹ and went in unto him, and he knew them, but they knew not him. And when he had furnished them with their provisions, he said, Bring unto me your brother, *the son of your father*, do ye not see that I give full measure, and that I am the most hospitable receiver of guests? But if ye bring him not unto me, there shall be no corn measured unto you from me, neither shall ye approach *my presence*. They answered, we will endeavour to obtain him of his father, and we will certainly perform *what thou requirest*. And Joseph said to his servants, Put their money,¹ *which they have paid for their corn* into their sacks that they may perceive it, when they shall be returned to their family peradventure they will come back *unto us*. And when they were returned unto their father, they said, O father, it is forbidden to measure out corn unto us *any more, unless we carry our brother Benjamin with us*.

by Moses. This supposed marriage, which authorized their amours, probably encouraged the Mohammedan divines to make use of the loves of Joseph and Zoleikha, as an allegorical emblem of the spiritual love between the Creator and the creature, God and the soul just as the Christians apply the Song of Solomon to the same mystical purpose.¹⁰

* Joseph, being made Wazir, governed with great wisdom for he not only caused justice to be impartially administered and encouraged the people to industry and the improvement of agriculture, during the seven years of plenty, but began and perfected several works of great benefit the natives at this day ascribing to the patriarch Joseph almost all the ancient works of public utility throughout the kingdom as particularly the rendering the province of al Feyyûm, from a standing pool or marsh, the most fertile and best cultivated land in all Egypt.¹ When the years of famine came, the effects of which were felt not only in Egypt, but in Syria and the neighbouring countries, the inhabitants were obliged to apply to Joseph for corn, which he sold to them, first for their money jewels, and ornaments, then for their cattle and lands and at length for their persons so that all the Egyptians in general became slaves to the king though Joseph by his consent, soon released them, and returned them their substance. The dearth being felt in the land of Canaan, Jacob sent all his sons except only Benjamin into Egypt for corn. On their arrival, Joseph (who well knew them) asked them who they were saying he suspected them to be spies but they told him they came only to buy provisions, and that they were all the sons of an ancient man, named Jacob who was also a prophet. Joseph then asked how many brothers there were of them they said, Twelve but that one of them had been lost in a desert. Upon which he inquired for the eleventh brother, there being no more than ten of them present. They said, he was a lad, and with their father, whose fondness for him would not suffer him to accompany them in their journey. At length Joseph asked them whom they had to vouch for their veracity but they told him they knew no man who could vouch for them in Egypt. Then, replied he, one of you shall stay behind with me as a pledge, and the others may return home with their provisions, and when ye come again, ye shall bring your younger brother with you that I may know ye have told me the truth. Whereupon, it being in vain to dispute the matter they cast lots who should stay behind, and the lot fell upon Simeon. When they departed Joseph gave each of them a camel, and another for their brother.²

¹ The original word signifying not only money, but also goods bartered or given in exchange for other merchandise, some commentators tell us, that they paid for their corn, not in money, but in shoes and dressed skins.³

¹⁰ Vide D Herbelot, Bibl Orient. art Jousouf p 175, &c. Kircher Œdip Egypt. vol. 1, p 8 and tom. iii. p. 53. ³ Al Beidawi. ¹ Idem

¹ Vide Golin not. in Alfragan. Lucas, Voy tom. II. p 205

wherefore send our brother with us, and we shall have *corn* measured unto us, and we will certainly guard him *from any mischance* Jacob answered, shall I trust him with you *with any better success* than I trusted your brother Joseph with you heretofore? But GOD is the best guardian, and he is the most merciful of those that show mercy And when they opened their provision, they found their money had been returned unto them, and they said, O father, what do we desire *farther*? this our money hath been returned unto us, we will therefore *return*, and provide corn for our family we will take care of our brother, and we shall receive a camel's burden more *than we did the last time* This is a small quantity⁵ Jacob said, I will by no means send him with you, until ye give me a solemn promise, and *swear* by GOD that ye will certainly bring him back unto me, unless ye be encompassed *by some inevitable impediment* And when they had given him their solemn promise, he said, GOD is witness of what we say And he said, My sons, enter not *into the city* by one and the same gate, but enter by different gates But *this precaution* will be of no advantage unto you against *the decree of GOD*, for judgment belongeth unto GOD alone in him do I put my trust, and in him let those confide who *seek in whom* to put their trust And when they entered *the city*, as their father had commanded them, it was of no advantage unto them against *the decree of GOD*, and the same served only to satisfy the desire of Jacob's soul, which he had charged *them to perform* for he was endued with knowledge of that which we had taught him, but the greater part of men do not understand And when they entered into the presence of Joseph, he received his brother Benjamin as his guest, and said, Verily I am thy brother^h be not therefore afflicted for that which they have committed *against us* And when he had furnished them with their provisions, he put *his cup*^l in his brother Benjamin's sack Then a crier cried *after them*, saying, O company of travellers, ye are surely thieves They said, (and turned back unto them,) What *is it* that ye miss? They answered, we miss the prince's cup and unto him who shall produce it, *shall be given* a

⁵ The meaning may be either that the corn they now brought was not sufficient for the support of their families, so that it was necessary for them to take another journey, or else that a camel's load more or less was but a trifle to the king of Egypt Some suppose these to be the words of Jacob, declaring it was too mean a consideration to induce him to part with his son

^h It is related that Joseph having invited his brethren to an entertainment, ordered them to be placed two and two together, by which means Benjamin, the eleventh was obliged to sit alone and bursting into tears, said, If my brother Joseph were alive he would have sat with me Whereupon Joseph ordered him to be seated at the same table with himself and when the entertainment was over, dismissed the rest, ordering that they should be lodged two and two in a house but kept Benjamin in his own apartment, where he passed the night The next day Joseph asked him, whether he would accept of himself for his brother in the room of him whom he had lost, to which Benjamin replied *Who can find a brother comparable unto thee? yet thou art not the son of Jacob and Rachel*. And upon this Joseph discovered himself to him⁴

^l Some imagine this to be a measure holding a Saâ (or about a gallon), wherein they used to measure corn, or give water to the beasts But others take it to be a drinking cup of silver or gold.

camel's load of corn, and I will be surety for the same *Joseph's brethren* replied, By God, ye do well know, that we come not to act corruptly in the land,^k neither are we thieves *The Egyptians* said, What shall be the reward of him, *who shall appear to have stolen the cup*, if ye be found liars? *Joseph's brethren* answered, As to the reward of him, in whose sack it shall be found, let him become a *bondman* in satisfaction of the same thus do we reward the unjust, *who are guilty of theft*^l Then he began by their sacks, before he searched the sack of his brother,^m and he drew out *the cup* from his brother's sack. Thus did we furnish Joseph with a stratagem It was not *lawful* for him to take his brother for a *bondman*, by the law of the king of *Egypt*,ⁿ had not GOD pleased to allow it, according to the offer of his brethren We exalt to degrees of knowledge and honour whom we please and there is one who is knowing above all those who are endued with knowledge *His brethren* said, if *Benjamin* be guilty of theft, his brother *Joseph* hath been also guilty of theft heretofore.^o But Joseph concealed these things in his mind, and did not discover them unto them and he said *within himself*, ye are in a worse condition than us two, and GOD best knoweth what ye discourse about They said unto *Joseph*, Noble lord, verily this *lad* hath an aged father, wherefore take one of us in his stead, for we perceive that thou art a beneficent person *Joseph* answered, GOD forbid that we should take any other than him with whom we found our goods, for then should we certainly be unjust And when they despaired of obtaining *Benjamin*, they retired to confer privately together And the elder of them^p said, Do ye not know that your father hath received a solemn promise from you, in the name of GOD, and how perfidiously ye behaved heretofore towards *Joseph*? Wherefore I will by no means depart the land of *Egypt*, until my father give me leave to return unto him, or GOD maketh known his will to me, for he is the best judge Return ye to your father, and say, O father, verily thy son hath committed theft, we bear witness of no more than what we know, and we could not

^k Both by our behaviour among you and our bringing again our money which was returned to us without our knowledge

^l This was the method of punishing theft used by Jacob and his family for among the Egyptians it was punished in another manner

^m Some suppose this search was made by the person whom Joseph sent after them, others by Joseph himself, when they were brought back to the city

ⁿ For there the thief was not reduced to servitude, but was scourged, and obliged to restore the double of what he had stolen^o

^o The occasion of this suspicion it is said was that Joseph having been brought up by his father's sister, she became so fond of him, that when he grew up, and Jacob designed to take him from her she contrived the following stratagem to keep him Having a girdle which had once belonged to Abraham, she girt it about the child, and then pretending she had lost it caused strict search to be made for it and it being at length found on Joseph, he was adjudged, according to the above-mentioned law of the family, to be delivered to her as her property Some, however, say that Joseph actually stole an idol of gold which belonged to his mother's father, and destroyed it, a story probably taken from Rachel's stealing the images of Laban and others tell us that he once stole a goat, or a hen to give to a poor man^p

^p Viz Reuben But some think Simeon or Judah to be here meant, and instead of the elder, interpret it, the most prudent of them.

guard against what we did not foresee and do thou inquire in the where we have been, and of the company of merchants, with whom we are arrived, and *thou wilt find* that we speak the truth. *And when they were returned, and had spoken thus to their father*, he said, Nay, but rather ye yourselves have contrived the thing for your own sakes but patience is most proper for me, peradventure God will restore them all^a unto me, for he is knowing and wise. And he turned from them and said, Oh how I am grieved for Joseph! And his eyes became white with mourning,^b he being oppressed with deep sorrow * *His sons* said, By God, thou wilt not cease to remember Joseph until thou be brought to death's door, or thou be actually destroyed by excessive affliction. He answered, I only represent my grief, which I am not able to contain, and my sorrow unto God, but I know by revelation from God that which ye know not^c. O my sons, go and make inquiry after Joseph and his brother, and despair not of the mercy of God, for none despaireth of God's mercy, except the unbelieving people. *Wherefore Joseph's brethren returned into Egypt* and when they came into his presence, they said, Noble lord, the famine is felt by us and our family, and we are come with a small sum of money^d yet give unto us full measure, and bestow corn upon us as alms, for God rewardeth the almsgivers. *Joseph said unto them*, Do ye know what ye did unto Joseph and his brother, when ye were ignorant of the consequences thereof?^e They answered, Art thou really Joseph?^f He replied, I am Joseph, and this is my brother. Now hath God been gracious unto us. For whoso feareth God, and persevereth with patience, shall at length find relief, since God will not suffer the reward of the righteous to perish. They said, By God, now hath God chosen thee above us, and we have surely been sinners. *Joseph answered*, Let there be no reproach cast on you this day. God

^a i. e. Joseph Benjamin and Simeon.

^b That is, the pupils lost their deep blackness, and became of a pearl colour, (as happens in suffusions,) by his continual weeping, which very much weakened his sight, or as some pretend, made him quite blind.⁷

* "Grief covered his countenance with paleness. His heart was full of bitterness. — *Savary*

^c *Viz* That Joseph is yet alive, of which some tell us he was assured by the angel of death in a dream, though others suppose he depended on the completion of Joseph's dream which must have been frustrated, had he died before his brethren had bowed down before him.⁸

^d Their money being clipped and adulterated. Some however, imagine they did not bring money, but goods to barter, such as wool and butter, or other commodities of small value.⁹

^e The injury they did Benjamin was the separating him from his brother, after which they kept him in so great subjection, that he durst not speak to them but with the utmost submission. Some say that these words were occasioned by a letter which Joseph's brethren delivered to him from their father requesting the release of Benjamin, and by the representing his extreme affliction at the loss of him and his brother. The commentators observe that Joseph, to excuse his brethren's behaviour towards him, attributes it to their ignorance and the heat of youth.¹⁰

^f They say that this question was not the effect of a bare suspicion that he was Joseph but that they actually knew him, either by his face and behaviour, or by his foreteeth, which he showed in smiling, or else by putting off his *tiara*, and discovering a whitish mole on his forehead.¹¹

forgiveth you, for he is the most merciful of those who show mercy Depart ye with this my inner garment,¹ and throw it on my father's face, and he shall recover his sight and then come unto me with all your family And when the company of travellers was departed from Egypt on their journey towards Canaan, their father said unto those who were about him, Verily I perceive the smell of Joseph,² although ye think that I dote They answered, By God, thou art in thy old mistake.³ But when the messenger of good tidings^b was come with Joseph's inner garment, he threw it over his face, and he recovered his eye-sight. And Jacob said, Did I not tell you that I knew from God, that which ye knew not? They answered, O father, ask pardon of our sins for us, for we have surely been sinners. He replied, I will surely ask pardon for you of my LORD,^c for he is gracious and merciful And when Jacob and his family arrived in Egypt, and were introduced unto Joseph, he received his parents unto him,^d and said, Enter ye into Egypt, by God's favour, in full security And he raised his parents to the seat of state, and they, together with his brethren, fell down, and did obeisance unto him^e And he said, O my father, this is the interpretation of my vision, which I saw heretofore now hath my LORD rendered it true. And he hath surely been gracious unto me, since he took me forth from the prison, and hath brought you hither from the desert, after that the devil had sown discord between me and my brethren for my LORD is gracious unto whom he pleaseth, and he is the knowing, the wise God. O LORD, thou hast given me a part of the kingdom, and hast taught me the interpretation of dark sayings. The Creator of heaven and earth! thou art my protector in this world, and in that which is to come make me to die a Moslem, and join me with the righteous^f This

¹ the commentators generally suppose to be the same garment with which Gabriel invested him in the well, which having originally come from paradise, had preserved the odour of that place, and was of so great virtue as to cure any distemper in the person who was touched with it²

² This was the odour of the garment above mentioned brought by the wind to Jacob, who smelt it, as is pretended at the distance of eighty parasangs,³ or, as others will have, three, or eight days journey off⁴

³ Being led into this imagination by thy excessive love of Joseph.

^b Viz, Judah, who, as he had formerly grieved his father, by bringing him Joseph's coat stained with blood now rejoiced him as much, by being the bearer of this vest, and the news of Joseph's prosperity⁵

^c Deferring it, as some fancy, till he should see Joseph and have his consent.

^d Viz, his father and Leah, his mother's sister, whom he looked on as his mother, after Rachel's death⁶

Al Beidawi tells us that Joseph sent carriages and provisions for his father and his family, and that he and the king of Egypt went forth to meet them. He adds, that the number of the children of Israel who entered Egypt with him, was seventy two, and that when they were led out thence by Moses, they were increased to six hundred thousand five hundred and seventy men and upwards, besides the old people and children

^e A transposition is supposed to be in these words and that he seated his father and mother after they had bowed down to him, and not before.⁷

^f The Mohammedan authors write, that Jacob dwelt in Egypt twenty-four years and at his death ordered his body to be buried in Palestine by his father, which Joseph took care to perform, and then returning into Egypt, died twenty-three years after They add that such high disputes arose among the Egyptians,

² Al Beidawi Jallalo ddin.

³ Idem

⁴ Jallalo ddin

⁵ Al Beidawi

⁶ Idem See Gen. xxxvii 10

⁷ Al Beidawi.

is a secret history which we reveal unto thee, *O Mohammed*, although thou wast not present with the *brethren of Joseph*, when they concerted their design, and contrived a plot against him. But the greater part of men, although they earnestly desire it, will not believe. Thou shalt not demand of them any reward for *thy publishing the Korân*, it is no other than an admonition unto all creatures. And how many signs soever *there be of the being, unity, and providence of God*, in the heavens and the earth, they will pass by them, and will retire afar off from them. And the greater part of them believe not in God, without being also guilty of idolatry.^s Do they not believe that some overwhelming affliction shall fall on them, as a punishment from God, or that the hour of judgment shall overtake them suddenly, when they consider not *its approach*? Say unto those of Mecca, This is my way. I invite you unto God by an evident demonstration, both I and he who followeth me, and, praise be unto God! I am not an idolater. We sent not any apostles before thee, except men, unto whom we revealed our will, and whom we chose out of those who dwelt in cities.^h Will they not go through the earth, and see what hath been the end of those who have preceded them? But the dwelling of the next life shall surely be better for those who fear God. Will they not therefore understand? Their predecessors were boine with for a time, until, when our apostles despaired of their conversion, and they thought that they were liars, our help came unto them, and we delivered whom we pleased, but our vengeance was not turned away from the wicked people. Verily in the histories of the prophets and their people there is an instructive example unto those who are endued with understanding. The Korân is not a new invented fiction, but a confirmation of those scriptures which have been revealed before it, and a distinct explication of every thing necessary, in respect either to faith or practice, and a direction and mercy unto people who believe

concerning his burial, that they had like to have come to blows, but at length they agreed to put his body into a marble coffin, and to sink it in the Nile, out of a superstitious imagination that it might help the regular increase of the river and deliver them from famine for the future. but when Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt, he took up the coffin and carried Joseph's bones with him into Canaan, where he buried them by his ancestors.^s

^s For this crime Mohammed charges not only on the idolatrous Meccans, but also on the Jews and Christians as has been already observed more than once.

^h And not of the inhabitants of the deserts, because the former are more knowing and compassionate and the latter more ignorant and hard hearted.⁹

* Al Baidawl. ⁹ Idem. See the Prelim. Disc. sect. i. p. 22.

CHAPTER XIII.

INTITLED, THUNDER,¹ REVEALED AT MECCA *

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

AL. M. R.¹ These are the signs of the book of the *Korân* and that which hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD is the truth, but the greater part of men will not believe. *It is* GOD who hath raised the heavens without visible pillars, and then ascended his throne, and compelled the sun and the moon to perform their services, every of the heavenly bodies runneth an appointed course. He ordereth all things. He showeth his signs distinctly, that ye may be assured ye must meet your LORD at the last day. *It is* he who hath stretched forth the earth, and placed therein steadfast mountains, and rivers, and hath ordained therein of every fruit two different kinds.^m * He causeth the night to cover the day. Herein are certain signs unto people who consider. And in the earth are tracts of land of different natures,ⁿ though bordering on each other, and also vineyards, and seeds, and palm trees springing several from the same root, and singly from distinct roots. They are watered with the same water, yet we render some of them more excellent than others to eat. Herein are surely signs unto people who understand. If thou dost wonder at the infidels denying the resurrection, surely wonderful is their saying,* After we shall have been reduced to dust, shall we be restored in a new creature? These are they who believe not in their LORD, these shall have collars on their necks,^o and these shall be the inhabitants of hell fire therein shall they abide for ever. They will ask of thee to hasten evil rather than good.^p

¹ This word occurs in the next page

* Or, according to some copies, at Medina.

¹ The meaning of these letters is unknown. Of several conjectural explications which are given of them, the following is one, *I am the most wise and knowing God*^m As sweet and sour, black and white small and large, &c.¹

* 'It is He who spread out the earth who raised the mountains who formed the rivers who gave you fruits of various kinds. He created them male and female.' —Savary

ⁿ Some tracts being fruitful and others barren, some plain and others mountainous, some proper for corn and others for trees &c.²

* 'If thou dost marvel at their unbelief what must be thy surprise, when thou hearest them say, Is it possible that the dust of our body can become a new creature? —Savary

^o The collar here mentioned is an engine something like a pillory but light enough for the criminal to walk about with. Besides the hole to fix it on the neck, there is another for one of the hands, which is thereby fastened to the neck.³ And in this manner the Mohammedans suppose the reprobates will appear at the day of judgment.⁴ Some understand this passage figuratively, of the infidels being bound in the chains of error and obstinacy.⁵^p Provoking and daring thee to call down the divine vengeance on them for their impenitency¹ Al Beidâwî, Jallalo ddin
p. 222² See chap 5, p 90³ Idem⁴ Al Beidâwî.⁵ Vide Chardin, Voy de Perse, t. 2,

although there have already been examples of the *divine vengeance* before them Thy LORD is surely endued with indulgence towards men, notwithstanding their iniquity, but thy LORD is also severe in punishing The infidels say, Unless a sign be sent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe* Thou art *commissioned to be a preacher only, and not a worker of miracles* and unto every people *hath a director been appointed* GOD knoweth what every female beareth *in her womb*, and what the wombs want or exceed of *their due time, or number of young* With him is every thing *regulated* according to a *determined* measure. *He* knoweth that which is hidden, and that which is revealed. *He is* the great, the most high He among you who concealeth *his* words, and he who proclaimeth them in public, he also who seeketh to hide himself in the night, and he who goeth forth openly in the day, is equal *in respect to the knowledge of God* Each of them hath *angels* mutually succeeding each other, before him, and behind him, they watch him by the command of GOD^a Verily GOD will not change *his* grace which is in men, until they change the *disposition* in their souls *by sin*. When GOD willet evil on a people there shall be none to avert it, neither shall they have any protector beside him *It is* he who causeth the lightning to appear unto you, and *to strike* fear, and *to raise* hope,^f and who formeth the pregnant clouds. The thunder celebrateth his praise,^g and the angels *also*, for fear of him He sendeth his thunderbolts, and striketh therewith whom he pleaseth, while they dispute concerning GOD,^h for he is mighty in power *It is* he *who* ought of right to be invoked, and the *idols* which they invoke besides him, shall not hear them at all, otherwise than as he *is heard*, who stretcheth forth his hands to the water that it may ascend to his mouth, when it cannot ascend *thither* the supplication of the unbelievers is utterly erroneous. Whatsoever is in heaven and on earth worshippeth GOD, voluntarily or of force,ⁱ and their shadows *also* mourn-

^a See the Prelim Disc sect iv p 51

^f Thunder and lightning being the sign of approaching rain a great blessing, in the eastern countries more especially

^g Or causeth those who hear it to praise him Some commentators tell us, that by the word *thunder*, in this place, is meant the angel who presides over the clouds and drives them forward with twisted sheets of fire^h

^h This passage was revealed on the following occasion Amer Ebn al Tofail, and Arbad Ebn Rabfah the brother of Labid, went to Mohammed with an intent to kill him and Amer began to dispute with him concerning the chief points of his doctrine, while Arbad taking a compass went behind him to despatch him with his sword: but the prophet, perceiving his design, implored God's protection, whereupon Arbad was immediately struck dead by thunder, and Amer was struck with a pestilential boil, of which he died in a short time, in a miserable conditionⁱ

Jallalo ddin, however tells another story, saying that Mohammed having sent one to invite a certain man to embrace his religion the person put this question to the missionary, *Who is this apostle, and what is God? is he of gold, or of silver, or of brass?* Upon which a thunderbolt struck off his skull and killed him

ⁱ The infidels and devils themselves being constrained to humble themselves before him, though against their will, when they are delivered up to punishment

^h Al Beidāwī, Jallalo ddin
adject. ad Gram. Erpenn, p 99

^f Al Beidāwī Vide Golii notas in Adagia Arab.

ing and evening ² Say, Who is the LORD of heaven and earth? Answer, God Say, Have ye, therefore, taken *unto yourselves* protectors beside him, who are unable either to help, or to *defend* themselves from hurt? Say, Shall the blind and the seeing be esteemed equal? or shall darkness and light be accounted the same? or have they attributed companions unto God who have created as he hath created, so that their creation bear any resemblance unto his? Say, GOD is the creator of all things, he is the one, the victorious *God* He causeth water to descend from heaven, and the brooks flow according to their *respective* measure, and the floods bear the floating froth and from *the metals* which they melt in the fire, seeking to cast ornaments or vessels *for use, there ariseth* a scum like unto it Thus God setteth forth truth and vanity But the scum is thrown off, and that which is useful to mankind remaineth on the earth Thus doth God put forth parables Unto those who obey their LORD *shall be given* the most excellent *reward* but those who obey him not, although they were possessed of whatever is in the whole earth and as much more, they would give it *all* for their ransom These will be brought to a terrible account their abode *shall be* hell, an unhappy couch *shall it be!* Shall he, therefore, who knoweth that what hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD, is truth, be *rewarded* as he who is blind? The prudent only will consider, who fulfil the covenant of God, and break not *their* contract, and who join that which God hath commanded to be joined,³ and *who* fear their LORD, and dread an ill account, and who persevere out of a *sincere* desire to please their LORD, and observe the stated times of prayer, and give alms out of what we have bestowed on them, in secret and openly, and who turn away evil with good the reward of these *shall be* paradise, gardens of eternal abode,⁴ which they shall enter, and *also* whoever shall have acted uprightly, of their fathers, and their wives and their posterity and the angels shall go in unto them by every gate, *saying*, Peace be upon you, because ye have endured with patience, how excellent a reward is paradise! But as for those who violate the covenant of God, after the establishment thereof, and *who* cut in sunder that which God hath commanded to be joined, and act corruptly in the earth, on them shall a curse *fall*, and they shall have a miserable dwelling *in hell* God giveth provision in abundance unto whom he pleaseth, and is sparing *unto whom he pleaseth* Those of Mecca rejoice in the present life, although the present life, in respect of the future, is but a *precarious* provision. The infidels say, Unless a sign be sent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe* Answer, Verily God will lead into error whom he pleaseth, and will direct

² This is an allusion to the increasing and diminishing of the shadows, according to the height of the sun so that when they are the longest, which is in the morning and the evening, they appear prostrate on the ground, in the posture of adoration

³ By believing in all the prophets without exception, and joining thereto the continual practice of their duty both towards God and man ⁴

⁴ Literally, *gardens of Eden* See chap 9, p 157

unto himself him who repenteth, *and* those who believe, and whose hearts rest securely in the meditation of God, shall not *men's* hearts rest securely in the meditation of God? They who believe and do that which is right *shall enjoy* blessedness, and *partake of* a happy resurrection. Thus have we sent thee to a nation which other nations have preceded, *unto whom prophets have likewise been sent*, that thou mayest rehearse unto them that which we have revealed unto thee, even while they believe not in the merciful God. Say unto them, He is my LORD, there is no God but he in him do I trust, and unto him must I return. Though a Korân *were revealed* by which mountains should be removed, or the earth cleaved in sunder, or the dead be caused to speak,^a *it would be in vain*. But the matter *belongeth* wholly unto God. Do not, therefore, the believers know, that if God pleased, he would certainly direct all men? Adversity shall not cease to afflict the unbelievers for that which they have committed, or to sit down near their habitations,^b until God's promise come,^c for God is not contrary to the promise. Apostles before thee have been laughed to scorn, and I permitted the infidels to enjoy a long and happy life but afterwards I punished them, and how *severe* was the punishment which I *inflicted on them*! Who is it, therefore, that standeth over every soul, *to observe* that which it committeth? They attribute companions unto God. Say, Name them will ye declare unto him that which he knoweth not in the earth?^d *or will ye name them* in outward speech only?^d But the deceitful procedure of the infidels was prepared for them, and they are turned aside from the *right* path for he whom God shall cause to err, shall have no director. They shall suffer a punishment in this life, but the punishment of the next shall be more grievous and there shall be none to protect them against God. *This is* the description of paradise, which is promised to the pious. It is watered by rivers, its food is perpetual, and its shade *also* this shall be the reward of those who fear God. But the reward of the infidels shall be *hell* fire. Those to whom we have

* These are miracles which the Korâish required of Mohammed demanding that he would by the power of his Korân either remove the mountains from about Mecca that they might have delicious gardens in their room or that he would oblige the wind to transport them with their merchandize to Syria (according to which tradition the words here translated *or the earth cleaved in sunder* should be rendered *or the earth be travelled over* in an instant) or else raise to life Kosai Ebn Kelâb^e and others of their ancestors to bear witness to him

^b It is supposed by some that these words are spoken to Mohammed and then they must be translated in the second person *Nor shalt thou cease to sit down, &c.* For they say this verse relates to the idolaters of Mecca who were afflicted with a series of misfortunes for their ill-usage of their prophet, and were also continually annoyed and harassed by his parties, which frequently plundered their caravans and drove off their cattle himself sitting down with his whole army near the city in the expedition of al Hodeibiya¹

^c ^e Till death and the day of judgment overtake them, or according to the exposition in the preceding note until the taking of Mecca²

^d Say to them, Name your divinities. Can you teach God any thing which he knoweth not? Or are the names which ye have created only an idle sound?—*Savary*

^d That is, calling them the companions of God, without being able to assign any reason or give any proof why they deserve to be sharers in the honour and worship due from mankind to him³

^a See chap 8, p 141, note *

¹ Al Beidâwi

² Idem

³ Idem.

given the scriptures, rejoice at what hath been revealed unto thee.* Yet *there are* some of the confederates who deny part thereof.² Say unto them, Verily I am commanded to worship God alone, and to give him no companion upon him do I call, and unto him shall I return. To this purpose have we sent down *the Korân a rule of judgment*, in the Arabic language. And verily, if thou follow their desires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, there shall be none to defend or protect thee against God. We have formerly sent apostles before thee, and bestowed on them wives and children,³ and no apostle had *the power* to come with a sign, unless by the permission of God. Every age hath its book of *revelation*. God shall abolish and shall confirm *what he pleaseth*. With him is the original of the book.⁴ Moreover, whether we cause thee to see any part of that *punishment* wherewith we have threatened them, or whether we cause thee to die *before it be inflicted on them*, verily unto thee *belongeth* preaching only, but unto us inquisition. Do they not see that we come into *their land*, and straiten the borders thereof, *by the conquest of the true believers*? When God judgeth, there is none to reverse his judgment and he *will be* swift in taking an account. Their predecessors formerly devised subtle plots *against their prophets*, but GOD is master of every subtle device. He knoweth that which every soul deserveth and the infidels shall surely know, whose will be the reward of paradise. The unbelievers¹ will say, Thou art not sent of God. Answer, God is a sufficient witness between me and you, and he who understandeth the scriptures.

CHAPTER XIV

INTITLED, ABRAHAM,¹ REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

AL. R.¹ *This* book have we sent down unto thee, that thou mayest lead men forth from darkness into light, by the permission of their LORD, into

* *Viz*, the first proselytes to Mohammedism from Judaism and Christianity, or the Jews and Christians in general, who were pleased to find the Korân so consonant to their own scriptures.⁴

² That is, such of them as had entered into a confederacy to oppose Mohammed, as did Caab Ebn al Ashraf and the Jews who followed him and al Seyid al Najrânî al Akîb, and several other Christians who denied such parts of the Korân as contradicted their corrupt doctrines and traditions.⁵

³ As we have on thee. This passage was revealed in answer to the reproaches which were cast on Mohammed on account of the great number of his wives. For the Jews said 'That if he was a true prophet his care and attention would be employed about something else than women and the getting of children.'⁶ It may be observed that it is a maxim of the Jews, that nothing is more repugnant to prophecy than carnality.⁷

⁴ Literally, *the mother of the book*, by which is meant the *preserved table* from which all the written revelations which have been from time to time published to mankind, according to the several dispensations, are transcripts.

¹ The persons intended in this passage, it is said, were the Jewish doctors.⁸

² Mention is made of this patriarch towards the end of the chapter. (After the patriarch's name, Savary's translation adds, "Peace be with him.")

³ See the Prelim. Disc. sect. iii. p. 42, &c.

⁴ See chap. 3 p. 58. ⁵ Idem. ⁶ Jallalo ddin, Yahya. ⁷ Vide Maimon. ⁸ Al Heidâwî.

the glorious and laudable way God *is he* unto whom *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth and woe be to the infidels, because a grievous punishment *wanteth them*, who love the present life above that which is to come, and turn *men* aside from the way of God, and seek to render it crooked these are in an error far distant *from the truth*. We have sent no apostle but with the language of his people, that he might declare *their duty* plainly unto them,^m for God causeth to err whom he pleaseth, and directeth whom he pleaseth, and he is the mighty, the wise We formerly sent Moses with our signs, *and commanded him saying*, Lead forth thy people from darkness into light, and remind them of the favours of Godⁿ verily therein *are* signs unto every patient and grateful person And *call to mind* when Moses said unto his people, Remember the favour of God towards you, when he delivered you from the people of Pharaoh they grievously oppressed you, and they slew your male children, but let your females live^o therein was a great trial from your LORD* And when your LORD declared *by the mouth of Moses, saying*, If ye be thankful, I will surely increase *my favours towards* you, but if ye be ungrateful, verily my punishment *shall be* severe And Moses said, If ye be ungrateful, and all who are in the earth *likewise*, verily God needeth not *your thanks*, *though* he deserveth the highest praise Hath not the history of the *nations* your predecessors reached you, *namely*, of the people of Noah, and of Ad, and of Thamud,^p and of those who succeeded them, whose *number* none knoweth except God? Their apostles came unto them with evident *miracles*, but they clapped their hands to their mouths *out of indignation* and said, We do not believe *the message* with which ye *pretend* to be sent, and we are in a doubt concerning the *religion* to which ye invite us, *as justly to be* suspected. Their apostles answered, Is there any doubt concerning God, the creator of heaven and earth? He inviteth you *to the true faith* that he may forgive you *part* of your sins,^q and may respite *your punishment*, *by granting you space to repent*, until an appointed time They answered, Ye are but men, like unto us ye seek to turn us aside from *the gods* which our fathers worshipped wherefore bring us an evident demonstration *by some miracle, that ye speak truth*. Their apostles replied unto them, We are no other than men like unto you, but God is bountiful unto such of his servants as he pleaseth and it is not in our *power* to give

^m That so they might not only perfectly and readily understand those revelations themselves, but might also be able to translate and interpret them unto others^o

ⁿ Literally *the days* of God which may also be translated *the battles* of God (the Arabs using the word *day* to signify a remarkable engagement as the Italians do *giornata*, and the French *journee*) or his wonderful acts manifested in the various success of former nations in their wars¹

^o See chap 7, p 129 &c

^p "Your deliverance is a magnificent proof of the divine goodness — *Savary*

^q See chap 7, p 122 &c

^r That is such of them as were committed directly against God, which are immediately cancelled by faith, or embracing Islām, but not the crimes of injustice and oppression, which were committed against man² for to obtain remission of these last, besides faith, repentance and restitution, according to a man's ability, are also necessary

you a miraculous demonstration of our mission, unless by the permission of God, in God therefore let the faithful trust. And what *excuse* have we to *allege*, that we should not put our trust in God, since he hath directed us our paths? Wherefore we will certainly suffer with patience the *persecution* wherewith ye shall afflict us in God therefore let those put their confidence who *seek in whom* to put their trust. And those who believed not said unto their apostles, we will surely expel you out of our land, or ye shall return unto our religion. And their LORD spake unto them by revelation, *saying*, We will surely destroy the wicked doers, and we will cause you to dwell in the earth, after them. This shall be granted unto him who shall dread the appearance at my tribunal, and shall fear my threatening. And they asked assistance of God,^r and every rebellious perverse person failed of success. Hell lieth unseen before him, and he shall have filthy water^q given him to drink he shall sup it up by little and little, and he shall not easily let it pass his throat because of its nauseousness, death also shall come upon him from every quarter, yet he shall not die, and before him shall they stand prepared a grievous torment. This is the likeness of those who believe not in their LORD. Their works are as ashes, which the wind violently scattereth in a stormy day. They shall not be able to obtain any solid advantage from that which they have wrought. This is an error most distant from truth. Dost thou not see that God hath created the heavens and the earth in wisdom? If he please he can destroy you, and produce a new creature in your stead. neither will this be difficult with God. And they shall all come forth into the presence of God at the last day and the weak among them shall say unto those who behaved themselves arrogantly,^{t*} Verily we were your followers on earth, will ye not therefore avert from us some part of the divine vengeance? They shall answer, If God had directed us aright, we had certainly directed you.^u It is equal unto us whether we bear our torments impatiently, or whether we endure them with patience for we have no way to escape. And Satan shall say, after judgment shall have been given, Verily God promised you a promise of truth and I also made you a promise, but I deceived you. Yet I had not any power over you to compel you, but I called you only, and ye answered me wherefore accuse not me, but accuse

^r The commentators are uncertain whether these were the prophets, who begged assistance against their enemies or the infidels who called for God's decision between themselves and them, or both. And some suppose this verse has no connexion with the preceding but is spoken of the people of Mecca, who begged rain in a great drought with which they were afflicted at the prayer of their prophet, but could not obtain it.^s

^q Which will issue from the bodies of the damned, mixed with purulent matter and blood.

^{t, u} The more simple and inferior people shall say to their teachers and princes who seduced them to idolatry and confirmed them in their obstinate infidelity.

^{*} 'All men shall appear before God. The idolaters will say to their leaders, We followed you, cannot you mitigate our punishment.'—Savary

^u That is, We made the same choice for you as we did for ourselves, and had not God permitted us to fall into error, we had not seduced you.

yourselves. [†] I cannot assist you, neither can ye assist me. Verily I do now renounce your having associated me *with God* heretofore ^{*} A grievous punishment is *prepared* for the unjust. But they who shall have believed and wrought righteousness shall be introduced into gardens, wherein rivers flow, they shall remain therein *for ever*, by the permission of their LORD, and their salutation therein *shall be, Peace* ¹⁷ Dost thou not see how God putteth forth a parable, *representing* a good word, as a good tree, whose root is firmly fixed *in the earth*, and whose branches *reach* unto heaven, which bringeth forth its fruit in all seasons, by the will of its LORD? God propoundeth parables unto men, that they may be instructed. And the likeness of an evil word is as an evil tree, which is torn up from the face of the earth, ^{*} and hath no stability ^{*} God shall confirm them who believe, by the steadfast word *of faith*, both in this life and in that which is to come ^{*} but God shall lead the wicked into error, for God doth that which he pleaseth. Hast thou not considered those who have changed the grace of God to infidelity, ^b and cause their people to descend into the house of perdition, *namely, into hell*? They shall be thrown to burn therein, and an unhappy dwelling *shall it be*. They also set up idols as co partners with God, that they might cause *men* to stray from his path. Say *unto them*, Enjoy the pleasures of this life for a time, but your departure *hence* shall be into *hell* fire. Speak unto my servants who have believed, that they be assiduous at prayer, and give alms out of that which we have bestowed on them, both privately and in public, before the day cometh, wherein there shall be no buying nor selling, neither any friendship. It is God who hath created the heavens and the earth, and causeth water to descend from heaven, and by means thereof produceth fruits for your sustenance. and by

[†] Lay not the blame on my temptations but blame your own folly in obeying and trusting to me who had openly professed myself your irreconcilable enemy

^{*} Or I do now declare myself clear of your having obeyed me preferably to God, and worshipped idols at my instigation. Or the words may be translated *I believed not heretofore in that Being with whom ye did associate* ¹⁶ intimating his first disobedience in refusing to worship Adam at God's command ⁴

[†] See chap 10 p 166

^{*} 'He compareth the doctrine of the unbelievers to a worthless tree the roots of which run on the surface of the ground and which hath no stability. — *Savary*

^{*} What is particularly intended in this passage by the *good word*, and the *evil word*, the expositors differ. But the first seems to mean the profession of God's unity the inviting others to the true religion or the Koran itself and the latter the acknowledging a plurality of gods the seducing of others to idolatry or the obstinate opposition of God's prophets ^b

^{*} Jallalo ddin supposes the sepulchre to be here understood, in which place, when the true believers come to be examined by the two angels concerning their faith they will answer properly and without hesitation, which the infidels will not be able to do ⁶

^b That is, who requite his favours with disobedience and incredulity. Or, whose ingratitude obliged God to deprive them of the blessings he had bestowed on them, as he did the Meccans, who though God had placed them in the sacred territory, and given them the custody of the Caaba, and abundant provision of all necessities and conveniences of life and had also honoured them by the mission of Mohammed yet in return for all this, became obstinate unbelievers and persecuted his apostles for which they were not only punished by a famine of seven years, but also by the loss and disgrace they sustained at Bedr so that they who had before been celebrated for their prosperity were now stripped of that and become conspicuous only for their infidelity ⁷ If this be the drift of the passage, it could not have been

⁴ Al Beidawi

⁶ Idem, Jallalo ddin.

⁶ See the Prelim Disc sect iv p 55

⁷ Al Beidawi

his command he obligeth^a the ships to sail in the sea for your service, and he also forceth the rivers to supply your uses he likewise compelleth the sun and the moon, which diligently perform their courses, to serve you, and hath subjected the day and the night to your service. He giveth you of every thing which ye ask him, and if ye attempt to reckon up the favours of God, ye shall not be able to compute the same Surely man is unjust and ungrateful. Remember when Abraham said, O LORD, make this land^d a place of security, and grant that I and my children^e may avoid the worship of idols, for they, O LORD, have seduced a great number of men. Whoever therefore shall follow me, he shall be of me and whosoever shall disobey me, verily thou wilt be gracious and merciful.^f O LORD, I have caused some of my offspring^g to settle in an unfruitful valley, near thy holy house, O LORD, that they may be constant at prayer Grant, therefore, that the hearts of some men^h may be affected with kindness toward them, and do thou bestow on them all sorts of fruits,ⁱ that they may give thanks. O LORD, thou knowest whatsoever we conceal, and whatsoever we publish, for nothing is hidden from God, either on earth or in heaven. Praise be unto God, who hath given me, in my old age, Israel and Isaac for my LORD is the hearer of supplication. O LORD, grant that I may be an observer of prayer, and a part of my posterity also,^k O LORD, and receive my supplication. O LORD, forgive me, and my parents,^l and the faithful, on the day whereon an account shall be taken Think not, O prophet, that God is regardless of what the ungodly do He only deferreth their punishment unto the day whereon men's eyes shall be fixed

revealed at Mecca, as the rest of the chapter is agreed to be, wherefore some suppose this verse and the next to have been revealed at Medina

^a The word used here, and in the following passages, is *sukkhara*, which signifies *forcibly to press into any service*^a

^d Viz, the territory of Mecca See the Prelim Disc sect iv

^e This prayer it seems, was not heard as to all his posterity particularly as to the descendants of Ismael, though some pretend that these latter did not worship images, but only paid a superstitious veneration to certain stones, which they set up and compassed, as representations of the Caaba¹

^f That is, by disposing him to repentance But Jallaloddin supposes these words were spoken by Abraham before he knew that God would not pardon idolatry

^g Ismael and his posterity The Mohammedans say that Hagar, his mother, belonged to Sarah, who gave her to Abraham and that on her bearing him this son Sarah became so jealous of her that she prevailed on her husband to turn them both out of doors, whereupon he sent them to the territory of Mecca, where God caused the fountain of Zemzem to spring forth for their relief, in consideration of which the Jorhamites, who were the masters of the country, permitted them to settle among them²

^h Had he said the hearts of men absolutely, the Persians and the Romans would also have treated them as friends, and both the Jews and Christians would have made their pilgrimages to Mecca.³

ⁱ This part of the prayer was granted, Mecca being so plentifully supplied, that the fruits of spring, summer, and autumn, are to be found there at one and the same time⁴

^k For he knew by revelation that some of them would be infidels.

^l Abraham put up this petition to God, before he knew that his parents were the enemies of God.⁵ Some suppose his mother was a true believer, and therefore read it in the singular, and my father Others fancy, that by his parents the patriarch here means Adam and Eve⁶

^a See chap 2, p 19, note ¹ Al Beidawi. See the Prelim Disc, sect. 1 p 14, 15.

² Idem ³ Idem, Jallaloddin.

⁴ Idem

⁵ See chap 9, p 163

⁶ Jallaloddin Al Beidawi, &c

they shall hasten forward, *at the voice of the angel calling to judgment*, and shall lift up their heads, they shall not be able to turn their sight *from the object whereon it shall be fixed*, and their hearts shall be void of sense, *through excessive terror*. Wherefore do thou threaten men with the day *whereon their punishment shall be inflicted on them*, and *whereon* those who have acted unjustly shall say, O LORD, give us respite unto a term near at hand, and we will obey thy call, and we will follow *thy* apostles. *But it shall be answered unto them*, Did ye not swear heretofore, that no reverse should befall you ?^m yet ye dwelt in the dwellings of those who had treated their own souls unjustly, ⁿ and it appeared plainly unto you how we had dealt with them ^o and we propounded *their destruction as examples* unto you. They employ their utmost subtlety to oppose the truth, but their subtlety *is apparent* unto God, *who is able to frustrate their designs*, although their subtlety were so great, that the mountains might be moved thereby. Think not, therefore, O prophet, that God will be contrary to his promise of assistance, made unto his apostles, for God *is* mighty, able to avenge. The day will come, when the earth shall be changed into another earth, and the heavens into other heavens, ^p and men shall come forth *from their graves to appear* before the only, the mighty God. And thou shalt see the wicked on that day bound together in fetters, their inner garments shall be of pitch, and fire shall cover their faces, *that God may reward every soul according to what it shall have deserved*, for God is swift in taking an account. This is a sufficient admonition unto men, that they may be warned thereby, and that they may know that there is but one God, and that those are endued with understanding may consider

CHAPTER XV

INTITLED, AL HEJR,^a REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

AL R.^r These are the signs of the book, and of the perspicuous Korân.
[*XIV] The time may come when the unbelievers shall wish that

^m That is, that ye should not taste of death but continue in this world for ever, or that ye should not after death be raised to judgment ?

ⁿ Viz, of the Adites and the Thamudites

^o Not only by the histories of those people revealed in the Koran but also by the monuments remaining of them (as those of Thamudites), and the traditions preserved among you of the terrible judgments which befel them

^p This the Mohammedans suppose will come to pass at the last day, the earth becoming white and even, or, as some will have it, of silver, and the heavens of gold ^q

^q Al Hejr is a territory in the province of Hejaz between Medina and Syria where the tribe of Thamûd dwelt, ^r and is mentioned towards the end of the chapter

^r See the Prelim. Disc. sect. iii. p 42, &c.

¹ Jallalo'ddin Al Beidawi, Al Zamakhshari, Yahya
Disc. sect. iv p 61

² See the Prelim. Disc. p 4

³ Ibidem Vide Prelim.

they had been Moslems.^r Suffer them to eat, and to enjoy themselves *in this world*, and let hope entertain them, but they shall hereafter know *their folly*. We have not destroyed any city, but a fixed term of *repentance* was appointed them. No nation shall be *punished* before their time shall be come, neither shall they be respite^d *after*. The Meccans say, O thou to whom the admonition^s hath been sent down, thou art certainly possessed with a devil: wouldest thou not have come unto us with *an attendance of angels*, if thou hadst spoken truth? *Answer*, we send not down the angels, unless on a just occasion,^t nor should they be then respite^d any longer. We have surely sent down the Koran, and we will certainly preserve the same *from corruption*.^u We have heretofore sent *apostles* before thee among the ancient sects: and there came no apostle unto them, but they laughed him to scorn. In the same manner will we put it into the hearts of the wicked Meccans to *scoff at their prophet*: they shall not believe on him, and the sentence of the nations of old hath been executed heretofore. If we should open a gate in the heaven above them, and they should ascend thereto^v all the day long,^w they should rather say, Our eyes are only dazzled, or rather we are a people deluded by enchantments. We have placed *the twelve signs* in the heaven, and have set them out *in various figures*, for the observation of spectators: and we guard them from every devil^x driven away with stones,^y except him who listeneth by stealth, at whom a visible flame is darted.^z We have also spread forth the earth, and thrown thereon stable mountains, and we have caused every kind of *vegetable* to spring forth in the same, according to a determinate weight[†] and we have provided therein necessities of life for you, and for him whom ye do not sustain.^ª

^r *Viz*, when they shall see the success and the prosperity of the true believers, or when they shall come to die: or at the resurrection

^s *e* The revelations which compose the Koran

^t When the divine wisdom shall judge it proper to use their ministry, as in bearing his revelations to the prophets: and the executing his sentence on wicked people, but not to humour you with their appearance in visible shapes which, should your demand be complied with, would only increase your confusion, and bring God's vengeance on you the sooner

^u See the Prelim. Disc. sect. iv. p. 53

^v *e* The incredulous Meccans themselves, or, as others rather think the angels in visible forms

^w "Were we to open the gate of heaven and they were about to enter therein, they would exclaim, Our eyes are clouded by intoxication, or we labour under an illusion — *Savary*

^x For the Mohammedans imagine that the devils endeavour to ascend to the constellations to pry into the actions and overhear the discourse of the inhabitants of heaven, and to tempt them. They also pretend that these evil spirits had the liberty of entering any of the heavens till the birth of Jesus, when they were excluded three of them, but that on the birth of Mohammed they were forbidden the other four

^y See chap. 3 p. 39 note *

[†] "We defend them against the attacks of the devils, who are pierced with shafts." — *Savary*

^ª For when a star seems to fall or shoot, the Mohammedans suppose the angels, who keep guard in the constellations, dart them at the devils who approach too near

¹ We have caused all the plants to spring therefrom in an admirable order — *Savary*

^ª *Viz* Your family, servants, and slaves, whom ye wrongly imagine that ye feed

There is no one thing but the storehouses thereof are in our hands, and we distribute not the same *otherwise* than in a determinate measure. We also send the winds driving the pregnant clouds, and we send down from heaven water, whereof we give you to drink, and which ye keep not in store. Verily, we give life, and we put to death, and we are the heirs of *all things*^a. We know those among you who go before, and we know those who stay behind^b. And thy LORD shall gather them together *at the last day* for he is knowing and wise. We created man of dried clay, of black mud, formed into shape^c and we had before created the devil of subtle fire. And *remember* when thy LORD said unto the angels, Verily I am about to create man of dried clay, of black mud, wrought into shape, when, therefore, I shall have completely formed him, and shall have breathed of my spirit into him, do ye fall down and worship him. And all the angels worshipped *Adam* together, except Eblis, who refused to be with those who worshipped *him*. And God said unto him, O Eblis, what hindered thee from being with those who worshipped *Adam*? He answered, It is not fit that I should worship man, whom thou hast created of dried clay, of black mud, wrought into shape. God said, Get thee therefore hence for thou shalt be driven away with stones and a curse shall be on thee, until the day of judgment. The devil said, O LORD, give me respite until the day of resurrection. God answered Verily, thou shalt be one of those who are respited until the day of the appointed time^d. The devil replied, O LORD, because thou hast seduced me,† I will surely tempt them to *disobedience* in the earth, and I will seduce *such* of them as shall be thy chosen servants. God said, This is the right way with me^e. Verily, as to my servants, thou shalt have no power over them, but over those only who shall be seduced, and who shall follow thee. And hell is surely denounced unto them all: it hath seven gates, unto every gate a distinct company of them shall be assigned^f. But those who fear God shall dwell in gardens, amidst fountains. The angels shall say unto them, Enter ye therein in peace

yourselves though it is God who provides for them as well as you^g or, as some rather think the animals, of whom men take no care^h.

^a : e Alone surviving, when all creatures shall be dead and annihilated

^b What these words particularly drive at is uncertain. Some think them spoken of the different times of men's several entrance into this world, and their departure out of it, others of the respective forwardness and backwardness of Mohammed's men in battle, and a third says, the passage was occasioned by the different behaviour of Mohammed's followers, on seeing a very beautiful woman at prayers behind the prophet, some of them going out of the Mosque before her, to avoid looking on her more nearly and others staying behind, on purpose to view herⁱ.

^c : We know those who have gone before you as we do those who will come after you —Savary

^d See chap 2 p 4, &c

^e See *ibid* and chap 7 p 117

† 'Because thou hast cast me down, added the rebel spirit, I will render evil pleasing unto man, and will seduce them all. Thy sincere servants alone shall be spared. God said, I am the way of salvation' —Savary

^f Viz, the saving of the elect, and the utter reprobation of the wicked, according to my eternal decree.

^g See the Prelim Disc. sect 17 p 65.

and security, and we will remove all grudges from their breasts,^f *they shall be as brethren, sitting over against one another^h on couches, weariness shall not affect them therein, neither shall they be cast out thence for ever* Declare unto my servants that I am the gracious, the merciful God, and that my punishment is a grievous punishment And relate unto them *the history of Abraham's guestsⁱ* When they went in unto him, and said, Peace *be unto thee*, he answered, Verily we are afraid of you ^k *and* they replied, Fear not, we bring thee the promise of a wise son. He said, Do ye bring me the promise of a son now old age hath overtaken me? what is it therefore that ye tell me? They said, We have told thee the truth, be not therefore one of those who despair He answered, And who despaireth of the mercy of God, except those who err^l And he said, What is your errand, therefore, O messengers of God? They answered, Verily, we are sent to *destroy* a wicked people, but *as for* the family of Lot, we will save them all, except his wife, we have decreed that she shall be *one* of those who remain behind *to be destroyed with the infidels* And when the messengers came to the family of Lot, he said *unto them*, Verily, ye are a people *who are unknown to me* They answered, But we are come unto thee to *execute that sentence*, concerning which *your fellow citizens* doubted we tell thee *a certain truth*, and we are *messengers of veracity* Therefore lead forth thy family, in some time of the night, and do thou follow behind them, and let none of you turn back, but go whither ye are commanded¹ And we gave him this command, because the utmost remnant of those people was to be cut off in the morning And the inhabitants of the city came *unto Lot*, rejoicing at the news of *the arrival of some strangers* And he said *unto them*, Verily, these are my guests wherefore do not disgrace me *by abusing them*, but fear God, and put me not to shame They answered, Have we not forbidden thee from *entertaining or protecting* any man? Lot replied, These *are* my daughters *therefore rather make use of them*, if ye be resolved to do *what ye purpose* As thou livest they wander in their folly^m Wherefore a terrible storm from heaven assailed them at sunrise,ⁿ and we turned *the city upside down* and we rained on

^f That is, all hatred and ill will which they bore each other in their lifetime ^g or, as some choose to expound it, all envy or heart burning on account of the different degrees of honour and happiness to which the blessed will be promoted, according to their respective merits

^h Never turning their backs to one another,^o which might be construed a sign of contempt.

ⁱ See chap 11 p 182 &c

^k What occasioned Abraham's apprehension was either their sudden entering without leave, or their coming at an unseasonable time, or else their not eating with him.

^l Which was into Syria, or into Egypt⁷

^m Some will have these words spoken by the angels to Lot, others, by God to Mohammed

ⁿ "At the rising of the sun, the cry of the angel precipitated upon them our scourges. We buried Sodom under its ruins, and caused a shower of stones to fall upon its inhabitants These are signs to those who can discern Sodom was situated on the high road. This example serves as a warning to the believers."—Suwayy

them stones of baked clay Verily herein are signs unto men of sagacity and those cities were punished, to point out a right way for men to walk in. Verily herein is a sign unto the true believers. The inhabitants of the wood * near Midian^u were also ungodly Wherefore we took vengeance on them.^o And both of them were destroyed to serve as a manifest rule for men to direct their actions by And the inhabitants of Al Hejr,^p likewise heretofore accused the messengers of God of imposture, and we produced our signs unto them, but they retired afar off from the same And they hewed houses out of the mountains, to secure themselves. But a terrible noise from heaven assailed them in the morning,[†] neither was what they had wrought of any advantage unto them We have not created the heavens and the earth, and whatever is contained between them, otherwise than in justice and the hour of judgment shall surely come Wherefore, O Mohammed, forgive thy people with a gracious forgiveness[‡] Verily thy LORD is the creator of thee and of them, and knoweth what is most expedient We have already brought unto thee seven verses which are frequently to be repeated, and the glorious Koran Cast not thine eyes on the good things which we have bestowed on several of the unbelievers, so as to covet the same * neither be thou grieved on their account Behave thyself with meekness towards the true believers, and say I am a public preacher * If they believe not, we will inflict a like punishment on them, as we have inflicted on the dividers,[§] who distinguished the Korân into different parts, for by thy LORD, we will demand an account from them all of that which

* 'The inhabitants of Aleica* were corrupted We inflicted on them our chastisements These two cities were in the public road —Savary

^u To whom Shoaib was also sent as well as to the inhabitants of Midian Abul feda says these people dwelt near Tabûc and that they were not of the same tribe with Shoaib See also Geogr Nub 110

^o Destroying them for their incredulity and disobedience, by a hot suffocating wind^s

^p Who were the tribe of Thamûd^o

[†] 'The cry of the angel annihilated them at the dawn of day'—Savary

[‡] This verse, it is said was abrogated by that of the sword

[§] 'Certainly the hour will come O Mohammed make a glorious retreat. —Savary

¹ That is the first chapter of the Korân, which consists of so many verses though some suppose the seven long chapters¹ are here intended

² That is Do not envy or covet their worldly prosperity, since thou hast received in the Koran a blessing in comparison whereof all that we have bestowed on them ought to be contemned as of no value Al Beidawî mentions a tradition that Mohammed meeting at Adhrîat (a town of Syria) seven caravans very richly laden, belonging to some Jews of the tribes of Koreidha and al Nadir, his men had a great mind to plunder them, saying 'That those riches would be of great service for the propagation of God's true religion But the prophet represented to them by this passage that they had no reason to repine God having given them the seven verses, which were infinitely more valuable than those seven caravans²

* 'Cast not thy looks on the good which we have bestowed upon the unbelievers Grieve not for their fate. Spread thy wings over the faithful Say unto them, I am truly your apostle —Savary

³ Some interpret the original word the obstructers, who hindered men from entering into Mecca to visit the temple lest they should be persuaded to embrace Islam, and this, it is said, was done by ten men, who were all slain at Redr Other

* The city of Aleica was situated in the desert near Midian, on the border of the Red Sea

¹ Al Beidawî Jallalo ddin

² See chap 7, p 124, &c and Prelim Disc. p 6

³ See chap 9, p 148, note *

⁴ Al Beidawî.

they have wrought Wherefore publish that which thou hast been commanded, and withdraw from the idolaters. We will surely take thy part against the scoffers,* who associate with God another god, they shall surely know *their folly* And now we well know that thou art deeply concerned on account of that which they say, but do thou celebrate the praise of thy LORD, and be *one* of those who worship, and serve thy LORD, until death^a shall overtake thee

CHAPTER XVI.

INTITLED THE BEE, REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THE sentence of GOD will surely come to be executed wherefore do not hasten it. Praise be unto him! and far be that from him which they associate *with him*! He shall cause the angels to descend with a revelation by his command, unto such of his servants as he pleaseth, *saying*, Preach that there is no GOD, except myself, therefore fear me. He hath created the heavens and the earth, to *manifest his justice* far be that from him which they associate *with him*! He hath created man of seed,* and yet behold he is a professed disputer *against the resurrection*^a He hath likewise created the cattle for you, from them ye have wherewith to keep yourselves warm,^b and other advantages, and of them do ye *also* eat And

translate the word *who bound themselves by oath* and suppose certain Thamûdites, who swore to kill Saleh by night, are here meant. But the sentence more probably relates to the Jews and Christians who (say the Mohammedans) receive some part of the scriptures and reject others, and also approved of some passages of the korân and disapproved of others according to their prejudices or else to the unbelieving Meccans some of whom called the Korân a piece of witchcraft others flights of divination others old stories, and others, a poetical composition.^c

^a This passage it is said, was revealed on account of five noble Korush, whose names were Al Walid Ebn al Mogheira, al As Ebn Wavel, Oda Ebn Kais al Aswad Ebn Abd Yaghûth and al Aswad Ebn al Motalleb. These were inveterate enemies of Mohammed continually persecuting him and turning him into ridicule, wherefore at length Gabriel came and told him that he was commanded to take his part against them and on the angels making a sign towards them one after another al Walid passing by some arrows, one of them hatched in his garment, and he, out of pride not stooping to take it off but walking forward, the head of it cut a vein in his heel, and he bled to death, al As was killed with a thorn, which stuck into the sole of his foot, and caused his leg to swell to a monstrous size. Oda died with violent and perpetual sneezing al Aswad Ebn Abd Yaghûth ran his head against a thorny tree and killed himself and al Aswad Ebn al Motalleb was struck blind.^d

^b Literally *That which is certain*

^c This insect is mentioned about the middle of the chapter

^d Except the last three verses

^e "He hath created man of clay and he disputes with obstinacy"—*Savary*

The person particularly intended in this place was Obba Ebn Khalf, who came to Mohammed with a rotten bone, and asked him whether it was possible for God to restore it to life.^e

^f *Viz.*, their skins, wool and hair, which serve you for clothing

^a Al Beidâwi. Jallalo ddin.

^b Al Beidâwi.

^c Idem.

they are likewise a credit unto you,^c when ye drive them home *in the evening*, and when ye lead them forth to feed *in the morning* and they carry your burdens to a *distant country*, at which ye could not *otherwise* arrive, unless with *great* difficulty to yourselves, for your LORD *is* compassionate and merciful And *he hath also created* horses, and mules, and asses, that ye may ride thereon, and for an ornament unto you, and *he likewise* createth *other things* which ye know not. *It appertaineth* unto GOD to instruct *men* in the *right way*, and *there is* who *turneth* aside from the same but if he had pleased, he would certainly have directed you all. It is he who sendeth down from heaven *rain water*, whereof ye have to drink, and from which plants, whereon ye feed *your cattle*, *receive their nourishment* And by means thereof he causeth corn, and olives, and palm-trees, and grapes, and all *kinds* of fruits, to spring forth for you Surely herein is a sign of the *divine power and wisdom* unto people who consider And he hath subjected the night and the day to your service, and the sun, and the moon, and the stars, which are compelled to serve by his command Verily herein are signs unto people of understanding And *he hath also given you dominion over* whatever he hath created for you in the earth, distinguished by its different colour ^d Surely herein is a sign unto people who reflect It is he who hath subjected the sea unto you, that ye might eat fish^e thereout, and take from thence ornaments^f for you to wear, and thou seest the ships ploughing *the waves* thereof, that ye may seek to *enrich yourselves* of his abundance, *by commerce*, and that ye might give thanks And he hath thrown upon the earth *mountains* firmly rooted lest it should move with you,^g and *also* rivers, and paths, that ye might be directed and *he hath likewise ordained* marks whereby men may know their way, and they are directed by the stars ^h Shall God *therefore*, who createth, be as he who createth not? Do ye not therefore consider? If ye *attempt* to reckon up the favours of GOD, ye shall not be able to compute their number, GOD *is* surely gracious and merciful, and GOD knoweth that which ye conceal, and that which ye publish But the *idols* which ye invoke, besides GOD, create nothing but are themselves created *They are* dead, and not living, neither do they understand when they shall be raised ⁱ* Your GOD *is* one

^c Being a grace to your court yards, and a credit to you in the eyes of your neighbours⁶

^d That is of every kind, the various colour of things being one of their chief distinctions⁷

^e Literally, *fresh flesh* by which fish is meant as being naturally more fresh, and sooner liable to corruption than the flesh of birds and beasts The expression is thought to have been made use of here the rather because the production of such fresh food from salt water is an instance of God's power⁸

^f As pearls and coral

^g The Mohammedans suppose that the earth when first created, was smooth and equal, and thereby liable to a circular motion as well as the celestial orbs, and that the angels asking who could be able to stand on so tottering a frame, God fixed it the next morning by throwing the mountains on it

^h Which are their guides, not only at sea, but also on land when they travel by night through the deserts The stars which they observe for this purpose are either the *pleiades*, or some of those near the pole

ⁱ ¹ ^e At what time they or their worshippers shall be raised to receive judgment.

² "They know not the time when they were made"—*Sanary*.

GOD As to those who believe not in the life to come, their hearts deny *the plainest evidence*, and they proudly reject *the truth*. There is no doubt but God knoweth that which they conceal and that which they discover. Verily he loveth not the proud. And when it is said unto them, What hath your LORD sent down unto *Mohammed*? they answer, Fables of ancient times. Thus are they given up to error, that they may bear their own burdens without diminution on the day of resurrection, and also a part of the burdens of those whom they caused to err, without knowledge. Will it not be an evil burden which they shall bear? Their predecessors devised plots heretofore but God came unto their building, to overthrow it from the foundations, and the roof fell on them from above, and a punishment came upon them, from whence they did not expect.* Also on the day of resurrection he will cover them with shame, and will say, Where are my companions, concerning whom ye disputed? Those unto whom knowledge shall have been given¹ shall answer, This day shall shame and misery fall upon the unbelievers. They whom the angels shall cause to die, having dealt unjustly with their own souls, shall offer to make their peace^m in the attitude of death, saying, We have done no evil. But the angels shall reply, Yea, verily God well knoweth that which ye have wrought wherefore enter the gates of hell, therein to remain for ever, and miserable shall be the abode of the proud. And it shall be said unto those who shall fear God. What hath your LORD sent down? They shall answer, Good, unto those who do right shall be given an excellent reward in this world, but the dwelling of the next life shall be better, and happy shall be the dwelling of the pious¹ namely, gardens of eternal abode,ⁿ into which they shall enter, rivers shall flow beneath the same, therein shall they enjoy whatever they wish. Thus will God recompense the pious. Unto the righteous, whom the angels shall cause to die, they shall say, Peace be upon you, enter ye into paradise, as a reward for that which ye have wrought. Do the unbelievers expect any other than that the angels come unto them, to part their souls from their bodies, or that the sentence of thy LORD come to be executed on them? So did they act who were before them, and God was not unjust towards them in that he destroyed them, but they dwelt unjustly with their own souls the evils of that which they committed reached them, and the divine judgment which they scoffed at fell upon them. The idolaters say, If God had pleased, we

* Some understand this passage figuratively, of God's disappointing their wicked designs, but others suppose the words literally relate to the tower which Nimrod (whom the Mohammedans will have to be the son of Canaan the son of Ham, and so the nephew of Cush and not his son,) built in Babel, and carried to an immense height (five thousand cubits say some), foolishly purposing thereby to ascend to

— prophesied

¹ Making their submission and humbly excusing their evil actions, as proceeding from ignorance and not from obstinacy or malice¹⁰

Literally gardens of Eden. See chap 9, p 157

ⁿ Al Beidawi, Jallalo ddin Vide D Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Nimrod ¹⁰ Ibidem interpretes.

had not worshipped any thing besides him, neither *had* our fathers neither had we forbidden any thing, without him.^o So did they who were before them. But is the duty of the apostles *any other* than public preaching? We have heretofore raised up in every nation an apostle to *admonish them, saying*, Worship God, and avoid Taghut.^p And of them *there were* some whom God directed, and *there were* others of them who were decreed to go astray. Wherefore go through the earth, *O tribe of Koreish*, and see what hath been the end of those who accused *their apostles* of imposture. If thou, *O prophet*, dost earnestly wish for their direction, verily God will not direct him whom he *hath resolved* to lead into error, neither shall they have any helpers. And they swear most solemnly by God, *saying*, God will not raise the dead. Yea, the promise thereof is true but the greater part of men know it not. *He will raise them* that he may clearly show them the *truth* concerning which they *now* disagree, and that the unbelievers may know that they are liars. Verily our speech unto any thing, when we will the same, is, that we only say unto it, Be, and it is. *As for* those who have fled their country for the sake of God, after they had been unjustly persecuted,^q we will surely provide them an excellent habitation in this world, but the reward of the next life shall be greater, if they knew it.^r They who persevere patiently, and put their trust in their LORD, *shall not furl of happiness in this life and in that which is to come*. We have not sent *any* before thee, *as our apostles*, other than men,^s unto whom we spake by revelation. Inquire therefore of those who have the custody of the scriptures, if ye know not *this to be truth*. We sent them with evident *miracles*, and written revelations, and we have sent down unto thee this Koran,^t that thou mayst declare unto mankind that which hath been sent down unto them,^u and that they may consider. Are they who have plotted evil against *their prophet* secure that God will not cause the earth to cleave under them, or that a punishment will not come upon them, from whence they do not expect, or that he will not chastise them while they are busied *in travelling from one place to another, and in*

* This they spoke in a scoffing manner justifying their idolatry and superstitious abstaining from certain cattle¹ by pretending, that had these things been disagreeable to God, he would not have suffered them to be practised

^p See chap 2, p 31

^q Some suppose the prophet and the companions of his flight in general are here intended others suppose that those are particularly meant in this place who, after Mohammed's departure, were imprisoned at Mecca on account of their having embraced his religion and suffered great persecution from the Koreish as, Belal Soheib Khabbab, Ammar Abes, Abul Jandal and Sohail²

^r It is uncertain whether the pronoun *they* relates to the infidels, or to the true believers. If to the former, the consequence would be, that they would be desirous of attaining to the happiness of the Mohajerin by professing the same faith; if to the latter, the knowledge of this is urged as a motive to patience and perseverance³

See chap 7, p 121, note ^p, chap 12, p 199, &c

^t Literally, *this admonition*⁴

^u "We have sent down unto thee the Koran, to recall to men the doctrine which they have received, to the end that they may keep it in remembrance"—*Savary*

¹ See chap 6 p 113, &c.
sect. iii. v. 40

² *Al Reidawil*

³ *Idem.*

⁴ See the Prelim. Disc

traffic ? (for they shall not be able to elude *the power of God*,) or that he will not chastise them by a gradual destruction ? But your LORD is truly gracious and merciful in granting you respite. Do they not consider the things which God hath created, whose shadows are cast on the right hand and on the left, worshipping God,^u * and become contracted ? Whatever moveth both in heav'n and on earth worshippeth God, and the angels also, and they are not elated with pride, so as to disdain his service they fear their LORD, who is exalted above them, and perform that which they are commanded. God said, Take not unto yourselves two gods, for there is but one God, and revere me. Unto him belongeth whatsoever is in heaven and on earth, and unto him is obedience eternally due. Will ye therefore fear any besides God ? Whatever favours ye have received are certainly from God, and when evil afflicteth you, unto him do you make your supplication, yet when he taketh the evil from off you, behold, a part of you give a companion unto their LORD, to show their ingratitude for the favours we have bestowed on them. Delight yourselves in the enjoyments of this life but hereafter shall ye know that ye cannot escape the divine vengeance. And they set apart unto idols which have no knowledge^x a part of the food which we have provided for them. By God, ye shall surely be called to account for that which ye have falsely devised. They attribute daughters unto God^y (far be it from him !) but unto themselves children of the sex which they desire^z. And when any of them is told the news of the birth of a female, his face become^h black,^a and he is deeply afflicted he hideth himself from the people, because of the ill tidings which have been told him, considering within himself whether he shall keep it with disgrace, or whether he shall bury it in the dust. Do they not make an ill judgment ? Unto those who believe not in the next life, the similitude of evil ought to be applied, and unto God the most sublime similitude^b for he is mighty and wise. If God should punish men for their iniquity, he would not leave on the earth any moving thing but he giveth them respite unto an appointed time, and when their time shall come, they shall not be respited an hour, neither shall their punishment be anticipated. They attribute unto

^u See chap 13 p 202 note *

* See they not that all the bodies which God hath created bend their shadow to the right and to the left to worship him, and to humble themselves before him —Savary

^z Or which they know not foolishly imagining that they have power to help them, or interest with God to intercede for them

As to the ancient Arabs setting apart a certain portion of the produce of their lands for their idols, and their superstitious abstaining from the use of certain cattle in honour to the same see chap 5, p 95 and chap 6, p 113 and the notes there

^y See the Prelim Disc p 13 Al Beidawi says that the tribes of Khozaah and Kenana, in particular used to call the angels the daughters of God

^z Viz sons, for the birth of a daughter was looked on as a kind of misfortune among the Arabs, and they often used to put them to death by burying them alive⁵

^a i. e. Clouded with confusion and sorrow

^b This passage condemns the Meccans injudicious and blasphemous application of such circumstances to God as were unworthy of him and not only derogatory to the perfections of the Deity but even disgraceful to man, while they arrogantly applied the more honourable circumstances to themselves.

⁵ See chap 81.

GOD that which they dislike themselves,^c and their tongues utter a lie, *namely*, that the reward of *paradise* is for them. There is no doubt but that the fire of *hell* is prepared for them, and that they shall be sent thither before *the rest of the wicked*. By GOD, we have heretofore sent *messengers* unto the nations before thee but Satan prepared their works for them, he was their patron in this world,^d and in *that which is to come* they shall suffer a grievous torment. We have not sent down the book of the *Korân* unto thee, for any other purpose, than that thou shouldst declare unto them that *truth* concerning which they disagree, and for a direction and mercy unto people who believe. GOD sendeth down water from heaven, and causeth the earth to revive after it hath been dead Verily herein is a sign of the *resurrection* unto people who hearken Ye have also in cattle an example of instruction we give you to drink of that which is in their bellies, a liquor between digested dregs, and blood,^e *namely*, pure milk,^f which is swallowed with pleasure by those who drink it * And of the fruits of palm trees, and of grapes, ye obtain an inebriating liquor, and also good nourishment.^g Verily herein is a sign unto people who understand Thy LORD spake by inspiration unto the bee, saying, Provide thee houses^h in the mountains, and in the trees, and of those materials wherewith men build hives for thee then eat of every kind of fruit, and walk in the beaten paths of thy LORD †ⁱ There proceedeth from their bellies a liquor of various colour,^k wherein is a medicine for men.^l Verily herein is a sign

^c By giving him daughters and associates in power and honour by disregarding his messengers and by setting apart the better share of the presents and offerings for their idols and the worse for him⁶

^d Or *He is the patron of them* (viz the Koreish) *this day* &c

^e The milk consisting of certain particles of the blood supplied from the finer parts of the aliment Ebn Abbas says that the grosser parts of the food subside into excrement, and that the finer parts are converted into milk, and the finest of all into blood

^f Having neither the colour of the blood nor the smell of the excrements

* 'Their milk elaborated in the stomach between chyle and blood, becomes for you a salutary beverage —*Savary*

^g Not only wine, which is forbidden but also lawful food, as dates raisins a kind of honey flowing from the dates and vinegar

Some have supposed that these words allow the moderate use of wine, but the contrary is the received opinion⁷

^h So the apartments which the bee builds are here called because of their beautiful workmanship, and admirable contrivance which no geometrician can excel.⁸

† 'To be nourished with every kind of fruit and to wander at will —*Savary*

ⁱ i. e. The ways through which by God's power, the bitter flowers passing the bees stomach become honey or the methods of making honey which he has taught her by instinct or else the ready way home from the distant places to which that insect flies.⁹

^k Viz honey the colour of which is very different, occasioned by the different plants on which the bees feed some being white some yellow, some red and some black¹

^l The same being not only good food but a useful remedy in several distempers, particularly those occasioned by phlegm There is a story, that a man came once to Mohammed and told him that his brother was afflicted with a violent pain in his belly, upon which the prophet bade him give him some honey The fellow took his advice, but soon after coming again, told him that the medicine had done his brother no manner of service Mohammed answered *Go and give him more honey for God speaks truth, and thy brother's belly lies* And the dose being repeated, the man by God's mercy, was immediately cured²

⁶ Al Baidawi.

⁷ See chap 2, p 25.

⁸ Al Baidawi.

⁹ Idem.

¹ Idem.

² Idem.

unto people who consider God hath created you, and he will hereafter cause you to die and some of you shall have his life prolonged to a decrepit age, so that he shall forget whatever he knew, for God is wise and powerful. God causeth some of you to excel others in worldly possessions yet they who are caused to excel do not give their wealth unto the slaves whom their right hands possess, that they may become equal *slarers* therein.^m Do they therefore deny the beneficence of God? God hath ordained you wives from among yourselves,ⁿ and of your wives hath granted you children and grandchildren, and hath bestowed on you good things for food. Will they therefore believe in that which is vain, and ungratefully deny the goodness of God? They worship, besides God, *idols* which possess nothing wherewith to sustain them, either in heaven, or on earth, and have no power. Wherefore liken not *any thing* unto God ° for God knoweth, but ye know not. God propoundeth as a parable a possessed slave, who hath power over nothing, and him on whom we have bestowed a good provision from us, and who giveth alms thereout *both* secretly and openly † shall these *two* be esteemed equal? God forbid! But the greater part of men know it not. God also propoundeth as a parable two men, one of them born dumb, who is unable to *do or understand* any thing, but is a burden unto his master, whithersoever he shall send him, he shall not return with any good *success* shall this *man*, and he who hath his speech and understanding, and who commandeth that which is just, and followeth the right way, be esteemed equal? †^q Unto God alone is the secret of heaven and earth *known*. And the business of the *last hour* † shall be only as the twinkling of an eye, or even more quick for God is almighty. God hath brought you forth from the wombs of your mothers, ye knew nothing, and he gave you *the senses* of hearing and seeing, and understandings, that ye might give thanks. Do they not behold the fowls which are enabled to fly in the open firmament of heaven? * none supporteth them except God. Verily herein are signs unto people who

^m These words reprove the idolatrous Meccans who could admit created beings to a share of the divine honour though they suffered not their slaves to share with themselves in what God had bestowed on them †

ⁿ That is, of your own nations and tribes. Some think the formation of Eve from Adam is here intend d

^o Or propound no similitudes or comparisons between him and his creatures. One argument the Meccans employed in defence of their idolatry, it seems, was, that the worship of inferior deities did honour to God, in the same manner as the respect showed to the servants of a prince does honour to the prince himself †

^p The idols are here likened to a slave who is so far from having any thing of his own that he is himself in the possession of another whereas God is as a rich free man who provideth for his family abundantly, and also assisteth others who have need, both in public and in private †

^q The idol is here again represented under the image of one who, by a defect in his senses, is a useless burden to the man who maintains him, and God, under that of a person completely qualified either to direct or to execute any useful undertaking. Some suppose the comparison is intended of a true believer and an infidel.

^r That is, the resurrection of the dead

^s See they not the bird cut the air? God alone can arrest its flight?—Sa

God hath also provided you houses for habitations for you, and hath *also* provided you tents of the skins of cattle, which ye find light to be removed on the day of your departure to new quarters, and easy to be pitched on the day of your sitting down *therein* and of their wool, and their fur, and their hair, *hath he supplied you with* furniture and household-stuff for a season. And God hath provided for you, of that which he hath created, conveniences to shade you *from the sun*,^a and he hath *also* provided you places of retreat in the mountains,^b and he hath given you garments to defend you from the heat^c and coats of mail to defend you in your wars. Thus doth he accomplish his favour towards you, that ye may resign yourselves unto him. But if they turn back, verily thy duty is public preaching only. They acknowledge the goodness of God,^d and afterwards they deny the same,^e but the greater part of them are unbelievers.^f On a certain day we will raise a witness out of every nation^g then they who shall have been unbelievers shall not be suffered to excuse themselves, neither shall they be received into favour. And when they who shall have acted unjustly shall see the torment prepared for them (it shall not be mitigated unto them, neither shall they be respited) and when those who shall have been guilty of idolatry shall see their false gods,^h they shall say, O LORD, these are our idols which we invoked, besides thee. But they shall return an answer unto them, *saying*, Verily ye are liars.^b And on that day shall *the wicked* offer submission unto God, and the false deities which they imagined shall abandon them. As for those who shall have been infidels, and shall have turned aside *others* from the way of God, we will add unto them punishmentⁱ upon punishment because they have corrupted *others*. On a certain day, we will raise up in every nation a witness against them, from among themselves, and we will bring thee, O Mohammed, as a witness against these *Arabians*. We have sent down unto thee the book of the Korân, for an explication of every thing necessary both as to faith and practice, and a direction, and mercy, and good tidings unto the Moslems. Verily God commandeth justice, and the doing of good, and the giving unto kindred *what shall be necessary*, and he forbiddeth wickedness, and iniquity, and oppression. he admonisheth you that ye may remember^o

^a As trees, houses, tents, mountains &c

^b Viz caves and grottos both natural and artificial

^c Al Beidâwî says, that one extreme and that the most insupportable in Arabia, is here put for both, but Jallalo ddin supposes that by heat we are in this place to understand cold

^d "They deny the gifts of heaven which they know the most of them are unbelievers"—Savary

^e Confessing God to be the author of all the blessings they enjoy, and yet directing their worship and thanks to their idols by whose intercession they imagine blessings are obtained

^f Absolutely denying God's providence either through ignorance or perverseness.

^g See chap 4 p 65, note 7

^h Literally, Their companions

ⁱ For that we are not the companions of God, as we imagined, neither did ye really serve us but your own corrupt affections and lusts, nor yet were ye led into idolatry by us, but ye fell into it of your own accord^o

^o This verse, which was the occasion of the conversion of Othmân Ebn Matûn, the

Perform *your* covenant with God,^d when ye enter into covenant *with him*, and violate not *your* oaths, after the ratification thereof, since ye have made God a witness over you. Verily God knoweth that which ye do. And be not like unto her who undoeth that which she hath spun, untwisting it after she hath twisted it strongly,^e taking your oaths between you deceitfully, because one party is more numerous than *another* party.^f Verily God only tempteth you therein, and he will make that manifest unto you, on the day of resurrection, concerning which ye now disagree. If God had pleased, he would surely have made you one people^g but he will lead into error whom he pleaseth, and he will direct whom he pleaseth, and ye shall surely give an account of that which ye have done. Therefore take not your oaths between you deceitfully lest *your* foot slip, after it hath been steadfastly fixed, and ye taste evil *in this life*, for that ye have turned aside from the way of God and ye *suffer* a grievous punishment *in the life to come*. And sell not the covenant of God for a small price,^h for with God is a better *recompense prepared* for you, if ye be *men* of understanding. That which *is* with you will fail, but that which *is* with God *is* permanent and we will surely reward those who shall persevere, according to the utmost *merit* of their actions. Whoso worketh righteousness, whether he be male or female, and is a sure believer, we will surely raise him to a happy life, and we will give them their reward, according to the utmost *merit* of their actions. When thou readest the Korân, have recourse unto God, *that he may preserve thee* from Satan driven away with stones.ⁱ he hath no power over those who believe, and who put

commentators say, containeth the whole which it is a man's duty either to perform or to avoid, and is alone a sufficient demonstration of what is said in the foregoing verse. Under the three things here commanded, they understand the belief of God's unity without inclining to atheism, on the one hand, or polytheism on the other, obedience to the commands of God, and charity towards those in distress. And under the three things forbidden they comprehend all corrupt and carnal affections, all false doctrines and heretical opinions, and all injustice towards man.^j

^d By persevering in his true religion. Some think that the oath of fidelity taken to Mohammed by his followers is chiefly intended here.

^e Some suppose that a particular woman is meant in this passage, who used (like Penelope) to undo at night the work that she had done in the day. Her name they say was Reita Bint Saad Ebn Teym, of the tribe of Koreish.^k

^f Of this insincerity in their alliances the Koreish are accused, it being usual with them when they saw the enemies of their confederates to be superior in force, to renounce their league with their old friends and strike up one with the others.^l

^g Or, of one religion.

^h That is, Be not prevailed on to renounce your religion or your engagements with your prophet, by any promises or gifts of the infidels. For it seems, the Koreish, to tempt the poorer Moslems to apostatize, made them offers, not very considerable indeed, but such as they imagined might be worth their acceptance.^m

ⁱ Mohammed one day reading in the Koran uttered a horrid blasphemy to the great scandal of those who were present, as will be observed in another place.ⁿ to excuse which he assured them that those words were put into his mouth by the devil, and to prevent any such accidents for the future, he is here taught to beg God's protection before he entered on that duty.^o Hence the Mohammedans, before they begin to read any part of this book, repeat these words, *I have recourse unto God for assistance against Satan driven away with stones*.

^j "When thou readest the Koran, pray unto the Lord to preserve thee from the snares of Satan the thunder smitten."—*Savary*

^k Al Beidâwi

^l Idem.

^m Idem.

ⁿ Idem.

^o In not. ad cap. 22

^p Jallalo ddin, Al Beidâwi, Yahya, &c.

confidence in their LORD, but his power is over those only who take him for their patron, and who give companions unto God. When we substitute in the *Korân* an *abrogating* verse in lieu of a verse *abrogated* (and God best knoweth the *fitness* of that which he revealeth,) the *infidels* say Thou art only a forger of *these verses* but the greater part of them know not *truth from falsehood*. Say, The holy spirit^k hath brought the same down from thy LORD with truth, that he may confirm those who believe, and for a direction and good tidings unto the Moslems. We also know that they say, Verily, a *certain* man teacheth him to *compose the Korân*. The tongue of *the person* unto whom they incline is a foreign tongue, but this, *wherein the Korân is written*, is the perspicuous Arabic tongue^{*1}. Moreover as for those who believe not the signs of GOD, GOD will not

* *Viz* Gabriel. See chap 2, p 12

* "He whom they suspect speaketh a foreign tongue and the Arabic of the Koran is pure and elegant — *Savary*

¹ This was a great objection made by the Meccans to the authority of the Korân, for when Mohammed insisted as a proof of its divine original, that it was impossible a man so utterly unacquainted with learning as himself could compose such a book they replied that he had one or more assistants in the forgery, but as to the particular person or persons suspected of this confederacy the traditions differ. One says it was Jabar a Greek, servant to Amer Ebn al Hadrami who could read and write well,² another that they were Jabar and Yesâi, two slaves who followed the trade of sword cutlers at Mecca, and used to read the pentateuch and gospel, and had often Mohammed for their auditor, when he passed that way.⁴ Another tells us it was one Aish or Yaish, a domestic of al Hawteib Ebn Abd al Uzra who was a man of some learning and had embraced Mohammedism.⁵ Another supposes it was one Kais a Christian, whose house Mohammed frequented.⁶ Another that it was Addas, a servant of Otha Ibn Rabia,⁷ and another, that it was Salman the Persian.

According to some Christian writers⁹ Abdallah Ebn Salâm the Jew who was so intimate with Mohammed (named by one according to the Hebrew dialect Ab dias Ben Salon, and by another Abdala Celen), was assisting to him in the compiling his pretended revelations. This Jew, Dr Prideaux confounds with Salman, the Persian who was a very different man, as a late author¹ has observed before me, wherefore and for that we may have occasion to speak of Salmân hereafter it may be proper to add a brief extract of his story as told by himself. He was of a good family of Ispahan and in his younger years, left the religion of his country to embrace Christianity, and travelling into Syria, was advised by a certain monk of Amuria to go into Arabia, where a prophet was expected to arise about that time, who should establish the religion of Abraham, and whom he should know, among other things, by the *seal of prophecy* between his shoulders. Salman performed the journey, and meeting with Mohammed at Koba, where he rested in his flight to Medina, soon found him to be the person he sought, and professed Islâm.²

The general opinion of the Christians however is, that the chief help Mohammed had in the contriving his Koran was from a Nestorian monk named Sergius, supposed to be the same person with the monk Boheira, with whom Mohammed, in his younger years had some conference at Bosra a city of Syria Damascena, where that monk resided.³ To confirm which supposition a passage has been produced from an Arab writer⁴ who says that Boheira's name in the books of the Christians is Sergius but this is only a conjecture, and another⁵ tells us his true name was Said, or Felix and his surname Boheira. But be that as it will, if Boheira and Sergius were the same man I find not the least intimation in the Mohammedan writers that he ever quitted his monastery to go into Arabia (as is supposed by the Christians,) and his acquaintance with Mohammed at Bosra was too early to favour the surmise of his assisting him in the Korân, which was composed long after,

² Al Zamakhshari Al Beidawi, Yahya. ⁴ Al Zamakh Al Beidawi. See Prid. Life of Moh p 32. ⁶ Idem. ⁷ Jallalo ddin. ⁹ Al Zamakh Yahya. ¹ Al Zamakh Al Beidawi. ³ Ricardus Confut. Legis Saracenicæ c. 13. Joh Andreas,

de Confus Sectæ Mahometanæ, c. 2. See Prid Life of Moh p 33, 34. ² Gagnier not in Abulf Vit Moh p 74. ⁵ Ex Ebn Ishak. Vide Gagnier, ibid.

³ See Prid ubi sup p 35 &c. Gagnier, ubi sup p 10, 11 Marrac de Alcor p 37. ⁴ Al Masudi. ⁵ Abu'l Hasan al Becri in Korân.

direct them, and they shall suffer a painful torment verily they imagine a falsehood who believe not in the signs of GOD, and they are *really* the liars.* Whoever denieth GOD, after he hath believed, except him who shall be compelled against his will, and whose heart continueth steadfast in the faith, *shall be severely chastised* ^m but whoever shall voluntarily profess infidelity, on those shall the indignation of GOD *fall*, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment This *shall be their sentence*, because they have loved the present life above that which is to come, and for that GOD directeth not the unbelieving people These *are* they whose hearts, and hearing, and sight, GOD hath sealed up, and these are the negligent there is no doubt but that in the next life they shall perish. Moreover thy LORD *will be favourable* unto those who have fled their country, after having suffered persecution,ⁿ *and had been compelled to deny the faith by*

though Mohammed might from his discourse, gain some knowledge of Christianity and of the scriptures, which might be of use to him therein

From the answer given in this passage of the Korân to the objection of the infidels, viz that the person suspected by him to have had a hand in the Korân spoke a foreign language, and therefore could not, with any face of probability, be supposed to assist in a composition written in the Arabic tongue, and with so great elegance, it is plain this person was no Arabian The word Ajami, which is here used signifies any *foreign or barbarous* language in general but the Arabs applying it more particularly to the Persian, it has been thence concluded by some that Salman was the person however if it be true that he came not to Mohammed till after the Hejra either he could not be the man here intended, or else this verse must have been revealed at Medina, contrary to the common opinion

* "The men who deny Islamism add blasphemy to falsehood — *Swary*

^m These words were added for the sake of Ammar Ebn Yaser and some others, who being taken and tortured by the Koreish, renounced their faith out of fear though their hearts agreed not with their mouths^o It seems Ammâr wanted the constancy of his father and mother, Yâser and Sommeiya, who underwent the like trial at the same time with their son and resolutely refusing to recant were both put to death, the infidels tying Sommeiya between two camels and striking a lance through her privy parts⁷ When news was brought to Mohammed that Ammâr had denied the faith, he said it could not be for that Ammâr was full of faith, from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot faith being mixed and incorporated with his very flesh and blood and when Ammâr himself came weeping to the prophet he wiped his eyes saying *What fault was it of thine if they forced thee?*

But though it be here said that those who apostatize in appearance only, to avoid death or torments may hope for pardon from GOD, yet it is unanimously agreed by the Mohammedan doctors to be much more meritorious and pleasing in the sight of GOD courageously and nobly to persist in the true faith and rather to suffer death itself than renounce it, even in words Nor did the Mohammedan religion want its martyrs in the strict sense of the word, of which I will here give two instances besides the above mentioned One is that of Khobab Ebn Ada, who being perfidiously sold to the Koreish, was by them put to death in a cruel manner by mutilation, and cutting off his flesh piecemeal, and being asked in the midst of his tortures, whether he did not wish Mohammed was in his place, answered *I would not wish to be with my family, my substance, and my children on condition that Mohammed was only to be pricked with a thorn.*⁸ The other is that of a man who was put to death by Moseilama, on the following occasion That false prophet, having taken two of Mohammed's followers, asked one of them, what he said of Mohammed? the man answered That he was the apostle of GOD *And what sayest thou of me?*⁹ added Moseilama to which he replied, *Thou also art the apostle of GOD* whereupon he was immediately dismissed in safety But the other, having returned the same answer to the former question, refused to give any to the last, though required to do it three several times, but pretended to be deaf, and was therefore slain It is related that Mohammed, when the story of these two men was told him said, *The first of them threw himself on GOD's mercy, but the latter professed the truth and he shall find his account in it*⁹

ⁿ As did Ammâr, who made one in both the flights Some, reading the verb with

^o Al Beidâwi Al Zamakh Yahya. ^p Al Feraizi. ^q Ebn Shehnab. ^r Al Beidâwi.

violence, and *who have since fought in defence of the true religion*, and have persevered with patience, verily *unto these will thy Lord be gracious and merciful, after they shall have shown their sincerity* On a certain day shall every soul come to plead for itself,* and every soul shall be repaid that which it shall have wrought, and they shall not be treated unjustly God propoundeth as a parable a city² which was secure *and* quiet, unto which her provisions came in abundance from every side, but she ungratefully denied the favour of God wherefore God caused her to taste the extreme famine and fear, because of that which they had done And now is an apostle come unto the *inhabitants of Mecca* from among themselves, and they accuse him of imposture wherefore a punishment shall be inflicted on them, while they are acting unjustly Eat of what God hath given you for food, *that which is lawful and good*, and be thankful for the favours of God, if ye serve him He hath only forbidden you that which dieth of itself, and blood and swine's flesh, and that which hath been slain in the name of any, besides God³ But unto him who shall be compelled by necessity, *to eat of these things*, not lusting nor *wilfully* transgressing, God *will surely be gracious and merciful* And say not that wherein your tongues utter a lie This is lawful, and this is unlawful,⁴ that ye may devise a lie concerning God for they who devise concerning God shall not prosper *They shall have small enjoyment in this world, and in that which is to come* they shall suffer a grievous torment Unto the Jews did we forbid that which we have told thee formerly⁵ and we did them no injury *in that respect*, but they injured their own souls⁶ Moreover thy LORD *will be favourable* unto those who do evil through ignorance, and afterwards repent and amend verily *unto these will thy LORD be gracious and merciful, after their repentance* Abraham was a model of true religion, obedient unto God, orthodox, and was not an idolater⁷ *he was also grateful for his benefits wherefore God chose him, and directed him into the right way* And we bestowed on him good in this world, and in the next he shall surely be *one of the righteous* We have also spoken unto thee, O Mohammed, by revelation *saying, Follow*

different vowels, render the last words *after having persecuted* the true believers, and instance in al Hadrami who obliged a servant of his to renounce Mohammedism, by force but afterwards together with that servant, professed the same faith and fled for it¹

* That is, every person shall be solicitous for his own salvation, not concerning himself with the condition of another, but crying out, *My own soul, my own soul!*²

² This example is applied to every city which having received great blessings from God, becometh insolent and unthankful, and is therefore chastised by some signal judgment, or rather to Mecca in particular, on which the calamities threatened in this passage viz, both famine and sword, were inflicted³

³ See chap 5, p 81

⁴ Allowing what God hath forbidden, and superstitiously abstaining from what he hath allowed See chap 6, p 113

⁵ Viz, in the 6th chapter p 113

⁶ : e They were forbidden things which were in themselves indifferent, as a punishment for their wickedness and rebellion.

⁷ This was to reprehend the idolatrous Koreish, who pretended that they professed the religion of Abraham

the religion of Abraham, *who was orthodox*, and was no idolater The sabbath was only appointed unto those who differed *with their prophet* concerning it ² and thy LORD will surely judge between them, on the day of resurrection, as to that concerning which they differed. Invite *men* unto the way of thy LORD, by wisdom, and mild exhortation, and dispute with them in the most condescending *manner* for thy LORD well knoweth him who strayeth from his path, and he well knoweth those who are *rightly* directed If ye take vengeance *on any*, take a vengeance proportionable to the wrong which hath been done you,³ but if ye suffer *wrong* patiently, verily this will be better for the patient ⁴ Wherefore, do thou bear *opposition* with patience, but thy patience shall not be *practicable*, unless with God's *assistance* And be thou not grieved on account of the *unbelievers*, neither be thou troubled for that which they subtly devise, for GOD is with those who fear *him*, and are upright.

CHAPTER XVII

INTITLED, THE NIGHT JOURNEY, ^a REVEALED AT MECCA ^b

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

[* XV] PRAISE be unto him who transported his servant by night, from the sacred temple of *Mecca* to the farther temple of *Jerusalem*,^c the circuit

² These were the Jews who being ordered by Moses to set apart Friday (the day now observed by the Mohammedans) for the exercise of divine worship, refused it, and chose the sabbath day because on that day God rested from his works of creation, for which reason they were commanded to keep the day they had chosen in the strictest manner ⁴

³ This passage is supposed to have been revealed at Medina, on occasion of Hamza, Mohammed's uncle, being slain at the battle of Ohod For the infidels having abused his dead body, by taking out his bowels and cutting off his ears and his nose, when Mohammed saw it, he swore that if God granted him success he would retaliate those cruelties on seventy of the Koreish but he was by these words forbidden to execute what he had sworn and he accordingly made void his oath ⁵ Abul feda makes the number on which Mohammed swore to wreak his vengeance to be but thirty ⁶ but it may be observed by the way that the translator renders this passage in that author God *hath revealed unto me that I shall retaliate*, &c, instead of, *If God grant me victory over the Koreish I will retaliate* &c, reading *Lain adhharni*, for *adhfaru*, God, far from putting this design into the prophet's head by a revelation, expressly forbidding him to put it in execution

^a Here says al Beidawi, the Koran principally points at Mohammed, who was of all men the most conspicuous for meekness and clemency

^b The reason of this inscription appears in the first words Some intitle the chapter *The children of Israel*

^c Some except eight verses, beginning at these words, *It wanted little but that the infidels had seduced thee*, &c.

^d From whence he was carried through the seven heavens to the presence of God, and brought back again to Mecca the same night.

This journey of Mohammed to heaven is so well known that I may be pardoned if I omit the description of it The English reader may find it in Dr Prideaux's *Life of Mohammed*,⁷ and the learned in Abul feda ⁸ whose annotator has corrected several mistakes in the relation of Dr Prideaux and in other writers

It is a dispute among the Mohammedan divines, whether their prophet's night-

^a Al Beidawi Jallalo ddin ^b Idem ^c Abul Fât Moh p 68 ^d Page 43, &c See also Morgan's *Mohammedism explained* vol 2 ^e Fât Moham cap 19

of which we have blessed, that we might show *some* of our signs,* for God is he who heareth, and seeth. And we gave unto Moses the book of the law, and appointed the same to be a direction unto the children of Israel, commanding them, saying, Beware that ye take not any other patron besides me. O posterity of those whom we carried in the ark with Noah,^d verily he was a grateful servant. And we expressly declared unto the children of Israel in the book of the law, saying, Ye will surely commit evil in the earth twice,^e and ye will be elated with great insolence. And when the punishment threatened for the first of those transgressions came to be executed, we sent against you our servants,^f endued with exceeding strength in war, and they searched the inner apartments of your houses, and the prediction became accomplished. Afterwards we gave you the victory over them, in your turn, and we granted you increase of wealth and children, and we made you a more numerous people, saying, If ye do well, ye will do well to your own souls, and if ye do evil, ye will do it unto the same. And when the punishment threatened for your latter transgression came to be executed, we sent enemies against you to afflict you,^h

journey was really performed by him corporeally, or whether it was only a dream or a vision. Some think the whole was no more than a vision, and allege an express tradition of Moawiyah,^g one of Mohammed's successors, to that purpose. Others suppose he was carried bodily to Jerusalem, but no farther, and that he ascended thence to heaven in spirit only. But the received opinion is, that it was no vision, but that he was actually transported in the body to his journey's end, and if any impossibility be objected, they think it a sufficient answer to say that it might easily be effected by an omnipotent agent.¹

* That we might leave there the tokens of our power — *Savary*

^d The commentators are put to it to find out the connexion of these words with the foregoing. Some think the accusative case is here put for the vocative, as I have translated it, and others interpret the words thus, *Take not for your patrons, besides me, the posterity of those, &c.* meaning mortal men.

Their first transgression was their rejecting the decisions of the law, their putting Isaiah to death,² and their imprisoning of Jeremiah,³ and the second was their slaying of Zachariah and John the Baptist, and their imagining the death of Jesus.⁴

^f These were Jalût, or Goliath, and his forces,⁵ or Sennacherib the Assyrian, or else Nebuchadnezzar, whom the eastern writers call Bakhtnash (which was, however, only his surname, his true name being Gudarz, or Raham) the governor of Babylon under Lohorasp, king of Persia,⁶ who took Jerusalem, and destroyed the temple.

^g By permitting David to kill Goliath, or by the miraculous defeat of Sennacherib's army, or for that God put it into the heart of Bahman the son of Isfandiyar, when he succeeded his grandfather Lohorasp to order Kresh, or Cyrus, then governor of Babylon to send home the Jews from their captivity under the conduct of Daniel, which he accordingly did, and they prevailed against those whom Bakhtnash had left in the land.⁷

^h Some imagine the army meant in this place was that of Bakhtnash,⁸ but others say the Persians conquered the Jews this second time by the arms of Gudarz (by whom they seem to intend Antiochus Epiphanes), one of the successors of Alexander at Babylon. It is related that the general in this expedition, entering the temple, saw blood bubbling up on the great altar and asking the reason of it, the Jews told him it was the blood of a sacrifice which had not been accepted of God; to which he replied, that they had not told him the truth and ordered a thousand of them to be slain on the altar, but the blood not ceasing he told them, that if they would not confess the truth he would not spare one of them; whereupon, they acknowledged it was the blood of John, and the general said, *Thus hath your Lord taken vengeance on you*, and then cried out, *O John, my Lord and thy Lord knoweth what hath befallen thy people for thy sake, wherefore, let thy blood stop, by God's per-*

^a Vide Vit Moham esp 18

¹ Al Beidawi

² Idem

³ Jallalo ddin.

⁴ Idem. ⁵ Idem, Yahya.

⁶ Al Zamakhshari, Al Bidawi

⁷ Idem.

⁸ Yahya

Jallalo ddin

and to enter the temple, as they entered it the first time, and utterly to destroy that which they had conquered. Peradventure your LORD will have mercy on you *hereafter* but if ye return to transgress a third time, we also will return to chastise you,¹ and we have appointed hell to be the prison of the unbelievers. Verily this Korân directeth unto the way which is most right, and declareth unto the faithful, who do good works, that they shall receive a great reward, and that for those who believe not in the life to come, we have prepared a grievous punishment. Man prayeth for evil, as he prayeth for good,² for man is hasty.¹ We have ordained the night and the day for two signs of our power afterwards we blot out the sign of the night, and we cause the sign of the day to shine forth, that ye may endeavour to obtain plenty from your LORD by doing your business therein, and that ye may know the number of years, and the computation of time, and every thing necessary have we explained by a perspicuous explication.* The fate^m of every man have we bound about his neck,² and we will produce unto him, on the day of resurrection, a book *wherein his action shall be recorded* it shall be offered him open, and the angels shall say unto him, Read thy book, thine own soul will be a sufficient accountant against thee, this day.^o He who shall be *rightly* directed, shall be directed to the advantage only of his own soul, and he who shall err shall err only against the same neither shall any laden soul be charged with the

mission, lest I leave not one of them alive upon which the blood immediately stopped.^o

These are the explications of the commentators, wherein their ignorance in ancient history is sufficiently manifest, though, perhaps, Mohammed himself in this latter passage intended the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans

¹ And this came accordingly to pass for the Jews being again so wicked as to reject Mohammed, and conspire against his life God delivered them into his hands and he exterminated the tribe of Koreidha, and slew the chiefs of that of al Nadir and obliged the rest of the Jewish tribes to pay tribute.¹⁰

² Out of ignorance, mistaking evil for good or making wicked imprecations on himself and others, out of passion and impatience

¹ Or inconsiderate, not weighing the consequence of what he asks

It is said that the person here meant is Adam who when the breath of life was breathed into his nostrils and had reached so far as his navel, though the lower part of his body was, as yet, but a piece of clay, must needs try to rise up and got an ugly fall by the bargain But others pretend the passage was revealed on the following occasion Mohammed committed a certain captive to the charge of his wife, Sawda bint Zamaa, who moved with compassion at the man's groans, unbound him, and let him escape upon which the prophet in the first motions of his anger wished her hand might fall off, but immediately composing himself, said aloud, *O God, I am but a man, therefore turn my curse into a blessing*¹

* "The night and the day bear witness to our power We have covered the night with a veil, and enlightened the face of day, that ye may employ it in seeking abundance It enables you to compute the years and the times The impress of our wisdom is resplendent in all parts —Savary

^m Literally, the bird, which is here used to signify a man's fortune or success, the Arabs, as well as the Greeks and Romans, taking omens from the flight of birds, which they supposed to portend good luck, if they flew from the left to the right, but if from the right to the left, the contrary, the like judgment they also made when certain beasts passed before them

^o Like a collar, which he cannot by any means get off See the Prelim Disc. sect iv p 73

See *ibid.* p 64.

burden of another We did not punish *any people*, until we had *first* sent an apostle to warn them. And when we resolved to destroy a city, we commanded the inhabitants thereof, who lived in affluence, to *obey our apostle*, but they acted corruptly therein wherefore the sentence was justly pronounced against *that city*, and we destroyed it with an utter destruction. And how many generations have we consumed since Noah ? for thy LORD sufficiently knoweth and seeth the sins of his servants. Whosoever chooseth *this* transitory life, we will bestow on him therein beforehand that which we please, on him, *namely*, whom we please afterwards will we appoint him hell for his abode, he shall be thrown into the same to be scorched, covered with ignominy, and utterly rejected from mercy But whosoever chooseth the life to come, and directeth his endeavour towards the same, being also a true believer, the endeavour of these shall be acceptable unto God On all will we bestow the blessings of *this life*, both on these and on those, of the gift of thy LORD, for the gift of thy LORD shall not be denied unto any Behold, how we have caused some of them to surpass others in wealth and dignity but the next life shall be more considerable in degrees of honour, and greater in excellence Set up not another god with the true God, lest thou sit down in disgrace, and destitute.* Thy LORD hath commanded that ye worship none besides him, and that ye show kindness unto your parents, whether the one of them, or both of them attain to old age with thee^p Wherefore, say not unto them, Fie on you ! neither reproach them, but speak respectfully unto them, and submit to behave humbly^q towards them, out of tender affection, and say, O LORD, have mercy on them both, as they nursed me when I was little. Your LORD well knoweth that which is in your souls, whether ye be men of integrity and he will be gracious unto those who sincerely return unto him. And give unto him who is of kin to you his due, and also unto the poor and the traveller^r And waste not thy substance profusely for the profuse are brethren of the devils^s and the devil was ungrateful unto his LORD But if thou turn from them, in expectation of the mercy which thou hopest from thy LORD,^t at least, speak kindly unto them And let not thy hand be tied up to thy neck, neither open it with an unbounded expansion,^u lest thou become worthy of repre-

* "Give not to God an equal, nor remain seated without glory and without virtue"—Savary

^p That is receiving their support and maintenance from thee

^q Literally Lower the wing of humility &c

^r That is friendship and affection, and assistance in time of need

^s Prodigality, and squandering away one's substance in folly or luxury being a very great sin The Arabs were particularly guilty of extravagance in killing camels and distributing them by lot, merely out of vanity and ostentation which they are forbidden by this passage and commanded to bestow what they could spare on their poor relations, and other indigent people²

^t That is, If thy present circumstances will not permit thee to assist others, defer thy charity till God grant thee better ability

^u ^e Be neither niggardly nor profuse, but observe the mean between the two extremes, wherein consists true liberality²

hension, and be reduced to poverty Verily thy LORD will enlarge the store of whom he pleaseth, and will be sparing *unto whom he pleaseth*, for he knoweth and regardeth his servants. Kill not your children for fear of being brought to want, we will provide for them and for you verily the killing them is a great sin.^x Draw not near unto fornication, for it is wickedness, and an evil way Neither slay the soul which God hath forbidden *you to slay*, unless for a just cause,^y and whosoever shall be slain unjustly, we have given his heir power to *demand satisfaction*,^z but let him not exceed the bounds of moderation in putting to death *the murderer in too cruel a manner, or by revenging his friend's blood on any other than the person who killed him*, since he is assisted by *this law* And meddle not with the substance of the orphan, unless it be to improve it, until he attain his age of strength^b and perform your covenant, for the *performance of your covenant* shall be inquired into *hereafter* And give full measure, when you measure *aught*, and weigh with a just balance. This will be better, and more easy for determining *every man's due*.^c And follow not that whereof thou hast no knowledge,^d for the hearing, and the sight, and the heart, every of these shall be examined *at the last day* Waik not proudly in the land, for thou canst not cleave the earth, neither shalt thou equal the mountains in stature. All this is evil, and abominable in the sight of thy LORD These *precepts are a part* of the wisdom which thy LORD hath revealed unto thee. Set not up any other god *as equal* unto God, lest thou be cast into hell, reprov'd and rejected. Hath your LORD preferably granted unto you sons, and taken for himself daughters from among the angels?^e† Verily *in asserting this* ye utter a grievous saying And now have we used various *arguments and repetitions* in this Koran, that they may be warned yet it only rendereth them more disposed to fly *from the truth* Say *unto the idolaters*, If there were *other* gods with him, as ye say, they would surely seek an occasion of

^x See chap 6 pp 113 and 114 and chap 81

^y The crimes for which a man may justly be put to death are these apostacy, adultery, and murder⁴

^z It being at the election of the heir, or next of kin, either to take the life of the murderer or to accept of a fine in lieu of it⁵

^a Some refer the pronoun he to the person slain, for the avenging whose death this law was made, some to the heir who has a right granted him to demand satisfaction for his friend's blood,⁶ and others to him who shall be slain by the heir, if he carry his vengeance too far⁷

^b See chap 4, pp 59, 60

^c 'Fill the measure Hold the balance even, and you will obey the laws of justice and probity'—Savary

^d Or, *more advantageous in the end*⁸

^e *s. e.* Vain and uncertain opinions, which thou hast not good reason to believe true, or at least probable Some interpret the words, *Accuse not* another of a crime *whereof thou hast no knowledge*, supposing they forbid the bearing false witness, or the spreading or giving credit to idle reports of others.⁹

^f See chap 16, p 218

† 'Will you say that God has chosen you for his children, and that he has had daughters by an intercourse with the angels? Can you utter this blasphemy'—Savary

⁴ Al Beidawi.

⁵ See chap 2, p 21

⁶ Yahya.

⁷ Vide Al Beidawi

⁸ Idem. Al Zamakh.

⁹ Idem.

making some attempt against the possessor of the throne † God forbid! and far, very far, be that from him which they utter! The seven heavens praise him, and the earth, and all who are therein neither is there any thing which doth not celebrate his praise, but ye understand not their celebration *thereof* he is gracious and merciful. When thou readest the Korân, we place between thee and those who believe not in the life to come a dark veil, and we put coverings over their hearts, lest they should understand it, and in their ears thickness of hearing And when thou makest mention, in *repeating* the Korân, of thy LORD only,² they turn their backs, flying *the doctrine of his unity* We well know with what *design* they hearken, when they hearken unto thee, and when they privately discourse together when the ungodly say, Ye follow no other than a madman. Behold! what epithets they bestow on thee. But they are deceived, neither can they find any just occasion to reproach thee.* They also say, After we shall have become bones and dust, shall we surely be raised a new creature? Answer, Be ye stones, or iron, or some creature more improbable in your opinions *to be raised to life* But they will say, Who shall restore us to life? Answer, He who created you the first time and they will wag their heads at thee saying, When shall this be? Answer, Peradventure it is nigh On that day shall God call you forth from your sepulchres, and ye shall obey, with celebration of his praise^h and ye shall think that ye tarriedⁱ but a little while Speak unto my servants, that they speak mildly unto the believers, lest ye exasperate them, for Satan soweth discord among them, and Satan is a declared enemy unto man Your LORD well knoweth you, if he pleaseth, he will have mercy on you, or, if he pleaseth, he will punish you^k and we have not sent thee to be a steward over them † Thy LORD well knoweth all persons in heaven and on earth^l We have bestowed peculiar favours on some of the prophets, preferably to others, and we gave unto David the psalms^m Say, Call upon those whom ye imagine

† 2. 2. They would in all probability contend with God for superiority, and endeavour to dethrone him, in the same manner as princes act with one another on earth

* Not allowing their gods to be his associates, nor praying their intercession with him

* "They are in error and they no more shall find the truth"—Savary

^h The dead, says Al Beidâwi, at his call shall immediately rise, and shaking the dust off their heads shall say, Praise be unto thee, O God

ⁱ Viz., in your graves or, in the world

^k These words are designed as a pattern for the Moslems to follow, in discoursing with the idolaters by which they are taught to use soft and dubious expressions, and not to tell them directly that they are doomed to hell fire, which, besides the presumption in offering to determine the sentence of others, would only make them more irreconcilable enemies^l

† "We have not sent thee to be their defender"—Savary

^l And may choose whom he pleases for his ambassador This is an answer to the objections of the Koreish that Mohammed was the orphan pupil of Abu Taleb, and followed by a parcel of naked and hungry fellows^m

^m Which were a greater honour to him than his kingdom, and wherein Mohammed and his people are foretold by these words, among othersⁿ The righteous shall inherit the earth.⁴

¹ Al Beidâwi ² Idem ³ Vide Marrace in Alc. p 28, &c Prid. Use of
122. ⁴ Psalm xxxvii ⁵ Al Beidâwi

to be gods besides him, yet they will not be able to free you from harm, or to turn it on others. Those whom ye invoke^a do themselves desire to be admitted to a near conjunction with their LORD, striving which of them shall approach nearest unto him. They also hope for his mercy, and dread his punishment, for the punishment of thy LORD is terrible. There is no city but we will destroy the same before the day of resurrection, or we will punish it with a grievous punishment. This is written in the book of our eternal decrees. Nothing hindered us from sending thee with miracles, except that the former nations have charged them with imposture. We gave unto the tribe of Thamud, at their demand, the she-camel visible to their sight. Yet they dealt unjustly with her^o and we send not a prophet with miracles, but to strike terror. Remember when we said unto thee, Verily thy LORD encompasseth men by his knowledge and power. We have appointed the vision^p which we showed thee, and also the tree^q cursed in the Korân, only for an occasion of dispute unto men, and to strike them with terror, but it shall cause them to transgress only the more enormously. And remember when we said unto the angels, Worship Adam, and they all worshipped him except Eblis, who said, Shall I worship him whom thou hast created of clay? And he said, What thinkest thou as to this man whom thou hast honoured above me? verily, if thou grant me respite until the day of resurrection, I will extirpate his offspring, except a few.* God answered, Begone, I grant thee respite but whosoever of them shall follow thee, hell shall surely be your reward, an ample reward for your demerits!^r And entice to vanity such of them as thou canst, by thy voice, and assault them on all sides with thy horsemen and thy footmen,^s and partake with them in their riches, and their children,^t and make them promises, (but the devil shall make them no other than deceitful pro-

^a Viz the angels and prophets who are the servants of God as well as yourselves

^o See chap 7 p 124

^p Mohammed's journey to heaven is generally agreed to be intended in this place, which occasioned great heats and debates among his followers, till they were quieted by Abu Beers bearing testimony to the truth of it.^u The word vision, here used, is urged by those who take this journey to have been no more than a dream, as a plain confirmation of their opinion. Some however suppose the vision meant in this passage was not the night journey, but the dream Mohammed saw at al Hodeibiya, wherein he seemed to make his entrance into Mecca,^v or that at Bedr⁷ or else a vision he had relating to the family of Ommeya, whom he saw mount his pulpit, and jump about in it like monkeys, upon which he said This is their portion in this world, which they have gained by their profession of Islâm.⁸ But if any of these latter expositions be true the verse must have been revealed at Medina.

^q Called al Zakkum which springs from the bottom of hell.⁹

^r The Zakkum is a thorny tree which grows in Arabia, and of which the fruit is excessively bitter. It was, no doubt, this bad quality which induced Mohammed to place it in hell. —Savary

^s I will enchain the posterity of him whom thou hast raised above me. Few shall escape my snares. —Savary

^t See chap 2, p 5, and chap 7, p 118, &c.

^u e With all thy forces

^v Instigating them to get wealth by unlawful means, and to spend it in supporting

^u Vide Abulf Vit Moh p 89, and not ibid Prideaux Life of Moh p 50, and Pehm Disc sect 2, p 33

^v See Kor chap 48

⁷ See chap 8, p 143

⁸ Al Beidâwl. ⁹ See chap 37

mises *) as to my servants, thou shalt have no power over them, for thy LORD is a sufficient protector of those who trust in him. It is your LORD who driveth forward the ships for you in the sea, that ye may seek to enrich yourselves of his abundance by commerce, for he is merciful towards you. When a misfortune befalleth you at sea, the false deities whom ye invoke are forgotten by you, except him alone yet when he bringeth you safe to dry land, ye retire afar off from him, and return to your idols, for man is ungrateful^u. Are ye therefore secure that he will not cause the dry land to swallow you up, or that he will not send against you a whirlwind driving the sands to overwhelm you? Then shall ye find none to protect you†. Or are ye secure that he will not cause you again to commit yourselves to the sea another time, and send against you a tempestuous wind, and drown you, for that ye have been ungrateful? then shall ye find none to defend you against us, in that distress. And now have we honoured the children of Adam by sundry peculiar privileges and endowments, and we have given them conveniences of carriage by land and by sea, and have provided food for them of good things, and we have preferred them before many of our creatures which we have created, by granting them great prerogatives. On a certain day we will call all men to judgment with their respective leaders^v and whosoever shall have his book given him into his right hand, they shall read then book with joy and satisfaction,^x and they shall not be wronged a hair^y. And whoever hath been blind in this life shall be also blind in the next, and shall wander more widely from the path of salvation. It wanted little but the unbelievers had tempted thee to swerve from the instructions which we had revealed unto thee, that thou shouldst devise concerning us a different thing,^z and then would they have taken thee for their friend

vice and superstition, and tempting them to incestuous mixtures and to give their children names in honour of their idols, as Abd Yaghuth Abd al Uzza &c¹⁰

* Render men docile to thy voice attack them with thy legions increase their riches and the number of their children, flatter them with delightful hopes. Thy promises shall be delusive —Savary

^u See chap 10, p 168

† Think ye that ye have a shelter from his wrath? Can he not open an abyss under your feet or cause a cloud laden with stones to burst upon your heads? Where would ye find refuge? —Savary

^v Some interpret this of the prophet sent to every people, others of the heads of sects others of the various religions professed in the world other, of the books which shall be given to every man at the resurrection, containing a register of their good and bad actions¹

^x See the Prelim Disc sect 4, p 64

^y See chap 4 p 67, note ^z

¹ These are generally supposed to have been the tribe of Thakif the inhabitants of al Tayef, who insisted on Mohammed's granting them several very extraordinary privileges as the terms of their submission to him, for they demanded that they might be free from the legal contribution of alms and from observing the appointed times of prayer, that they might be allowed to keep their idol Allât for a certain time,² and that their territory might be declared a place of security, and not be violated, like that of Mecca, &c. And they added that if the other Arabs asked him the reason of these concessions he should say, that God had commanded him so to do³. According to which explication it is plain this verse must have been revealed long after the Hejra.

Some, however, will have the passage to have been revealed at Mecca, on occa-

¹⁰ Al Beidâwî ¹ Idem ² See the Prelim Disc p 13. ³ Al Beidâwî.
Jallalo ddin Vide Abulf Vit Moham p 126 &c.

and unless we had confirmed thee, thou hadst certainly been very near inclining unto them a little. Then would we surely have caused thee to taste the punishment of life, and the punishment of death,^a and thou shouldest not have found any to protect thee against us. The *unbelievers* had likewise almost caused thee to depart the land, that they might have expelled thee thence^b but then should they not have tarried *therein* after thee, except a little while^c *This is* the method of dealing *which we have prescribed ourselves* in respect to our apostles, whom we have already sent before thee and thou shalt not find any change in our *prescribed* method. Regularly perform *thy* prayer at the declension of the sun,^d at the first darkness of the night,^e and the prayer of day break,^f for the prayer of daybreak is borne witness unto *by the angels*^g And watch *some part* of the night in the same *exercise*, as a work of supererogation for thee peradventure thy LORD will raise thee to an honourable station^h And say, O LORD, cause me to enter with a favourable entry, and cause me to come forth with a favourable coming forth,ⁱ and grant me from thee an assisting power And say, Truth is

sion of the Koreish who told Mohammed they would not suffer him to kiss the black stone in the wall of the Caaba, unless he also visited their idols, and touched them with his hand to show his respect

^a *Viz*, both of this life and the next. Some interpret the first of the punishment in the next world and the latter of the torture of the sepulchre⁴

^b The commentators differ as to the place where this passage was delivered and the occasion of it. Some think it was revealed at Mecca, and that it refers to the violent enmity which the Koreish bore Mohammed and their restless endeavours to make him leave Mecca,⁵ as he was at length obliged to do. But as the persons here spoken of seem not to have prevailed in their project, others suppose that the verse was revealed at Medina, on the following occasion. The Jews, envious of Mohammed's good reception and stay there, told him, by way of counsel, that Syria was the land of the prophets and that if he was a prophet he ought to go thither. Mohammed seriously reflecting on what they had said, began to think they had advised him well and actually set out and proceeded a day's journey in his way to Syria, whereupon God acquainted him with their design by the revelation of this verse and he returned to Medina.⁶

^c This was fulfilled according to the former of the above mentioned explications by the loss of the Koreish at Bedr and according to the latter, by the great slaughter of the Jews of Koreidha and al Nadir.⁷

^d *e* At the time of noon prayer when the sun declines from the meridian, or as some choose to translate the words *at the setting of the sun*, which is the time of the first evening prayer

^e The time of the last evening prayer

^f Literally, *the reading of the daybreak* whence some suppose the reading of the Koran at that time is here meant

^g *Viz* the guardian angels, who according to some are relieved at that time or else the angels appointed to make the change of night into day, &c.⁸

^h According to a tradition of Abu Hloireira, the honourable station here intended is that of intercessor for others.⁹

ⁱ That is Grant that I may enter my grave with pence and come forth from it, at the resurrection with honour and satisfaction. In which sense this petition is the same with that of Balaam, *Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his*¹⁰

But as the person here spoken to is generally supposed to be Mohammed, the commentators say he was commanded to pray in these words for a safe departure from Mecca, and a good reception at Medina, or for a sure refuge in the cave, where he hid himself when he fled from Mecca.¹¹ or (which is the more common opinion) for a victorious entrance into Mecca, and a safe return thence.¹²

⁴ Al Beidawi

⁵ Idem

⁶ Idem, Jallalo'ddin

⁷ Idem.

⁸ Al Beidawi

⁹ Idem.

¹⁰ Numb xxiii 10

¹¹ See the Prelim Disc sect. ii p 36

¹² Al Beidawi Jallalo'ddin

some, and falsehood is vanished * for falsehood is of short continuance.^k We send down of the Korân that which is a medicine and mercy unto the true believers, but it shall only increase the perdition of the unjust. When we bestow favours on man, he retireth and withdraweth himself *ungratefully from us* but when evil toucheth him, he despaireth of our mercy Say, Every one acteth after his own manner ^l but your LORD best knoweth who is most truly directed in *his way* They will ask thee concerning the spirit ^m answer, The spirit *was created* at the command of my LORD ⁿ but ye have no knowledge given unto you, except a little ^o If we pleased, we should certainly take away that which we have revealed unto thee, ^p in such case thou couldst not find any to assist thee therein against us, unless through mercy from thy LORD, for his favour towards thee hath been great. Say, Verily if men and genn were purposely assembled, that they might produce a *book* like this Korân, they could not produce *one* like unto it, although the one of them assisted the other And we have variously propounded unto men in this Korân, every *kind of* figurative argument, [†] but the greater part of men refuse to receive it merely out of infidelity And they say, We will by no means believe on thee, until thou cause a spring of water to gush forth for us out of the earth, ^q or thou have a garden of palm trees and vines, and thou cause

* "Say, Lord, cause the truth * to preside over my entering in cause it to pre side over my going out, cover me with the shield of thy power —*Savary*

^k These words Mohammed repeated, when he entered the temple of Mecca, after the taking of that city and cleansed it of the idols a great number of which are said to have fallen down on his touching them with the end of the stick he held in his hand ^l

^m *e* According to his judgment or opinion be it true or false or according to the bent of his mind, and the natural constitution of his body ⁿ

^o Or, the soul of man Some interpret it of the angel Gabriel or of the divine revelation ^p

^q *Viz*, by the word *Kun* *e* *Be* consisting of an immaterial substance and not generated like the body But, according to a different opinion this passage should be translated, *The spirit is of those things, the knowledge of which thy Lord hath reserved to himself* For it is said that the Jews bid the Koreish ask Mohammed to relate the history of those who slept in the cave,⁸ and of Dhu lkarnain,⁹ and to give them an account of the soul of man adding that if he pretended to answer all the three questions, or could answer none of them they might be sure he was no prophet, but if he gave an answer to one or two of the questions and was silent as to the other, he was really a prophet. Accordingly when they propounded the questions to him he told them the two histories but acknowledged his ignorance as to the origin of the human soul ¹

^o All your knowledge being acquired from the information of your senses, which must necessarily fail you in spiritual speculations, without the assistance of divine revelation ^p

^q *Viz*, the Korân by razing it both from the written copies, and the memories of men

[†] "In it we have given instructions to man concerning all his duties, but, obstinate in his unbelief, he rejects the light —*Savary*

⁸ This and the following miracles were demanded of Mohammed by the Koreish, as proofs of his mission.

* "When Mohammed entered Mecca in triumph, the temple was surrounded by three hundred and sixty idols He struck them with a wand which he had in his hand, exclaiming, till they were overthrown, Truth has appeared, falsehood is about to vanish."—*Savary*

⁸ *Idem*. Vide Gagner Vie de Mohammed, tom. 2, p 127

⁹ Al Beidâwi

¹ *Idem*. ⁸ See the next chapter ⁹ See *ibid*. ¹ Al Beidâwi ² *Idem*.

rivers to spring forth from the midst thereof in abundance, or thou cause the heavens to fall down upon us, as thou hast given out, in pieces, or thou bring down God and the angels to vouch for thee or thou have a house of gold, or thou ascend by a ladder to heaven neither will we believe thy ascending *thither alone*,^{*} until thou cause a book to descend unto us, *bearing witness of thee*, which we may read. Answer, My LORD be praised! Am I other than a man, *sent as an apostle*? And nothing hindereth men from believing, when a direction is come unto them, except that they say, Hath God sent a man for his apostle? Answer, if the angels had walked on earth as familiar inhabitants thereof, we had surely sent down unto them from heaven an angel for our apostle. Say, God is a sufficient witness between me and you for he knoweth and regardeth his servants. Whom God shall direct, he shall be the *rightly* directed, and whom he shall cause to err, thou shalt find none to assist, besides him. And we will gather them together on the day of resurrection, *creeping on their faces*, blind, and dumb, and deaf ^a their abode *shall be hell*, so often as the fire thereof shall be extinguished, we will rekindle a burning flame to torment them.^b This shall be their reward, because they disbelieve in our signs, and say, When we shall have been *reduced to bones and dust*, shall we surely be raised new creatures? Do they not perceive that God, who created the heavens and the earth, is able to create *other bodies*, like *their present*? And he hath appointed them a limited term,^c there is no doubt thereof but the ungodly reject the truth, merely out of unbelief. Say, If ye possessed the treasures of the mercy of my LORD, ye would surely refrain from using them, for fear of spending them,^d for man is covetous. We heretofore gave unto Moses the power of working nine evident signs.^e And do thou ask the children of Israel, as to the story of Moses,^f when he came unto them, and Pharaoh said unto him, Verily I esteemed thee, O Moses, to be deluded by sorcery

* As thou pretendest to have done in thy night journey, but of which no man was witness

^a See the Prelim Disc sect iv pp 60 61

^b 1. When the fire shall go out or abate for want of fuel, after the consumption of the skins and flesh of the damned we will add fresh vigour to the flames by giving them new bodies³

^c Of life or resurrection

^d That is lest they should be exhausted

^e We gave to Moses the power of working seven miracles — *Savary*

^f These were, the changing his rod into a serpent, the making his hand white and shining the producing locusts lice, frogs, and blood, the dividing of the Red Sea, the bringing water out of the rock, and the shaking of Mount Sinai over the children of Israel. In lieu of the three last, some reckon the inundation of the Nile, the blasting of the corn, and scarcity of the fruits of the earth⁴ These words, however are interpreted by others not of nine miracles but of nine commandments, which Moses gave his people, and were thus numbered up by Mohammed himself to a Jew who asked him the question, viz That they should not be guilty of idolatry nor steal, nor commit adultery or murder nor practise sorcery or usury, nor accuse an innocent man to take away his life, or a modest woman of whoredom nor desert the army to which he added the observing of the sabbath, as a tenth commandment, but which peculiarly regarded the Jews, upon which answer, it is said, the Jew kissed the prophet's hands and feet.⁵

Some think these words are directed to Moses who is hereby commanded to demand the children of Israel of Pharaoh, that he might let them go with him.

³ Al Beidawi See chap 4 p 67

⁴ Idem, Jallalo ddin

⁵ Al Beidawi.

Moses answered, Thou well knowest that none hath sent down these evident signs except the LORD of heaven and earth, and I surely esteem thee, O Pharaoh, a lost man. Wherefore *Pharaoh* sought to drive them out of the land, but we drowned him and all those who were with him. And we said unto the children of Israel, after *his destruction*, Dwell ye in the land and when the promise of the next life shall come to be fulfilled, we will bring you both promiscuously to judgment. We have sent down the *Korân* with truth, and it hath descended with truth and we have not sent thee otherwise than to be a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer of threats. And we have divided the *Korân*, revealing it by parcels, that thou mightest read it unto men with deliberation, and we have sent it down, causing it to descend as occasion required^a. Say, whether ye believe therein, or do not believe, verily those who have been favoured with the knowledge of the scriptures which were revealed before it, when the same is rehearsed unto them, fall down on their faces,^b worshipping, and say, Our LORD be praised, for that the promise of our LORD is surely fulfilled^c and they fall down on their faces, weeping, and the hearing thereof increaseth their humility. Say, Call upon God, or call on the Merciful by whichsoever of the two names ye invoke him, it is equal, for he hath Most excellent names.^d Pronounce not thy prayer aloud, neither pronounce it with too low a voice,^e but follow a middle way between these and say, Praise be unto God, who hath not begotten any child, who hath no partner in the kingdom, nor hath any to protect him from contempt and magnify him by proclaiming his greatness.

CHAPTER XVIII

INTITLED, THE CAVE,* REVEALED AT MECCA'

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

PRaise be unto God, who hath sent down unto his servant the book of the *Koran*, and hath not inserted therein any crookedness,* but hath made it a straight rule that he should threaten a grievous punishment unto the unbelievers, from his presence, and should bear good tidings unto the faithful, who work righteousness, that they should receive an excellent reward, namely, paradise, wherein they shall remain for ever and that he

See the Prelm Disc sect iii p 46

^b Literally, on their chins

^c The infidels hearing Mohammed say, O God, and O Merciful, imagined the Merciful was the name of a deity different from God, and that he preached the worship of two, which occasioned this passage. See chap 7, p 136

^d Neither so loud, that the infidels may overhear thee, and thence take occasion to blaspheme and scoff, nor so softly as not to be heard by the assistants. Some suppose, that by the word prayer, in this place, is meant the reading of the *Korân*

^e The chapter is thus inscribed because it makes mention of the cave wherein the seven sleepers concealed themselves

^f Some except one verse, which begins thus, Behave thyself with constancy, &c

* "The book which deceives not —Savary

should warn those who say, God hath begotten issue, of which matter they have no knowledge, neither *had* their fathers. A grievous saying *it is*, which proceedeth from their mouths they speak no other than a lie Peradventure thou wilt kill thyself with grief after them, *out of thy earnest zeal for their conversion*,* if they believe not in this new revelation of the *Korân*. Verily we have ordained whatsoever is on earth for the ornament thereof, that we might make trial of *men*, and see which of them excelleth in works and we will surely reduce whatever is thereon to dry dust. Dostthou consider that the companions of the cave,² and Al Rakim,³ were *one* of our signs, and a *great* miracle? When the young men took refuge in the cave, they said, O LORD, grant us mercy from before thee, and dispose our business for us to a right *issue* † Wherefore we struck their ears *with deafness*, so that they slept without disturbance in the cave for a *great* number of years then we awaked them, that we might know which of the two parties⁴ was more exact in computing the space which they had remained *there*. We will relate unto thee their history with truth. Verily they were young men who had believed in their LORD and we had abundantly directed them and we fortified their hearts with constancy when they stood *before the tyrant*, and they said, Our LORD is the LORD of heaven and earth we will by no means call on any god besides him, *for* then should we surely utter an extravagance ‡ These our *fellow* people have taken *other* gods, besides him, although they bring no demonstrative argument for them and who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie concerning God! §

* "If they believe not thy doctrine thy efforts to lead them to it will be in vain and thy grief will be fruitless — *Savary*

† These were certain Christian youths of a good family in Ephesus who to avoid the persecution of the emperor Decius by the Arab writers called Decianus, hid themselves in a cave where they slept for a great number of years⁶

‡ This apocryphal story (for Baronius⁷ treats it as no better and Father Maracci⁸ acknowledges it to be partly false or at least doubtful, though he calls Hottinger a monster of impiety, and the off scum of heretics for terming it a fable⁹) was borrowed by Mohammed from the Christian traditions¹ but has been embellished by him and his followers with several additional circumstances²

§ What is meant by this word the commentators cannot agree. Some will have it to be the name of the mountain or the valley where the cave was, some say it was the name of their dog, and others (who seem to come nearest the true signification) that it was a brass plate or stone table placed near the mouth of the cave, on which the names of the young men were written

There are some, however who take the companions of Al Rakim to be different from the seven sleepers for they say the former were three men who were driven by ill weather into a cave for shelter, and were shut in there by the falling down of a vast stone, which stopped the cave's mouth, but on their begging God's mercy and their relating each of them a meritorious action which they hoped might entitle them to it, were miraculously delivered by the rocks rending in sunder to give them passage³

† "Lord, cover us with the shade of thy mercy, and cause justice to preside over our enterprise" — *Savary*

‡ *Viz*, of the sleepers themselves, or others, who are divided in opinion as to the length of their stay in the cave

§ "For we should be impious" — *Savary*

§ "People, worship your idols. We will refuse unto them our incense, as long

¹ Al Beidâwî, Jallalo ddin, &c. ² In Martyrol ad 27 Julii. ³ Alcor p 425 et in Prodr part 4, p 103. ⁴ Hotting Hist. Orient p 40 ⁵ Vide Greg Turon et Simeon Metaphrast ⁶ Vide D Herbelot, Bibl. Orient p 189 ⁷ Al Beidâwî ex trad Noomân Ebn Bashir

And they said the one to the other, When ye shall separate yourselves from them, and from the *desires* which they worship, except God,^k fly into the cave your LORD will pour his mercy on you abundantly, and will dispose your business for you to advantage. And thou mightest have seen the sun, when it had risen, to decline from their cave towards the right hand, and when it went down, to leave them on the left hand,^l and they were in the spacious part of the cave^m This was one of the signs of God Whomsoever God shall direct, he shall be rightly directed and whomsoever he shall cause to err, thou shalt not find any to defend or to direct. And thou wouldest have judged them to have been awake,ⁿ while they were sleeping, and we caused them to turn themselves to the right hand, and to the left^o And their dog^p stretched forth his fore legs in the mouth of the cave if thou hadst come suddenly upon them, verily thou wouldest have turned thy back and fled from them, and thou wouldest have been filled with fear at the sight of them.^q And so we waked them from their sleep, that they might ask questions of one another One of them spake and said, How long have ye tarried here? They answered, We have tarried a day, or part of a day The others said, Your LORD best knoweth the time ye have tarried^r and now send one of you with this your money into the

as they give unto us no eminent proofs of their power What can be more impious than to attribute falsehood to God? —*Savary*

^k For they like other idolaters worshipped the true God and idols also⁴

^l Lest it should be offensive to them, the cave opening towards the south⁵

^m i. e. In the midst of it, where they were incommoded neither by the heat of the sun nor the closeness of the cave⁶

ⁿ Because of their having their eyes open, or their frequent turning themselves from one side to the other⁷

^o Lest their lying so long on the ground should consume their flesh⁸

^p This dog had followed them as they passed by him when they fled to the cave, and they drove him away whereupon God caused him to speak and he said, *I love those who are dear unto God go to sleep therefore, and I will guard you* But some say it was a dog belonging to a shepherd who followed them and that the dog followed the shepherd, which opinion is supported by reading as some do, *calahom their dog's master*, instead of *calahom their dog*⁹ Jallalo ddn adds that the dog behaved himself as his masters did, in turning himself, in sleeping, and in waking

The Mohammedans have a great respect for this dog, and allow him a place in paradise with some other favourite brutes and they have a sort of proverb which they use in speaking of a covetous person *that he would not throw a bone to the dog of the seven sleepers* nay it is said that they have the superstition to write his name, which they suppose to be Katmir (though some as is observed above, think he was called al Rakim,) on their letters which go far, or which pass the sea, as a protection, or kind of talisman to preserve them from miscarriage¹

^q For that God had given them terrible countenances or else because of the largeness of their bodies or the horror of the place

It is related that the Khalif Moawiyah in an expedition he made against Natolia passed by the cave of the seven sleepers and would needs send somebody into it, notwithstanding Ebn Abbās remonstrated to him the danger of it, saying, That a better man than him (meaning the prophet) had been forbidden to enter it, and repeated this verse, but the men the Khalif sent in had no sooner entered the cave, than they were struck dead by a burning wind²

^r As they entered the cave in the morning and waked about noon they at first imagined they had slept half a day or a day and a half at most, but when they found their nails and hair grown very long they used these words³

⁴ Al Beidāwī ⁵ Idem. ⁶ Idem ⁷ Idem ⁸ Idem Jallalo ddn ⁹ Idem

¹ La Roque, Voy del Arabie Heur p 74. Vide D Herbel ubi sup ² Al Beidāwī ³ Idem.

city,* and let him see which of its *inhabitants* hath the best and cheapest food, and let him bring you provision from him, and let him behave circumspectly, and not discover you to any one. Verily if they come up against you, they will stone you, or force you to return to their religion, and then shall ye not prosper for ever. And so we made *their people* acquainted with *what had happened* to them, that they might know that the promise of GOD is true, and that there is no doubt of the *last hour*,^a when they disputed among themselves concerning their matter.^b And they said, Elect a building over them: their LORD best knoweth *their condition*. Those who prevailed in their affair answered, We will surely build a chapel over them.^c Some say, *The sleepers were three, and their dog was the fourth*^d and others say, *They were five, and their dog was the sixth*,^e guessing at a secret matter: and others say, *They were seven, and their dog was the eighth*.^f Say, My LORD best knoweth their number: none shall know them, except a few. Wherefore dispute not concerning them except with a clear disputation,* according to what hath been revealed unto thee: and ask not any of the *Christians* concerning them. Say not of any matter, I will surely do this to-morrow, unless thou add, If GOD please.^g And remember thy LORD, when thou forgettest,^h and say My LORD is able to direct me with ease, that I may draw near unto the *truth* of this matter rightly. And they remained in their cave three hundred years, and nine

* Which some commentators suppose was Tarsus.

^a The long sleep of these young men and their waking after so many years being a representation of the state of those who die, and are afterwards raised to life.

^b Concerning the resurrection, some saying that the souls only should be raised: others that they should be raised with the body: or, concerning the sleepers after they were really dead: one saying that they were dead, and another that they were only asleep: or else concerning the erecting a building over them as it follows in the next words, some advising a dwelling house to be built there and others a temple.^c

^d When the young man who was sent into the city went to pay for the provision he had bought, his money was so old, being the coin of Decianus that they imagined he had found a treasure and carried him before the prince, who was a Christian and having heard his story sent some with him to the cave who saw and spoke to the others after which they fell asleep again and died: and the prince ordered them to be buried in the same place and built a chapel over them.

^e This was the opinion of al Seyid a Jacobite Christian of Najrân.

^f Which was the opinion of certain Christians, and particularly of a Nestor a prelate.

^g And this is the true opinion.^h

^h "Speak not of them but with knowledge, and relate not their history to the unbelievers.—Savary.

ⁱ It is said, that when the Korcish by the direction of the Jews put the three questions above mentioned to Mohammed he bid them come to him the next day and he would give them an answer: but added not, *if it please God* for which reason he had the mortification to wait above ten days before any revelation was vouchsafed him concerning those matters: so that the Korcish triumphed and bitterly reproached him as a liar: but at length Gabriel brought him directions what he should say, with this admonition, however, that he should not be so confident for the future.^j

^j "The Turks act strictly up to this maxim of their prophet. They never give a positive answer. If they are asked Will you come? Will you go? Shall you complete this business? they always end their reply with *en cha Allah*, If God please.—Savary.

^k Give the glory to him, and ask pardon for thy omission, in case thou forget to say, *If it please God*.

^a Al Beldawl.

^b Idem, Jallalo ddin.

^c Idem.

years over^a Say, God best knoweth how long they continued *there* unto him *are* the secrets of heaven and earth *known*, do thou make him to see and to hear^d The *inhabitants thereof* have no protector besides him, neither doth he suffer any one to have a share in *the establishment or knowledge of his decree* Read that which hath been revealed unto thee, of the book of thy LORD, *without presuming to make any change therein*^e there is none who hath power to change his words, and thou shalt not find any to fly to, besides him, *if thou attempt it*. Behave thyself with constancy towards those who call upon their LORD morning and evening, and who seek his favour, and let not thine eyes be turned away from them, seeking the pomp of this life,^f neither obey him whose heart we have caused to neglect the remembrance of us,^g and who followeth his lusts,[†] and leaveth *the truth* behind him. And say, The truth is from your LORD, wherefore let him who will, believe, and let him who will, be incredulous We have surely prepared for the unjust *hell* fire, the flame and smoke whereof shall surround him like a pavilion and if they beg relief, they shall be relieved with water like molten brass, which shall scald *their* faces, O how miserable a portion, and how unhappy a couch! As to those who believe, and do good works, we will not suffer the reward of him who shall work righteousness to perish for them *are prepared* gardens of eternal abode,^h which shall be watered by rivers, they shall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold, and they shall be clothed in green garments of fine silk and brocades, reposing themselves therein on thrones.[‡] O how happy a reward, and how easy a couch! And propound unto them as a parable two menⁱ on the one of whom we had bestowed two vineyards, and had surrounded them with palm trees, and had caused corn to *grow* between them. Each of the

* "These youths remained three hundred and seven years in the cave" —*Savary*

^a Jallalo ddn supposes the whole space was three hundred solar years, and that the odd nine are added to reduce them to lunar years

Some think these words are introduced as spoken by the Christians who differed among themselves about the time, one saying it was three hundred years and another three hundred and nine years⁷ The interval between the reign of Decius, and that of Theodosius the younger in whose time the sleepers are said to have awaked will not allow them to have slept quite two hundred years, though Mohammed is somewhat excusable, since the number assigned by Simcon Metaphrastes⁸ is three hundred and seventy two years

^d This is an ironical expression, intimating the folly and madness of man's presuming to instruct God⁹

^e As the unbelievers would persuade thee to do¹⁰

^f That is despise not the poor believers because of their meanness, nor honour the rich because of their wealth and grandeur

^g The person more particularly intended here it is said was Ommeya Ebn Khalf, who desired Mohammed to discard his indigent companions, out of respect to the Koreish See chap 6 p 103

[†] Follow not him whose heart hath forgotten us, and who hath no other guide than his desires and his unbridled passions —*Savary*

^h Literally of Eden See chap 9 p 157

[‡] "Possessor of the garden of Eden through which rivers flow, adorned with golden bracelets, clothed in green garments woven in silk and in gold, resplendent with glory he shall repose on the nuptial couch the happy reward of the abode of delights" —*Savary*

ⁱ Though these seem to be general characters only, designed to represent the different end of the wicked, and of the good, yet it is supposed by some, that two

gardens brought forth its fruit *every season*, and failed not at all, and we caused a river to flow in the midst thereof and he had great abundance. And he said unto his companion by way of debate I am superior to thee in wealth, and have a more powerful family And he went into his garden,^k being guilty of injustice against his own soul, *and* said, I do not think that this *garden* will decay for ever, neither do I think that the last hour will come and although I should return unto my LORD, verily I shall find a better *garden* than this in exchange.^l And his companion said unto him, by way of debate, Dost thou not believe in him who created thee of the dust, and afterwards of seed, and then fashioned thee into a perfect man? But *as for me*, GOD is my LORD, and I will not associate any *other deity* with my LORD And when thou enterest thy garden, wilt thou not say, What GOD pleaseth *shall come to pass*, there is no power but in GOD alone? Although thou seest me to be inferior to thee in wealth and number of children, my LORD is well able to bestow on me a better *gift* than thy garden, and to shoot *his* arrows against the same from heaven, so that it shall become barren dust, or its water may sink deep *into the earth*, that thou canst not draw thereof. And his possessions were encompassed *with destruction*, as his companion had forewarned him, wherefore he began to turn down the palms of his hands *out of sorrow and regret* for that which he had expended thereon, for the *vines thereof* were fallen down on their trails and he said, Would to GOD that I had not associated any *other deity* with my LORD! And he had no party to assist him besides GOD,* neither was he able to defend himself *against his vengeance* In such case protection *belongeth* of right unto GOD *alone*, he is the best rewarder, and the best giver of success. And propound to them a similitude of the present life. *It is* like water which we send down from heaven, and the herb of the earth is mixed therewith, and *after it hath been green and flourishing*, in the morning it becometh dry stubble, which the winds scatter abroad, and GOD is able to do all things. Wealth and children *are* the ornament of this present life but good *works*, which are permanent, *are* better in the sight of thy LORD, with respect to the reward, and better with respect to hope On a *certain day* we will cause the mountains to pass away,^m and thou shalt see the earth appearing plain *and even* and we will gather *mankind*

particular persons are here meant. One says they were two Israelites and brothers, who had a considerable sum left them by their father, which they divided between them, and that one of them, being an unbeliever, bought large fields and possessions with his portion, while the other who was a true believer disposed of his to pious uses, but that in the end the former was ruined and the latter prospered. Another thinks they were two men of the tribe of Makhzûm the one named al Aswad Ebn Abd al Ashadd, an infidel, and the other Abu Salma Ebn Abdallah the husband of Omm Salma, (whom the prophet married after his death,) and a true believer.¹

^k Carrying his companion with him, out of ostentation, and to mortify him with the view of his large possession.²

^l Vainly imagining that his prosperity was not so much the free gift of God, as due to his merit.³

^m "His numerous slaves stopped not the hand of the Almighty. He was unable to defend himself. — *Savary*

ⁿ For being torn up by the roots, they shall fly in the air, and be reduced to atoms.⁴

¹ Al Baidâwî. ² Idem. ³ Idem. ⁴ Idem. See the Prelim. Disc. sect. iv p. 59

together, and we will not leave any one of them behind And they shall be set before thy LORD in *distinct* order, and he shall say unto them, Now are ye come unto us *naked*, as we created you the first time but ye thought that we should not perform *our* promise unto you And the book *wherein every one's actions are recorded* shall be put *into his hand*, and thou shalt see the wicked in great terror, because of that which *is written* therein, and they shall say, Alas for us! what *meaneth* this book? it omitteth neither a small *action* nor a great *one*, but it compriseth the same, and they shall find that which they have wrought present *before their eyes* and thy LORD will not deal unjustly with any one. *Remember* when we said unto the angels, Worship ye Adam and they all worshipped *him*, except Eblis,^a who was one of the *genii*,^b and departed from the command of his LORD Will ye therefore take him and his offspring for *your* patrons besides me, notwithstanding they are your enemies? Miserable *shall such* a change be to the ungodly! I called not them to be present at the creation of the heavens and of the earth, nor at the creation of themselves, neither did I take *those* seducers for my assistants. On a *certain* day, God shall say unto the idolaters, Call those whom ye imagined to be my companions, to *protect you* and they shall call them, but they shall not answer them, and we will place a valley of destruction between them ^{p*} and the wicked shall see *hell* fire and they shall know that they shall be thrown into the same, and they shall find no way to avoid it And now have we variously propounded unto men, in this Korân, a parable of every kind, but man cavilleth at most things *therein*. Yet nothing hindereth men from believing, now a direction is come unto them, and from asking pardon of their LORD, excepting that *they wait until* the punishment of *their* predecessors come to be *inflicted* on them, or that the chastisement of *the next life* come upon them publicly † We send not *our* messengers, but to bear good tidings and to denounce threats. Those who believe not, dispute with vain *arguments*, that they may thereby render the truth of no effect, and they hold my signs, and the admonitions which have been made them, in derision. And who is more unjust than he who hath been acquainted with the signs of his LORD, and retireth afar off from the same, and forgetteth that which his hands have formerly committed? Verily we have cast veils over their hearts, lest they should understand *the Korân*, and into their ears thickness of hearing if thou invite them to the *true* direction, yet will they not

^a See chap 2, p 5 and chap 7 p 118 &c

^b Hence some imagine the *genii* are a species of angels others suppose the devil to have been originally a *genius* which was the occasion of his rebellion and call him *the father of the genii*, whom he begat after his fall [†] it being a constant opinion, among the Mohammedans, that the angels are impeccable, and do not propagate their species ^c

^{p*} ^c Between the idolaters and their false gods Some suppose the meaning is no more than that God will set them at variance and division.

[†] "We will place the river of woe between them —*Savary*

† "When the truth appeared, the wicked denied it. They did not have recourse to the divine mercy but the sentence which was denounced against their predecessors, or a signal punishment, shall be the reward of their unbelief"—*Savary*

^a Jallaloddin &c

^c See the Prelim Disc sect iv p 51, &c.

therefore be directed for ever Thy LORD is gracious, endued with mercy, if he would have punished them for that which they have committed, he would doubtless have hastened their punishment but a threat *hath been denounced* against them,^a and they shall find no refuge, besides him And those *former cities*^b did we destroy, when they acted unjustly, and we gave them previous warning of their destruction And remember when Moses said unto his servant *Joshua the son of Nun*, I will not cease to go forward until I come to the place where the two seas meet, or I will travel for a long space of time^c But when they were arrived at the meeting of the two seas,^d they forgot their fish, *which they had taken with them*,^e and the fish took its way freely^f in the sea. And when they had passed beyond *that place*, Moses said unto his servant, Bring us our dinner, for now are we fatigued with this our journey His servant answered, Dost thou know *what has befallen me*? When we took up our lodging at the rock, verily I forgot the fish and none made me to forget it, except Satan, that I should not remind *thee* of it And the fish took its way into the sea, in a wonderful manner Moses said, This is what we sought after And they both went back, returning by the way they came And coming to the rock, they found one of our servants,^g unto whom we had granted mercy from us, and whom we had taught wisdom from before us. And Moses said unto him, Shall I follow thee, that thou mayest teach me *part*

^a *Viz* of their calamity at Badr (for the Koreish are the infidels here intended), or their punishment at the resurrection⁷

^b That is the towns of the Adites Thamudites Sodomites &c

^c The original word properly signifies the space of eighty years and upwards To explain this long passage the commentators tell the following story They say that Moses once preaching to the people, they admired his knowledge and eloquence so much that they asked him whether he knew any man in the world who was wiser than himself, to which he answered in the negative whereupon God, in a revelation, having reprehended him for his vanity (though some pretend that Moses asked God the question of his own accord) acquainted him that his servant al Khedr was more knowing than he, and at Moses's request, told him that he might find that person at a certain rock where the two seas met, directing him to take a fish with him in a basket, and that where he missed the fish, that was the place Accordingly Moses set out with his servant Joshua, in search of al Khedr which expedition is here described⁸

^d *Viz*, those of Persia and Greece Some fancy that the meeting of Moses and al Khedr is here intended as of two seas of knowledge⁹

^e Moses forgot to inquire concerning it, and Joshua forgot to tell him when he missed it It is said that when they came to the rock, Moses falling asleep the fish which was roasted, leaped out of the basket into the sea, some add that Joshua making the ablution at the fountain of life (of which immediately) some of the water happened to be sprinkled on the fish which immediately restored it to life¹

^f The word here translated *freely* signifying also a pipe or arched canal for conveyance of water, some have imagined that the water of the sea was miraculously kept from touching the body of the fish, which passed through it as under an arch²

^g This person, according to the general opinion was the prophet al Khedr, whom the Mohammedans usually confound with Phineas, Elias, and St George, saying that his soul passed by a metempsychosis successively through all three. Some however say his true name was Balya Ebn Malcan, and that he lived in the time of Afridun, one of the ancient kings of Persia, and that he preceded Dhulkarnein lived to the time of Moses They suppose al Khedr, having found out the

¹ Al Baidawi.

² Idem Al Zamakhshari, al Hokhari in Sonna, &c.

³ Idem

Idem

of that which thou hast been taught, for a direction *unto me*? He answered, Verily, thou canst not bear with me for how canst thou patiently suffer those things, the knowledge whereof thou dost not comprehend? *Moses* replied, Thou shalt find me patient, if God please, neither will I be disobedient unto thee in any thing. He said, if thou follow me, therefore, ask me not concerning any thing, until I shall declare the meaning thereof unto thee. So they both went on *by the sea-shore*, until they went up into a ship, and he made a hole therein.^a And *Moses* said unto him, Hast thou made a hole therein, that thou mightest drown those who are on board? now hast thou done a strange thing. He answered, Did I not tell thee that thou couldst not bear with me? *Moses* said, Rebuke me not, because I did forget, and impose not on me a difficulty in what I am commanded. Wherefore they *left the ship* and proceeded, until they met with a youth, and he slew him.^b *Moses* said, hast thou slain an innocent person, without *his having killed* another? now hast thou committed an unjust action. [* XVI] He answered, Did I not tell thee that thou couldst not bear with me? *Moses* said, If I ask thee concerning any thing hereafter, suffer me not to accompany thee. now hast thou received an excuse from me. They went forwards, therefore until they came to the inhabitants of a *certain city*,^c and they asked food of the inhabitants thereof but they refused to receive them. And they found therein a wall, which was ready to fall down, and he set it upright.^d Whereupon *Moses* said unto him, If thou wouldst, thou mightest doubtless have received a reward for it. He answered, This shall be a separation between me and thee, but I will first declare unto thee the signification of that which thou couldst not bear with patience.^e The vessel belonged to certain poor men,^f who did their business in the sea and I was minded to render it unseizable, because there was a king^g behind them, who took every *sound* ship by force. As to the youth, his parents were true believers, and we feared, lest he *being an unbeliever*, should oblige them to suffer *his* perverseness and ingratitude wherefore we desired that their LORD might give them a more righteous

fountain of life and drank thereof became immortal, and that he had therefore his name from his *flourishing* and continual youth.^h

Part of these fictions they took from the Jews, some of whom also fancy Phineas was Elias.ⁱ

^a For al Khedr took an axe and knocked out two of her planks.^j

^b By twisting his neck round or dashing his head against a wall or else by throwing him down and cutting his throat.^k

^c This city was Antioch, or as some rather think, Obollah near Basra, or else Bâjrwân in Armenia.^l

^d By only stroking it with his hand, though others say he threw it down and rebuilt it.^m

^e "Here we separate, replied the servant of the Lord but before I depart I will show to thee the meaning of these actions concerning which thou couldst not keep silence"—*Savary*

^f They were ten brothers, five of whom were past their labour by reason of their age.ⁿ

^g Named Jaland Ebn Karkar, or Minwâr Ebn Jaland al Azdi,^o who reigned in Oman. See Poc Spec p 42.

^h Idem. Vide D Herbelot Bibl Orient. Art Khedher, Septemcastrens. de Turcar Moribus Busbeq Epist 1 p 93 &c Hotting Hist Orient p 58, &c. 99, &c 292, &c ⁱ R Levi Ben Gerson in Append lib 1, Reg 1 27 ^j Al Beidâwi

^k Idem, ^l Idem ^m Idem. ⁿ Idem ^o Idem

child in exchange for him, and one more affectionate *towards them*.^a And the wall belonged to two orphan youths^f in the city, and under it was a treasure *hidden which belonged* to them, and their father was a righteous man and thy LORD was pleased that they should attain their full age, and take forth their treasure, through the mercy of thy LORD, and I did not *what thou hast seen*, of mine own will, but by God's direction. This is the interpretation of that which thou couldst not bear with patience. The Jews will ask thee concerning Dhu'lkarnein^g Answer, I will rehearse unto you an account of him We made him powerful in the earth, and we gave him means to *accomplish* every thing *he pleased* And he followed *his way*, until he came to the place where the sun setteth, *and* he found it to set in a spring of black mud,^b and he found near the same a certain people^{*i} And we said, O Dhu'lkarnein, either punish *this people*, or use gentleness towards them^k He answered, Whosoever of *them* shall commit injustice, we will surely punish him *in this world*, afterwards shall he return unto his LORD, and he shall punish him with a severe punishment But whosoever believeth, and doth that which is right, shall receive the most excellent reward, and we will give him in command that which is easy Then he continued *his way*, until he came to the place where the sun riseth,¹ *and* he found it to rise on certain people, unto whom we had not

^a It is said that they had afterwards a daughter who was the wife and the mother of a prophet and that her son converted a whole nation²

^f The names were Asram and Sarim³

^g Or, the two horned The generality of the commentators⁴ suppose the person here meant to be Alexander the Great or, as they call him Iscander al Rûmî king of Persia and Greece but there are very different opinions as to the reason of this surname Some think it was given him because he was king of the East and of the West, or because he had made expeditions to both those extreme parts of the earth, or else because he had two horns on his diadem, or two curls of hair like horns on his forehead or which is most probable, by reason of his great valour Several modern writers⁵ rather suppose the surname was occasioned by his being represented in his coins and statues with horns as the son of Jupiter Ammon, or else by his being compared by the prophet Daniel to a he goat,⁶ though he is there represented with but one horn⁷

There are some good writers however who believe the prince intended in this passage of the Koran was not Alexander the Grecian but another great conqueror who bore the same name and surname and was much more ancient than he being contemporary with Abraham and one of the kings of Persia of the first race,⁸ or, as others suppose a king of Yaman, named Asaab Lbn al Râyes⁹

They all agree he was a true believer, but whether he was a prophet or no is a disputed point

^b That is, it seemed so to him when he came to the ocean, and saw nothing but water¹

An unbelieving nation, who were clothed in the skins of wild beasts, and lived upon what the sea cast on shore²

^{*} He saw the sun disappear in a fiery sea. These countries were inhabited by infidels —*Savary*

^k For God gave Dhu'lkarnein his choice, either to destroy them for their infidelity, or to instruct them in the true faith, or according to others either to put them to the sword or to take them captives but the words which follow confirm the former interpretation by which it appears he chose to invite them to the true religion, and to punish only the disobedient and incredulous

¹ ^e That part of the habitable world on which the sun first rises

² Al Beidâwî ³ Idem ⁴ Idem Zamakhsharî, Jallal'uddin, Yahya. ⁵ Scaliger, de Emend temp L'Empereur, not in Jachiad Dan viii 5 Gol in Alfrag p 58, &c

⁶ Schickard Tarikh Reg Pers p 73 ⁷ See Dan viii. ⁸ Abulfeda,

Khondemir Tarikh Montakhab, &c. Vide D'Herbel Bibl Orient. Art Escander

⁹ F' trad Ebn Abbas Vide Poc. Spec. p 58. ¹ Al Beidawî, Jallal'uddin. ² Idem.

given any thing wherewith to shelter themselves therefrom.^m Thus *it was*, and we comprehended with our knowledge the *forces* which were with him.ⁿ And he prosecuted *his* journey *from south to north*, until he came between the two mountains,ⁿ beneath which he found certain people, who could scarce understand what was said.^o And they said, O Dhu'lkarnein, verily Gog and Magog waste the land,^p shall we therefore pay thee tribute, on condition that thou build a rampart between us and them? He answered, The *power* wherewith my Lord has strengthened me is better *than your tribute* but assist me strenuously, and I will set a strong wall between you and them. Bring me iron in large pieces, until it fill up *the space* between the two sides of *these mountains*. And he said to the *workmen*, Blow with your bellows, until it make *the iron red hot as fire*. And he said further, Bring me molten brass, that I may pour upon it. Wherefore, *when this wall was finished*, Gog and Magog could not scale it, neither could they dig through it.^q And Dhu'lkarnein said, This *is* a mercy from my LORD but when the prediction of my LORD shall come *to be fulfilled*,^r he shall reduce *the wall* to dust, and the prediction of my LORD is true. On that day we will suffer some of them to press tumultuously like waves on others,^s and the trumpet shall be sounded, and we will gather them in a body together. And we will set hell on that day before the unbelievers, whose eyes have been veiled from my remembrance, and

^m Who had neither clothes nor houses their country not bearing any buildings but dwelt in holes under ground, into which they retreated from the heat of the sun.ⁿ Jallalo ddn says they were the Zenj a black nation lying south west of Ethiopia. They seem to be the Troglodytes of the ancients

^o 'This narrative is true We know all those who were with Alexander'—*Savary*

^p Between which Dhu'lkarnein built the famous rampart mentioned immediately, against the irruptions of Gog and Magog. These mountains are situate in Armenia and Adherbajan, or, according to others, much more northwards on the confines of Turkestan.^q The relation of a journey taken to this rampart, by one who was sent on purpose to view it by the Khalif al Wathec, may be seen in D Herbelot.^r

^s By reason of the strangeness of their speech and their slowness of apprehension, wherefore they were obliged to make use of an interpreter.^t

^u The Arabs call them Yajûj and Majûj and say they are two nations or tribes descended from Japhet the son of Noah or, as others write Gog are a tribe of the Turks, and Magog of those of Gilan,^v the Geli and Gela of Ptolemy and Strabo.^w

It is said these barbarous people made their irruptions into the neighbouring countries in the spring and destroyed and carried off the fruits of the earth, and some pretend they were man eaters.^x

^y The commentators say the wall was built in this manner. They dug till they found water, and having laid the foundation of stone and melted brass they built the superstructure of large pieces of iron between which they laid wood and coals, till they equalled the height of the mountains and then setting fire to the combustibles, by the help of large bellows, they made the iron red hot, and over it poured melted brass, which filling up the vacancies between the pieces of iron, rendered the whole work as firm as a rock. Some tell us that the whole was built of stones joined by cramps of iron on which they poured melted brass to fasten them.^z

^{aa} That is, when the time shall come for Gog and Magog to break forth from their confinement, which shall happen some time before the resurrection.^{ab}

^{ac} These words represent either the violent irruption of Gog and Magog or the tumultuous assembly of all creatures, men, genus, and brutes at the resurrection.^{ad}

^a Al Beidawi Jallalo ddn Jagioug
Gol in Alfiag p 207
Prelim Disc sect iv p 58.

^e Al Beidawi
^f Idem Vide D Herbel ubi sup
^g Al Beidawi.
^h See ib p 62

ⁱ Bibl Orient. Art.
^j Vide
^k See the

who could not hear *my words* Do the unbelievers think *that I will not punish them*, for that they take my servants for *their* protectors besides me? Verily we have prepared hell for the abode of the infidels. Say, Shall we declare unto you those whose works are vain, whose endeavour in the present life hath been wrongly directed, and who think they do the work which is right? These are they who believe not in the signs of their LORD, or that they shall be assembled before him wherefore their works are vain, and we will not allow them any weight on the day of resurrection. This *shall be* their reward, *namely*, hell, for that they have disbelieved, and have held my signs and apostles in derision. But *as for* those who believe and do good works, they shall have the gardens of paradise for their abode, they shall remain therein for ever, they shall wish for no change therein. Say, If the sea were ink to *write* the words of my LORD, verily the sea would fail, before the words of my LORD would fail, * although we added *another sea* like unto it as a farther supply Say, Verily I am only a man as ye are. It is revealed unto me that your God is one only GOD let him therefore who hopeth to meet his LORD work a righteous work, and let him not make any other to partake in the worship of his LORD

CHAPTER XIX

INTITLED, MARY, ' REVEALED AT MECCA '

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

C H Y A S ' A commemoration of the mercy of thy LORD *towards* his servant Zacharias * When he called upon his LORD, invoking *him* in secret, and said, O LORD, verily my bones are weakened, and my head is become white with hoariness, and I have never been unsuccessful in my prayers to thee, O LORD But now I fear my nephews, who are to succeed after me, † for my wife is barren wherefore, give me a successor of *my own body* from before thee, who may be my heir, and may be an heir of the family of Jacob, ‡ and grant, O LORD, that he may be acceptable unto thee. And the angel answered him, O Zacharias, verily we bring thee

* " Before all his marvels had been celebrated —*Savary*

† Several circumstances relating to the Virgin Mary being mentioned in this chapter, her name was pitched upon for the title (' Peace be with her —*Savary*)

‡ Except the verse of *Adoration*.

§ See the Prelim Disc sect. iii p 42 (" K H I A S " —*Savary*)

¶ See chap 3, p 40 &c

‡ These were his brother's sons, who were very wicked men and Zacharias was apprehensive, lest, after his death instead of confirming the people in the true religion, they should seduce them to idolatry † And some commentators imagine that he made this prayer in private lest his nephews should overhear him

§ Viz in holiness and knowledge or in the government and superintendence of the Israelites There are some who suppose it is not the patriarch who is here meant, but another Jacob, the brother of Zacharias, or of Imran Ebn Māthān, of the — of Solomon †

tidings of a son, whose name *shall be* John, we have not caused any to hear the same name before him.* *Zacharias* said, LORD, how shall I have a son, seeing my wife is barren, and I am now arrived at a great age,*^b and am decrepit? *The angel said*, So shall it be thy LORD saith, this is easy with me, since I created thee heretofore, when thou wast nothing *Zacharias* answered, O LORD, give me a sign. *The angel replied*, Thy sign shall be that thou shalt not speak to men for three nights,† *although thou be* in perfect health And he went forth unto his people, from the chamber, and he made signs unto them,^c as if he should say, Praise ye God in the morning and in the evening And we said unto his son, O John, receive the book of the law, with a resolution to study and observe it ‡ And we bestowed on him wisdom, when he was yet a child, and mercy from us, and purity of life,^d and he was a devout person, and dutiful towards his parents, and was not proud or rebellious. Peace be on him the day whereon he was born, and the day whereon he shall die, and the day whereon he shall be raised to life § And remember in the book of the *Korân* the story of Mary, when she retired from her family to a place towards the east,^e and took a veil to conceal herself from them, || and we sent our spirit *Gabriel* unto her, and he appeared unto her in the shape of

* For he was the first who bore the name of John or Yahya (as the Arabs pronounce it), which fancy seems to have been occasioned by the words of St Luke misunderstood, that none of Zacharias's kindred was called by that name^o for other wise John, or, as it is written in Hebrew, Johanan, was a common name among the Jews

Some expositors avoid this objection by observing that the original word *samy yan* signifies, not only one who is actually called by the same name, but also one who by reason of his possessing the like qualities and privileges, deserves, or may pretend to the same name.

* "My wife is barren, and I am verging on decrepitude —*Savary*

^b The Mohammedan traditions greatly differ as to the age of Zacharias at this time, we have mentioned one already⁷ Jallalo ddin says, he was an hundred and twenty, and his wife ninety eight, and the Sonna takes notice of several other opinions

† "Thou shalt be dumb during three days, replied the angel —*Savary*

^c Some say he wrote the following words on the ground

‡ "John read the scriptures with fervour —*Savary*

^d Or, as the word also signifies, *The love of alms deeds*

§ "Peace was with him at his birth and at his death, and it shall accompany him on the day of resurrection —*Savary*

^e To the eastern part of the temple, or to a private chamber in the house, which opened to the east whence says al Beidâwi, the Christians pray towards that quarter

There is a tradition that when the virgin was grown to years of puberty, she used to leave her apartment in the temple, and retire to Zacharias's house, to her aunt, when her courses came upon her and so soon as she was clean, she returned again to the temple, and that at the time of the angel's visiting her, she was at her aunt's on the like occasion and was sitting to wash herself, in an open place, behind a veil, to prevent her being seen^o But others more prudently suppose the design of her retirement was to pray^o

|| From the remotest antiquity the women of eastern countries have been accustomed to cover the face At present they never appear in public without being veiled These veils are of muslin, and reach to the waist two small apertures are made in them, that the wearer may see her way Two causes may have contributed to introduce among the females of the East the custom of covering the face, the excessive heat, which would soon destroy the freshness of their complexions; and the excessive jealousy of the men, which cannot bear that they should be seen —*Savary*

^o Luke i. 61

⁷ Page 40, note ^a

^a Ianya, al Beidâwi.

^o Al Zamakh

a perfect man.^f She said, I fly for refuge unto the merciful God, *that he may defend me* from thee if thou fearest him, *thou wilt not approach me.* He answered, Verily I am the messenger of thy LORD, *and am sent to give thee a holy son.* She said, How shall I have a son, seeing a man hath not touched me, and I am no harlot? Gabriel replied, *So shall it be* thy LORD saith, This is easy with me, and *we will perform it*, that we may ordain him for a sign unto men, and a mercy from us for it is a thing which is decreed. Wherefore she conceived him,^g and she retired aside with him *in her womb* to a distant place,^h and the pains of childbirth came upon her near the trunk of a palm treeⁱ She said, Would to God I had died before this, and had become a *thing* forgotten, and lost in oblivion * And he who was beneath her called to her,^k *saying*, Be not grieved now hath God provided a rivulet under thee, and do thou shake the body of the palm tree, and it shall let fall ripe dates upon thee, ready gathered.^l And eat, and drink, and calm thy mind.^m Moreover, if thou see any man, *and he question thee*, say, Verily I have vowed a fast unto the Merciful wherefore I will by no means speak to a man this dayⁿ So she brought the child to her people, carrying him *in her arms* And they said unto her, O Mary, now hast thou done a strange thing O sister of Aaron,^o thy father was not a bad man, neither was thy mother a harlot. But she made

^f Like a full grown, but beardless youth Al Beidâwî, not contented with having given one good reason why he appeared in that form, viz, to moderate her surprise, that she might hear his message with less shyness, adds, that perhaps it might be to raise an emotion in her, and assist her conception

^g For Gabriel blew into the bosom of her shift, which he opened with his fingers,¹ and his breath reaching her womb, caused the conception² The age of the Virgin Mary at the time of her conception was thirteen, or, as others say, ten, and she went six, seven, eight, or nine months with him according to different traditions, though some say the child was conceived at its full growth of nine months, and that she was delivered of him within an hour after³

^h To conceal her delivery she went out of the city by night to a certain mountain

ⁱ The palm to which she fled that she might lean on it in her travail, was a withered trunk, without any head or verdure, and this happened in the winter season, notwithstanding which it miraculously supplied her with fruits for her refreshment,⁴ as is mentioned immediately

It has been observed, that the Mohammedan account of the delivery of the Virgin Mary very much resembles that of Iutona, as described by the poets,⁵ not only in this circumstance of their laying hold on a palm tree⁶ (though some say Latona embraced an olive tree, or an olive and a palm, or else two laurels) but also in that of their infants speaking, which Apollo is fabled to have done in the womb⁷

^{*} "And she cried, Would to God that I had been dead, forgotten, and abandoned by mortals, before that I conceived —Savary

^k This some imagine to have been the child himself, but others suppose it was Gabriel, who stood somewhat lower than she did⁸ According to a different reading, this passage may be rendered, *And he called to her from beneath her*, &c And some refer the pronoun translated *her* to the palm tree and then it should be *beneath it*, &c.

^l And, accordingly, she had no sooner spoken it, than the dry trunk revived, and sent forth green leaves, and a head laden with ripe fruit

^m Literally, *thine eye*

ⁿ During which she was not to speak to any body, unless to acquaint them with the reason of her silence and some suppose she did that by signs

^o Several Christian writers think the Korân stands convicted of a manifest falsehood in this particular, but I am afraid the Mohammedans may avoid the charge,⁹ as they do by several answers Some say, the Virgin Mary had really a brother named Aaron,

¹ Yahya.

² Jallalo ddin, Al Beidâwî

³ Al Beidâwî, Yahya.

⁴ Idem, A'

Zamakh

⁵ Vide Sikû not in Evang Infant pp 9, 21, &c

⁶ Homer Hymn,

in Apoll

Callmach Hymn in Delum

⁷ Callmach ibid See Kor chap 3,

p 41

⁸ Al Beidâwî, Jallalo ddin.

⁹ See chap 3, p 38

signs unto *the child to answer them*, and they said, How shall we speak to him, who is an infant in the cradle? *Whereupon the child said*, Verily I am the servant of God,^p he hath given me the book of *the gospel*, and hath appointed me a prophet And he hath made me blessed, wheresoever I shall be, and hath commanded me to *observe* prayer, and to *give* alms, so long as I shall live, and *he hath made me* dutiful towards my mother, and hath not made me proud or unhappy* And peace be on me the day whereon I was born, and the day whereon I shall die, and the day whereon I shall be raised to life This was Jesus the son of Mary, the Word of truth,^q concerning whom they doubt It is not meet for God, that he should have any son God forbid! When he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it Be, and it is † And verily God is my LORD, and your LORD, wherefore, serve him this is the right way Yet the sectaries differ among themselves concerning *Jesus*, but woe be unto those who are unbelievers, because of *their* appearance at the great day Do thou cause them to hear, and do thou cause *them* to see,^r on the day whereon they shall come unto us to be judged but the ungodly are this day in a manifest error ‡ And do thou forewarn them of the day of sighing, when the matter shall be determined, while they are now sunk in negligence, and do not believe Verily we will inherit the earth, and whatever creatures are therein,^s and unto us shall they all return. And remember Abraham in the book of *the Koran*, for he was one of great veracity, and a prophet When he said unto his father,^t O my father, why dost thou worship that which heareth not, neither seeth, nor profiteth thee a* all? O my father, verily a decree of knowledge hath been bestowed on me, which hath not been bestowed on thee wherefore follow me,

who had the same father, but a different mother others suppose Aaron the brother of Moses is here meant, but say Mary is called *his sister*, either because she was of the Levitical race (as by her being related to Elizabeth it should seem she was), or by way of comparison others say that it was a different person of that name who was contemporary with her, and conspicuous for his good or bad qualities, and that they likened her to him, either by way of commendation, or of reproach, &c.¹

^p These were the first words which were put into the mouth of Jesus, to obviate the imagination of his partaking of the divine nature or having a right to the worship of mankind, on account of his miraculous speaking so soon after his birth²

^q "He hath implanted filial piety in my heart, and has delivered me from pride, which is the companion of misery —*Savary*

^r This expression may be either referred to Jesus, as *the Word of God*, or to the account just given of him

[†] "God cannot have a son Praise be unto his name! He commands, and that which existed not starts into life at his voice —*Savary*

^s These words are variously expounded some taking them to express admiration³ at the quickness of those senses in the wicked at the day of judgment, when they shall plainly perceive the torments prepared for them, though they have been deaf and blind in this life, and others supposing the words contain a threat to the unbelievers, of what they shall then hear and see, or else a command to Mohammed to lay before them the terrors of that day⁴

[‡] "What will they not hear, what will they not see, when they appear before our tribunal? Now they are in utter blindness" —*Savary*

^a i. e. Alone surviving, when all creatures shall be dead and annihilated —See chap 15, p 211

¹ See chap 6, p 105, &c

² Al Zamakh. Al Beidawi. Jallalo ddin, Yabha, &c ³ Al Beidawi, &c ⁴ See chap 18, p 241 ⁵ Al Beidawi.

I will lead thee into an even way O my father, serve not Satan, for Satan was rebellious unto the Merciful. O my father, verily I fear lest a punishment be inflicted on thee from the Merciful, and thou become a companion of Satan. *His father* answered, Dost thou reject my gods, O Abraham? If thou forbear not, I will surely stone thee wherefore leave me for a long time. *Abraham* replied, Peace be on thee I will ask pardon for thee of my LORD, for he is gracious unto me And I will separate myself from you, and from the *idols* which ye invoke besides God, and I will call upon my LORD it may be that I shall not be unsuccessful in calling on my LORD, *as ye are in calling upon them* And when he had separated himself from them, and from the *idols* which they worshipped besides God,^a we gave him Isaac and Jacob, and we made each of them a prophet, and we bestowed on them, through our mercy, *the gift of prophecy, and children, and wealth* and we caused them to deserve the highest commendations^v And remember Moses in the book of *the Korân* for he was sincerely upright, and was an apostle and a prophet And we called unto him from the right side of mount *Sinai*, and caused him to draw near, and to discourse privately *with us*^x And we gave him, through our mercy, his brother Aaron a prophet, *for his assistant* Remember also Ishmael in the *same* book, for he was true to *his* promise,^y and was an apostle, and a prophet And he commanded his family to observe prayer and to give alms and he was acceptable unto his LORD And remember Edris^z in the *same* book, for he was a just person, and a prophet and we exalted him to a high place.^a These are they unto whom God hath been bounteous, of the prophets of the posterity of Adam, and of those whom we carried in the ark with Noah, and of the posterity of Abraham, and of Israel, and of those whom we have directed and chosen When the signs of the Merciful were read unto them, they fell down, worshipping, and wept but a succeeding generation have come after them, who neglect

^a By flying to Harrân, and thence to Palestine

^v I literally, *We granted them a lofty tongue of truth*

^x Or, as some expound it, *And we raised him on high*, for say they he was raised to so great an elevation, that he heard the creaking of the pen writing on the table of God's decrees^b

^y Being celebrated on that account, and particularly for his behaving with that resignation and constancy which he had promised his father, on his receiving God's command to sacrifice him^c for the Mohammedans say it was Ishmael, and not Isaac, whom he was commanded to offer

^z Or Enoch, the great grandfather of Noah, who had that surname from his great knowledge for he was favoured with no less than thirty books of divine revelations and was the first who wrote with a pen, and studied the sciences of astronomy and arithmetic, &c.^d

The learned Bartolucci endeavours to show, from the testimonies of the ancient Jews, that Enoch surnamed Edris, was a very different person from the Enoch of Moses, and many ages younger^e

^a Some understand by this the honour of the prophetic office, and his familiarity with God, but others suppose his translation is here meant for they say that he was taken up by God into heaven at the age of three hundred and fifty, having first suffered death, and been restored to life, and that he is now alive in one of the seven heavens, or in paradise^f

^b Al Beidâwî
part II p 843

^c Idem
^d Al Beidâwî, Jallalo'ddin, Abu l-feda.

^e Idem, Jallalo'ddin &c

^f Bartol Bibl Rab

prayer, and follow *their* lusts, and they shall surely fall into evil * except him who repenteth, and believeth, and doth that which is right, these shall enter paradise, and they shall not, in the least be wronged gardens of perpetual abode *shall be their reward*, which the Merciful hath promised unto his servants, as an object of faith, for his promise will surely come to be fulfilled Therein shall they hear no vain discourse, but peace,^b and their provision shall be prepared for them therein morning and evening This is paradise, which we will give for an inheritance unto such of our servants as shall be pious. We descend not *from heaven*, unless by the command of thy LORD unto him *belongeth* whatsoever is before us, and whatsoever is behind us, and whatsoever is in the intermediate space, neither is thy LORD forgetful of thee^c He is the LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatsoever is between them wherefore worship him, and be constant in his worship Dost thou know any named like him?^d Man saith,^e After I shall have been dead, shall I really be brought forth alive *from the grave*? Doth not man remember that we created him heretofore, when he was nothing? But by thy LORD we will surely assemble them and the devils to judgment,^f then will we set them round about hell on their knees afterwards we will draw forth from every sect such of them as *shall have been* a more obstinate rebel against the Merciful,^g and we best know which of them are more worthy to be burned therein^h There shall be none of you but shall approach near the sameⁱ *this is an established decree with thy LORD* Afterwards we will deliver those who shall have been pious, but we will leave the ungodly therein on their knees When our manifest signs are read unto them, the infidels say unto the true believers, Which of the two parties *is* in the more eligible condition, and

* "A corrupt generation has succeeded to them It hath forsaken prayer and followed the torrent of its passions It shall be plunged into the stream of hell"
—Savary

^{b, c} Words of peace and comfort or the salutations of the angels¹ &c

^e These are generally supposed to have been the words of the angel Gabriel, in answer to Mohammed's complaint for his long delay of fifteen or according to another tradition of forty days before he brought him instructions what solution he should give to the questions which had been asked him concerning the sleepers, Dhu lkarnain and the spirit²

Others however are of opinion that they are the words which the godly will use at their entrance into paradise and that their meaning is, *We take up our abode here at the command and through the mercy of God alone who ruleth all things, past future and present and who is not forgetful of the works of his servants*³

^d That is, Deserving, or having a right to the name and attributes of God

^g Some suppose a particular person is here meant, namely, Obba Ebn Khalf⁴

^f It is said that every infidel will appear, at the day of judgment, chained to the devil who seduced him⁵

^h Hence says al Beidâwi, it appears that God will pardon some of the rebellious people But perhaps the distinguishing the unbelievers into different classes, in order to consign them to different places and degrees of torment, is here meant.

ⁱ *Viz*, the more obstinate and perverse, and especially the heads of sects, who will suffer a double punishment for their own errors and their seducing of others.

¹ For the true believers must also pass by or through hell, but the fire will be damped, and the flames abated, so as not to hurt them, though it will lay hold on the others Some however suppose that the words intend no more than the passage over the narrow bridge, which is laid over hell⁶

¹ See chap 10, p 27
p 214 ² Al Beidâwi.

² See before, p 131

³ Al Beidâwi.

⁴ See chap 16,

⁶ Idem. See the Prelim Disc sect. iv p 65

formeth the more excellent assembly?^k But how many generations have we destroyed before them, which excelled them in wealth, and in outward appearance? Say, Whosoever is in error, the Merciful will grant him a long and prosperous life, until they see that with which they are threatened, whether it be the punishment of *this life*, or *that of the last hour*, and hereafter they shall know who is in the worse condition, and the weaker in forces.* God shall more fully direct those who receive direction, and the good works which remain *for ever* are better in the sight of thy LORD than *worldly possessions*, in respect to the reward, and more eligible in respect to the future recompense. Hast thou seen him who believeth not in our signs, and saith, I shall surely have riches and children bestowed on me?^l Is he acquainted with the secrets of *futurity*, or hath he received a covenant from the Merciful that it shall be so? By no means. We will surely write down that which he saith, and increasing we will increase his punishment,[†] and we will be his heir as to that which he speaketh of,^m and on the last day he shall appear before us alone and naked. They have taken other gods, besides God, that they may be a glory unto them. By no means. Hereafter shall they deny their worship,ⁿ and they shall become adversaries^o unto them. Dost thou not see that we send the devils against the infidels, to incite them to sin by their instigations? Wherefore be not in haste to call down destruction upon them for we number unto them a determined number of days of respite. On a certain day we will assemble the pious before the Merciful in an honourable manner, as ambassadors come into the presence of a prince but we will drive the wicked into hell as cattle are driven to water they shall obtain no intercession, except he only who hath received a covenant from the Merciful.^p They say, The

^k Viz, of us or of you. When the Koreish were unable to produce a composition to equal the Korân, they began to glory in their wealth and nobility, valuing themselves highly on that account and despising the followers of Mohammed.

* "May the Merciful lengthen the days of those who are plunged into error! to the end that they may see the fulfilment of our threats whether in this world or in the other. Then will they know who are the most unhappy, and the most devoid of succour"—Savary

^l This passage was revealed on account of al As Ebn Wayel who being indebted to Khabbâb, when he demanded the money, refused to pay it unless he would deny Mohammed, to which proposal Khabbâb answered, that he would never deny that prophet, neither alive nor dead nor when he should be raised to life at the last day, therefore replied al As, When thou art raised again come to me, for I shall then have abundance of riches and children and I will pay you.⁷

† "He flattereth himself vainly. We will write down his ostentation and will increase his punishment"—Savary

^m i. e. He shall be obliged to leave all his wealth and his children behind him at his death.

ⁿ Viz at the resurrection when the idolaters shall disclaim their idols and the idols their worshippers, and shall mutually accuse one another.⁸

^o Or, the contrary, that is to say, a disgrace instead of an honour.

^p That is, except he who shall be a subject properly disposed to receive that favour, by having professed Islâm. Or, the words may also be translated according to another exposition, *I hey shall not obtain the intercession of any, except the intercession of him, &c.* Or else, *None shall be able to make intercession for others, except they who shall have received a covenant (or permission) from God* i. e. who shall be qualified for that office by faith and good works according to God's promise, or shall have special leave given him by God for that purpose.⁹

⁷ Al Beidâwi, Jallâloddin. * See chap 6, p 100, chap. 10 p 169

⁸ Al Beidâwi. See chap 2, pp 30 31 &c.

Merciful hath begotten issue. Now have ye uttered an impious thing it wanteth little but that on occasion thereof the heavens be rent, and the earth cleave in sunder, and the mountains be overthrow and fall, for that they attribute children unto the Merciful, whereas it becometh not God to beget children. Verily there is none in heaven or on earth but shall approach the Merciful *as his* servant. He compasseth them *by his knowledge and power*, and numbereth them with an *exact* computation and they shall all come unto him on the day of resurrection, destitute *both of helpers and followers*. But as for those who believe and do good works, the Merciful will bestow on them love^q. Verily we have rendered the *Korân* easy for thy tongue, that thou mayest thereby declare *our* promises unto the pious, and mayest thereby denounce threats unto contentious people. And how many generations have we destroyed before them? Dost thou find one of them *remaining*? Or dost thou hear *so much as* a whisper concerning them!*

CHAPTER XX

INTITLED, T H , REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

T H WE have not sent down the Koran unto thee that thou shouldest be unhappy,^q but for an admonition unto him who feareth God being sent down from him who created the earth, and the lofty heavens. The Merciful sitteth on *his* throne unto him *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth, and whatsoever is between them, and whatsoever is under the earth. If thou pronounce *thy prayers* with a loud voice, *know that it is not necessary in respect to God*, for he knoweth that which is secret, and what is yet more hidden†. God!

^q Viz the love of God and all the inhabitants of heaven. Some suppose this verse was revealed to comfort the Moslems who were despised and hated at Mecca on account of their faith by the promise of their gaining the love and esteem of mankind in a short time.

* 'Of so many generations which we have annihilated canst thou call back even one man? Do they make the slightest murmur heard? —*Savary*

[†] The signification of these letters which being prefixed to the chapter are therefore taken for the title is uncertain¹. Some however imagine they stand for *Ya rayjol i e O man*¹ which interpretation, seeming not easily to be accounted for from the Arabic, is by a certain tradition deduced from the Ethiopic² or for *Ta, i e tread*, telling us that Mohammed, being employed in watching and prayer the night this passage was revealed stood on one foot only, but was hereby commanded to ease himself by setting both feet to the ground. Others fancy the first letter stands for *Tûba beatitudo*, and the latter for *Hawiyat* the name of the lower apartment of hell. *Tah* is also an interjection commanding silence and may properly enough be used in this place.

^q Either by reason of thy zealous solicitude for the conversion of the infidels, or thy fatiguing thyself by watching and other religious exercises, for it seems the Koreish urged the extraordinary fatigues he underwent in those respects, as the consequence of his having left their religion³.

† "The deed which thou dost in open day and that which thou veilest in the shades of mystery, are equally known to him"—*Savary*

¹ See the Prelim Disc sect. iii p 42, &c. ² Moham Ebn Abd al Baki, ex trad Acremæ Ebn Abi Sofian. ³ Al Beidâwi.

there is no God but he, he hath most excellent names¹ Hast thou been informed of the history of Moses?² When he saw fire, and said unto his family, Tarry ye *here*, for I perceive fire peradventure I may bring you a brand thereout, or may find a direction *in our way* by the fire³ And when he was come near unto it, a voice called unto him, *saying*, O Moses, verily I am thy LORD wherefore put off thy shoes,⁴ for thou art in the sacred valley Towā And I have chosen thee, therefore hearken with attention unto that which is revealed *unto thee*. Verily I am GOD, there is no god besides me, wherefore worship me, and perform *thy* prayer in remembrance of me Verily the hour cometh I will surely manifest the same, that every soul may receive its reward for that which it hath deliberately done Let not him who believeth not therein, and who followeth his lust, prevent thee from *believing* in the same, lest thou perish. Now what *is* that in thy right hand, O Moses? He answered, It is my rod whereon I lean, and with which I beat down leaves for my flock, and I have other uses for it⁵ God said *unto him*, Cast it down O Moses And he cast it down, and behold, it *became* a serpent,⁶ which ran about God said, Take hold on it, and fear not⁷ we will reduce it to its former condition And put thy *right* hand under thy *left* arm it shall come forth white,⁸ without any hurt. *This shall be* another sign that we may show thee *some* of our greatest signs Go unto Pharaoh for he is exceedingly impious Moses answered, LORD enlarge my breast,⁹ and make what thou hast commanded me easy unto me and loose the knot of my tongue, that they may understand my speech¹⁰ And give me a counsellor of my family, *namely* Aaron

¹ See chap 7, p 136 and chap 18 p 238

² The relation of the story of Moses which takes up the greatest part of this chapter was designed to encourage Monammed, by his example, to discharge the prophetic office with firmness of mind as being assured of receiving the like assistance from God for it is said this chapter was one of the first that were revealed⁴

³ The commentators say that Moses having obtained leave of Shoab or Jethro his father in law to visit his mother departed with his family from Midian towards Egypt, but coming to the valley of Towā wherein Mount Sinai stands, his wife fell in labour and was delivered of a son in a very dark and snowy night he had also lost his way and his cattle were scattered from him when on a sudden he saw a fire by the side of a mountain which, on his nearer approach, he found burning in a green bush⁵

⁴ This was a mark of humility and respect though some fancy there was some uncleanness in the shoes themselves, because they were made of the skin of an ass not dressed⁶

⁵ As to drive away wild beasts from my flock, to carry my bottle of water on, to stick up and hang my upper garment on to shade me from the sun, and several other uses enumerated by the commentators

⁶ Which was at first no bigger than the rod, but afterwards swelled to a prodigious size⁷

⁷ When Moses saw the serpent move about with great nimbleness and swallow stones and trees, he was greatly terrified and fled from it, but recovering his courage at these words of God, he had the boldness to take the serpent by the jaws⁸

⁸ See chap 7 p 127 (His hand was covered with a white leprosy, says Gela leddin, from which he felt no pain—*Savary*)

⁹ "Lord replied Moses, expand my heart. —*Savary*

¹⁰ For Moses had an impediment in his speech which was occasioned by the following accident Pharaoh one day carrying him in his arms, when a child, he suddenly laid

my brother * Gird up my loins by him, and make him my colleague in the business that we may praise thee greatly, and may remember thee often, for thou regardest us. *God* replied, now hast thou obtained thy request, O Moses and we have heretofore been gracious unto thee, another time, when we revealed unto thy mother that which was revealed unto her,^f saying, Put him into the ark, and cast him into the river, and the river shall throw him on the shore, and my enemy and his enemy shall take him and bring him up,^g and I bestowed on thee love from me,^h that thou mightest be bred up under my eye. When thy sister went and said, Shall I bring unto you one who will nurse the child?ⁱ So we returned thee unto thy mother, that her mind might be set at ease, and that she might not be afflicted. And thou slewest a soul, and we delivered thee from trouble,^k and we proved thee by several trials^l and afterwards thou didst dwell some years^m among the inhabitants of Madian. Then thou camest hither according to our decree, O Moses, and I have chosen thee for myself, wherefore go thou and thy brotherⁿ with my signs, and be not negligent in remembering me. Go ye unto Pharaoh, for he is excessively impious

hold of his beard, and plucked it in a very rough manner, which put Pharaoh into such a passion, that he ordered him to be put to death but Asia his wife, representing to him that he was but a child who could not distinguish between a burning coal and a ruby, he ordered the experiment to be made, and a live coal and a ruby being set before Moses, he took the coal and put it into his mouth and burnt his tongue and thereupon he was pardoned This is a Jewish story a little altered *

* The Arabic word is Wazir, which signifies one who has the chief administration of affairs under a prince

^f The commentators are not agreed by what means this revelation was made, whether by private inspiration, by a dream, by a prophet or by an angel

^g The commentators say, that his mother accordingly made an ark of the papyrus, and pitched it and put in some cotton, and having laid the child therein committed it to the river, a branch of which went into Pharaoh's garden that the stream carried the ark thither into a fishpond at the head of which Pharaoh was then sitting with his wife Asia, the daughter of Mozâhum, and that the king having commanded it to be taken up and opened, and finding in it a beautiful child, took a fancy to it, and ordered it to be brought up^l

Some writers mention a miraculous preservation of Moses before he was put into the ark, and tell us, that his mother having hid him from Pharaoh's officers in an oven his sister in her mother's absence kindled a large fire in the oven to heat it, not knowing the child was there, but that he was afterwards taken out unhurt.²

^h That is I inspired the love of thee into the hearts of those who saw thee, and particularly into the heart of Pharaoh

ⁱ The Mohammedans pretend that several nurses were brought, but the child refused to take the breast of any, till his sister Miriam, who went to learn news of him, told them she would find a nurse, and brought his mother⁴

^k Moses killed an Egyptian, in defence of an Israelite and escaped the danger of being punished for it, by flying to Midian, which was eight days journey distant from Mesra⁴

The Jews pretend he was actually imprisoned for the fact, and condemned to be beheaded, but that, when he should have suffered, his neck became as hard as ivory, and the sword rebounded on the executioner⁵

^l For he was obliged to abandon his country and his friends, and to travel several days, in great terror and want of necessary provisions, to seek a refuge among strangers, and was afterwards forced to serve for hire, to gain a livelihood

^m ⁿ e Ten⁶

ⁿ Aaron being by this time come out to meet his brother, either by divine inspiration, or having notice of his design to return to Egypt⁷

* Vide Shalsh Hakkab p 11 ¹ Al Beidâwi ² Abulfeda, &c. ³ Al Beidâwi ⁴ Idem ⁵ Shalsh. Hakkab. p 11 ⁶ Al Beidâwi, ⁷ Idem

and speak mildly unto him, peradventure he will consider, or will fear *our threats* * They answered, O LORD, verily we fear lest he be precipitately violent against us, or lest he transgress *more exorbitantly* God replied, Fear not, for I am with you I will hear and will see. Go ye therefore unto him, and say, Verily we are the messengers of thy LORD wherefore send the children of Israel with us, and do not afflict them. Now are we come unto thee with a sign from thy LORD and peace be upon him who shall follow the *true* direction. Verily it hath been revealed unto us, that a punishment *shall be inflicted* on him who shall charge *us* with imposture, and shall turn back. *And when they had delivered their message, Pharaoh said, Who is your LORD, O Moses? He answered, Our LORD is he who giveth all things he hath created them, and directeth them by his providence* Pharaoh said, What therefore is the condition of the former generations? † Moses answered, The knowledge thereof is with my LORD, in the book of *his decrees* my LORD erieteth not, neither doth he forget. *It is he* who hath spread the earth as a bed for you, and hath made you paths therein, and who sendeth down rain from heaven, whereby we cause various kinds of vegetables to spring forth, *saying, Eat of part*, and feed your cattle *with other part thereof* Verily, herein are signs unto those who are endued with understanding Out of the *ground* have we created you, and to the same will we cause you to return, and we will bring you forth from thence another time And we showed Pharaoh all our signs *which we had empowered Moses to perform* but he accused *him* of imposture, and refused to believe, and he said, Art thou come unto us that thou mayest dispossess us of our land by thy enchantments, O Moses? Verily we will meet thee with the like enchantments, wherefore fix an appointment between us and thee, we will not fail it, neither shalt thou, in an equal place. Moses answered, Let your appointment be on the day of *your solemn feast*, ‡ and let the people be assembled in open day § And Pharaoh turned away from Moses, and gathered together *the most expert magicians to execute his stratagem*, and then came to the *appointment* Moses said unto them, Woe be unto you! do not devise a lie against God, ¶ lest he utterly destroy you by some judgment for he shall not prosper who deviseth lies. *And the magicians* disputed concerning their affair among themselves, and discoursed in private and they said, These two are certainly magicians they seek to dispossess you of your land by their sorcery, and to lead away *with them* your chiefest and most considerable men. Wherefore collect *all* your cunning, and then come in order for he shall prosper this day, who shall be

* "Go unto Pharaoh His heart is hardened in crime Speak mildly unto him, that he may open his eyes, and may fear —Savary

¶ Viz as to happiness or misery after death

† "What, then, was the design of the ancient people? * continued the prince"—Savary

‡ Which was probably the first day of their new year

§ "Let the assemblage take place on a feast day, replied Moses It will be rendered more solemn by the concourse of the people"—Savary

¶ By saying the miracles performed in his name are the effects of magic

superior * They said, O Moses, whether wilt thou cast down *thy rod first*, or shall we be the first who cast down *our rods*? He answered, Do ye cast down *your rods first* And behold, their cords and their rods appeared unto him, by their enchantment, to run about *like serpents*,[†] wherefore Moses conceived fear in his heart. But we said unto him, Fear not, for thou shalt be superior therefore cast down *the rod* which is in thy right hand, and it shall swallow up *the seeming serpents* which they have made for what they have made is only the deceit of an enchanter, and an enchanter shall not prosper, whithersoever he cometh And the magicians, when they saw the miracle which Moses performed, fell down and worshipped, saying, We believe in the LORD of Aaron and of Moses. Pharaoh said unto them, Do ye believe in him before I give you permission? Verily this is your master, who hath taught you magic. But I will surely cut off your hands and your feet on the opposite sides, and I will crucify you on trunks of palm trees and ye shall know which of us is more severe in punishing, and can longer protract *your pains* † They answered, We will by no means have greater regard unto thee than unto those evident miracles which have been shown us, or than unto him who hath created us Pronounce therefore that sentence *against us* which thou art about to pronounce for thou canst only give sentence *as to* this present life Verily we believe in our LORD, that he may forgive us our sins, and the sorcery which thou hast forced us to *exercise* for GOD is better to *reward*, and more able to prolong *punishment than thou* Verily whosoever shall appear before his LORD *on the day of judgment*, polluted with crimes, shall have hell for his *reward*, he shall not die therein, neither shall he live But whoever shall appear before him, *having been* a true believer, and shall have worked righteousness, for these *are prepared* the highest degrees of *happiness*, namely, gardens of perpetual abode,[‡] which shall be watered by rivers, they shall remain therein for ever and this shall be the reward of him who shall be pure And we spake by revelation unto Moses, saying, Go forth with my servants *out of Egypt* by night, and smite *the waters* with thy rod, and make them a dry path through the sea be not apprehensive of *Pharaoh's* overtaking thee, neither be thou afraid And when Moses had done so, Pharaoh followed them with his forces, and the waters of the sea overwhelmed them And Pharaoh caused his people to err, neither did he direct them *aright* Thus, O children of Israel, we delivered you from your enemy, and we appointed you the right side of mount *Sinai* to discourse with Moses and to give him the law, and we caused

* "Unite, added Moses, the secrets of your art Come in order, and let this day crown the victors with glory —Savary

† They rubbed them over with quicksilver, which being wrought upon by the heat of the sun, caused them to move[§] See chap 7, p 128

‡ See ibid

† "You shall know whether your God or I can be most persevering and rigorous in punishing' —Savary

‡ Literally gardens of Eden, see chap 9, p 157

§ The expositors add, that the sea was divided into twelve separate paths, one for each tribe § a fable borrowed from the Jews.¹

§ Al Baidāwī. § Al Baidawī Abulfed. in Hist. ¹ Vide R. Elieser Pirke, c. 42.

manna and quails to descend upon you," *saying*, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food, and transgress not therein," lest my indignation fall on you, and on whomsoever my indignation shall fall, he shall go down headlong *into perdition*. But I *will be gracious* unto him who shall repent and believe, and shall do that which is right, and *who shall be rightly directed*. What hath caused thee to hasten from thy people, O Moses, *to receive the law?*" He answered, These *follow close* on my footsteps, but I have hastened unto thee, O LORD, that thou mightest be well pleased *with me*. God said, We have already made a trial of thy people, since *thy departure*," and al Sâmeri^b hath seduced them *to idolatry*. Wherefore Moses returned unto his people^c in great wrath, and exceedingly afflicted. And he said, O my people, had not your LORD promised you a most excellent promise?^d Did the time *of my absence* seem long unto you?^e Or did ye desire that indignation from your LORD should fall on you, and therefore failed to keep the promise which ye made me? They answered, We have not failed in what we promised thee of our own authority, but we were made to carry in *several loads of gold and silver*, of the ornaments of the people,^f and we

^a See chap 2 p 7

^b By ingratitude excess or insolent behaviour

^c For Moses, it seems outwent the seventy elders, who had been chosen in obedience to the divine command to accompany him to the mount^a and appeared before God while they were at some though no great distance behind him

^d They continued in the worship of the true God for the first twenty days of Moses's absence, which, by taking the nights also into their reckoning they computed to be forty, and at their expiration concluded they had stayed the full time which Moses had commanded them and so fell into the worship of the golden calf^e

^e This was not his proper name but he had this appellation because he was of a certain tribe among the Jews, called Samaritans (wherein the Mohammedans strangely betray their ignorance in history), though some say he was a proselyte, but a hypocritical one, and originally of Kirmân, or some other country. His true name was Moses or Mûsa, Ebn Dhafar^f

Selden is of opinion that this person was no other than Aaron himself (who was really the maker of the calf), and he is here called al Sameri, from the Hebrew verb *shamar* to keep^g because he was the keeper or guardian of the children of Israel during his brother's absence in the mount, which is a very ingenious conjecture, not absolutely inconsistent with the text of the Korân (though Mohammed seems to have mistaken al Sâmeri for the name of a different person) and offers a much more probable origin of that appellation, than to derive it, as the Mohammedans do from the Samaritans who were not formed into a people, nor bore that name, till many ages after

^f *Viz*, after he had completed his forty days stay in the mount, and had received the law^h

^g *e* The law containing a light and certain direction to guide you in the right way

^h "O my people, said he did not God make unto you a glorious promise? Did it seem to be too long deferred? —*Savary*

ⁱ These ornaments were rings, bracelets and the like, which the Israelites had borrowed of the Egyptians under pretence of decking themselves out for some feast and had not returned to them or as some think, what they had stripped from the dead bodies of the Egyptians cast on shore by the sea and al Sâmeri, conceiving them unlawful to be kept, and the occasion of much wickedness, persuaded Aaron to let him collect them from the people which being done, he threw them all into the fire, to melt them down into one mass^j

^a See chap 2 p 9, chap 7, 132, &c. ^b Al Beidawi. ^c Idem. ^d Selden de Dns Byris Synt. 1 c 4. ^e Al Beidawi. ^f Idem. ^g Vide D Herbel. Bibl. Orient p 650 and Kor chap 2, p 7 &c.

cast them into the fire, and in like manner al Sâmeri also cast in what he had collected, and he produced unto them a corporeal calf,^f which lowed. And al Sâmeri and his companions said, This is your god, and the god of Moses, but he hath forgotten him, and is gone to seek some other Did they not therefore see that their idol returned them no answer, and was not able to cause them either hurt or profit? And Aaron had said unto them before, O my people, verily ye are only proved by this calf, for your LORD is the merciful wherefore follow me, and obey my command They answered, We will by no means cease to be devoted to its worship, until Moses return unto us. And when Moses was returned, he said, O Aaron, what hindered thee, when thou sawest that they went astray, that thou didst not follow me?^g Hast thou, therefore, been disobedient to my command? Aaron answered, O son of my mother, drag me not by the beard, nor by the hair of my head. Verily I feared lest thou shouldest say, Thou hast made a division among the children of Israel, and thou hast not observed my saying^h Moses said unto al Sâmeri, What was thy design, O Sâmeri? He answered, I saw that which they saw not,ⁱ wherefore I took a handful of dust from the footsteps of the messenger of God, and I cast it into the molten calf,^k for so did my mind direct me. Moses said Get thee gone, for thy punishment in this life shall be, that thou shalt say unto those who shall meet thee, Touch me not,^l and a threat is denounced against thee of more terrible pains, in the life to come, which thou shalt by no means escape. And behold now thy god, to whose worship thou hast continued assiduously devoted, verily we will burn it,^m and we will re-

not made a mould of that figure and that when Aaron excuses himself to his brother in the pentateuch he seems as if he would persuade him it was an accident^g

^f See chap 7 p 132 note ^k

^g By these words Moses reprehends Aaron for not seconding his zeal in taking arms against the idolaters, or for not coming after him to the mountain, to acquaint him with their rebellion.

^h ^e Lest, if I had taken arms against the worshippers of the calf thou shouldest say that I had raised a sedition or if I had gone after thee thou shouldest blame me for abandoning my charge, and not waiting thy return to rectify what was amiss

ⁱ *Viz*, that the messenger sent to thee from God was a pure spirit and that his footsteps gave life to whatever they touched being no other than the angel Gabriel, mounted on the horse of life and therefore I made use of the dust of his feet to animate the molten calf It is said, al Sâmeri knew the angel because he had saved and taken care of him when a child, and exposed by his mother for fear of Pharaoh^h

^k See chap 2 p 7

^l Lest they infect thee with a burning fever for that was the consequence of any man's touching him and the same happened to the persons he touched, for which reason he was obliged to avoid all communication with others, and was also shunned by them, wandering in the desert like a wild beast^l

Hence it is concluded that a tribe of Samaritan Jews said to inhabit a certain isle in the Red Sea, are the descendants of our al Sâmeri because it is their peculiar mark of distinction at this day to use the same words, *viz La mesas*, ^e *Touch me not*, to those they meet² It is not improbable that this story may owe its rise to the known hatred borne by the Samaritans to the Jews and their superstitious avoiding to have any commerce with them or any other strangers³

^m Or, as the word may also be translated, *We will file it down*, but the other is the more received interpretation

^g See Exod xxxii 24
Nob p 45

^h Al Beidâwi, Jallalo ddin

ⁱ Idem

² Vide Geogr.

³ Vide Selden ubi sup.

duce it to powder, and scatter it in the sea. Your God is *the true God*, besides whom there is no other god he comprehendeth all things by *his knowledge*. Thus do we recite unto thee, *O Mohammed*, relations of what hath passed heretofore, and we have given thee an admonition from us. He who shall turn aside from it shall surely carry a load of *guilt* on the day of resurrection they shall continue thereunder *for ever*, and a grievous burden shall it be unto them on the day of resurrection.^a On *that day* the trumpet shall be sounded, and we will gather the wicked together on that day,^b having grey eyes.^c They shall speak with a low voice to one another, *saying*, Ye have not tarried^d above ten days. We well know what they will say, when the most conspicuous among them for behaviour shall say, Ye have not tarried above one day. They will ask thee concerning the mountains. Answer, My LORD will reduce them to dust and scatter them abroad,^e and he will leave them a plain equally extended thou shalt see no part of them higher or lower than another. On that day *mankind* shall follow *the angel* who will call *them to judgment*,^f none shall *have power* to turn aside from him, and *their voices* shall be low before the Merciful, neither shalt thou hear any more than the hollow sound of *their feet*. On that day, the intercession of *none* shall be of advantage *unto another*, except *the intercession* of him to whom the Merciful shall grant permission,^g and who shall be acceptable unto him in what he saith.^h God knoweth that which is before them, and that which is behind them, but they comprehend not the same by *their knowledge* ‡ and their faces shall be humbledⁱ before the living, the self subsisting God, and he shall be wretched who shall bear *his iniquity*. But whosoever shall do good works, being a true believer, shall not fear any injustice, or any diminution of *his reward from God*. And thus have we sent down *this book*, being a Koran in the Arabic tongue, and we have inserted various threats and promises therein, that *men* may fear God, or that it may awaken some consideration in them wherefore, let God be

^a See chap 6, p 101

^b And their eyes shall be covered with darkness —*Savary*

^c For this, with the Arabs, is one mark of an enemy, or a person they abominate to say a man has a black liver, (though I think we express our aversion by the term white livered,) reddish whiskers, and grey eyes being a periphrasis for a foe, and particularly a Greek, which nation were the most inveterate enemies of the Arabs and have usually hair and eyes of those colours^d. The original word, however signifies also those who are squint eyed, or even blind of a suffusion

^d Viz, in the world, or in the grave

^e See the Prelim Disc sect iv p 59

^f See *ibid*

^g Or, Except unto him &c See chap 19 p 104

^h † Intercession shall benefit none but those to whom God shall grant this favour and who shall have pronounced the profession of faith which he loveth' ^h—*Savary*

ⁱ ‡ "He knoweth the past and the future Human knowledge extends not thus far —*Savary*

^k The original word properly expresses the humility and dejected looks of captives in the presence of their conqueror

^l Al Beidawi, Jawhari, in Lex. ^m "This profession of faith consists in the words, *There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet*. These words ought never to be repeated before Turks, unless the speaker have an inclination to be circumcised —*Savary*

highly exalted, the King, the Truth ! Be not overhasty in *receiving or repeating* the Korân before the revelation thereof be completed unto thee, ^u and say, LORD, increase my knowledge We heretofore gave a command unto Adam, but he forgot *the same*, ^v and ate of the forbidden fruit, and we found not in him a firm resolution And *remember* when we said unto the angels, Worship ye Adam, and they worshipped *him* but Eblis refused ^w And we said, O Adam, verily this is an enemy unto thee, and thy wife wherefore, *beware* lest he turn you out of paradise, for *then* shalt thou be miserable Verily *we have made a provision* for thee, that thou shalt not hunger therein, neither shalt thou be naked and *there is also a provision made* for thee, that thou shalt not thirst therein, neither shalt thou be incommoded by heat But Satan whispered *evil suggestions* unto him, saying, O Adam, shall I guide thee to the tree of eternity, and a kingdom which faileth not ? ^x And they both ate thereof and their nakedness appeared unto them and they began to sew together the leaves of paradise, to cover themselves ^y And *thus* Adam became disobedient unto his LORD, and was seduced Afterwards his LORD accepted him, *on his repentance*, and was turned unto him, and directed *him* And God said, Get ye down hence, all of *you* the one of you *shall be an enemy* unto the other But hereafter shall a direction come unto you from me ^z and whosoever shall follow my direction shall not err, neither shall he be unhappy, but whosoever shall turn aside from my admonition, verily he shall *lead* a miserable life, and we will cause him to appear *before us* on the day of resurrection, *blind* ^a And he shall say, O LORD, why hast thou brought me *before thee* blind, whereas before I saw clearly ? God shall answer, Thus *have we done*, because our signs came unto thee, and thou didst forget them, and in the same manner shalt thou be forgotten this day And thus will we reward him who shall be negligent, and shall not believe in the signs of his LORD and the punishment of the life to come shall be more severe, and more lasting, *than the punishment of this life*. Are not the *Mescans*, therefore, acquitted how many generations we have destroyed before them, in whose dwellings they walk ? ^b Verily herein are signs unto those who are endued with understanding And unless a decree had previously gone forth from thy LORD *for their respite*, verily *their destruction* had necessarily followed but there is a certain time de-

^u Mohammed is here commanded not to be impatient at any delay in Gabriel's bringing the divine revelations or not to repeat it too fast after the angel, so as to overtake him, before he had finished the passage But some suppose the prohibition relates to the publishing any verse before the same was perfectly explained to him ^c

^v Adam's so soon forgetting the divine command has occasioned some Arab etymologists to derive the word *Insân* : *a man*, from *nasiya*, *to forget*, and has also given rise to the following proverbial saying, *Aurwalo nâsin aurwalo nndsi*, That is, *The first forgetful person was the first of men* alluding to the like sound of the words.

^w See chap 2, p 5 &c., chap 7, p 117, &c

^x "The tree which giveth endless sovereignty — *Sawary*

^y See chap 7, pp 117, 118.

^z See chap 2.

^a See the Prelim Disc sect iv p 61

^b Seeing the footsteps of their destruction as of the tribes of Ad and Thamûd.

terminated by God for their punishment. Wherefore, do thou, O Mohammed, patiently bear that which they say, and celebrate the praise of thy LORD before the rising of the sun, and before the setting thereof, and praise him in the hours of the night, and in the extremities of the day,^b that thou mayest be well pleased with the prospect of receiving favour from God. And cast not thine eyes on that which we have granted divers of the unbelievers to enjoy, namely, the splendour of this present life,^c that we may prove them thereby, for the provision of thy LORD^d is better, and more permanent. Command thy family to observe prayer, and do thou persevere therein. We require not of thee that thou labour to gain necessary provisions for thyself and family: we will provide for thee, for the prosperous issue shall attend on piety. The unbelievers say, Unless he come unto us with a sign from his LORD, we will not believe on him. Hath not a plain declaration come unto them, of that which is contained in the former volumes of scripture, by the revelation of the Korân? If we had destroyed them by a judgment before the same had been revealed they would have said, at the resurrection, O LORD, how could we believe since thou didst not send unto us an apostle, that we might follow thy signs, before we were humbled and covered with shame? Say, Each of us wait the issue: wait, therefore, for ye shall surely know hereafter who have been the followers of the even way, and who hath been rightly directed.

CHAPTER XXI

INHILED, THE PROPHETS,^e REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

[*XVII] The time of giving up their account draweth nigh unto the people of Mecca, while they are sunk in negligence, turning aside from the consideration thereof. No admonition cometh unto them from their LORD,

^b : e Evening and morning which times are repeated as the principal hours of prayer. But some suppose these words intend the prayer of noon, the first half of the day ending and the second half beginning, at that time.^f

^c That is, Do not envy or covet their pomp and prosperity in this world.^g

^d Viz the reward laid up for thee in the next life or the gift of prophecy, and the revelations with which God has favoured thee.

^e It is said that when Mohammed's family were in any strait or affliction, he used to order them to go to prayers, and to repeat this verse.^h

^f "The unbelievers have said, We will not believe on him, unless he work miracles. Have they not heard the history of the nations which came before them?"

—Savary

^g The chapter bears this title, because some particulars relating to several of the ancient prophets are here recited.

Savary adds after the word prophets, "Peace be with them."

(He who shall read this chapter, says Zamakhshari, shall be favourably judged on the day of resurrection. The prophets who are mentioned in the Korân shall stretch out their hands to him, and salute him.)—Savary

^f Al Beidâwi, Jallalo d-din.

^g See chap 15, p 213.

^h Al Beidâwi.

being lately revealed *in the Korân*, but when they hear it, they turn it to sport their hearts are taken up with delights. And they who act unjustly discourse privately together, *saying*, Is this *Mohammed* any more than a man like yourselves? Will ye therefore come to *hear* a piece of soicery, when ye plainly perceive it *to be so*?* Say, my LORD knoweth whatever is spoken in heaven and on earth *it is he who heareth and knoweth*. But they say, *The Korân* is a confused heap of dreams nay, he hath forged it, nay he is a poet let him come unto us therefore with some miracle, in like manner as the former *prophets* were sent. None of the cities which we have destroyed believed *the miracles which they saw performed* before them will these therefore believe, *if they see a miracle*? We sent none *as our apostles* before them, other than men, unto whom we revealed *our will*. Ask those who are acquainted with the scripture, if ye know not *this*. We gave them not a body *which could be supported* without their eating food, neither were they immortal. But we made good *our promise* unto them wherefore we delivered them, and those whom we pleased, but we destroyed the exorbitant transgressors. Now have we sent down unto you, *O Koreish*, the book of the *Korân*, wherein there is *honourable* mention of you will ye not therefore understand? And how many cities have we overthrown, which were ungodly, and caused other nations to rise up after them? And when they felt our severe vengeance, behold, they fled swiftly from those cities. *And the angels said scoffingly unto them*, Do not fly, but return to that wherein ye delighted, and to your habitations, peradventure ye will be asked †^s. They answered, Alas for us! verily, we have been unjust.^a And thus their lamentation ceased not, until we had rendered them *like corn* which is mowen down and utterly extinct. We created not the heavens and the earth, and that which is between them, by way of sport †^t. If we had pleased to take diversion, verily, we had taken it with *that which beseemeth us*,^k if we had *resolved to have done this*. But we will oppose truth to vanity, and it shall confound the same, and behold, it

* Will you listen unto an impostor? You will know him soon — *Savary*

^s : e Concerning the present posture of affairs by way of consultation or that ye may be examined as to your deeds that ye may receive the reward thereof¹

† Whither fly you? the angels will exclaim. Return to enjoy your pleasures. Return to the abode in which you dwell. You are about to be questioned — *Savary*

^a It is related that a prophet was sent to the inhabitants of certain towns in *Yaman* but instead of hearkening to his remonstrances, they killed him upon which God delivered them into the hands of *Nebuchadnezzar*, who put them to the sword, a voice at the same time crying from heaven. Vengeance for the blood of the prophets! Upon which they repented and used the words of this passage

¹ But for the manifestation of our power and wisdom to people of understanding, that they may seriously consider the wonders of the creation and direct their actions to the attainment of future happiness, neglecting the vain pomp and fleeting pleasures of this world

†^t If we had formed the universe for a sport, we should have been the first objects of mockery — *Savary*

^k *Viz*, we had sought our pleasure in our own perfections, or in the spiritual beings which are in our immediate presence and not in raising of material buildings, with painted roofs and fine floors which is the diversion of man

Some think the original word translated diversion signifies in this place a wife or a child, and that the passage is particularly levelled against the Christians.

shall vanish away Woe be unto you, for that which ye *impiously* utter concerning God! since whoever is in heaven and on earth is subject unto him, and the angels who are in his presence do not insolently disdain his service, neither are they tired *therewith*. They praise him night and day, they faint not. Have they taken gods from the earth? Shall they raise the dead to life? If there were either in *heaven or on earth* gods besides God, verily, both would be corrupted.¹ But far be that which they utter from God, the LORD of the throne! No account shall be demanded of him for what he shall do, but an account shall be demanded of them. Have they taken *other* gods besides him? * Say, produce your proof *thereof* This is the admonition of those who are *contemporary* with me, and the admonition of those who *have been* before me,^m but the greater part of them know not the truth, and turn aside *from the same*. We have sent no apostle before thee, but we revealed unto him that there is no god beside myself, wherefore serve me They say, the Merciful hath begotten issue, and the angels are his daughters ⁿ† God forbid! They are his honoured servants, they prevent him not in any thing which they say, ^o and they execute his command. He knoweth that which is before them, and that which is behind them, they shall not intercede *for any*, except for whom it shall please him, and they tremble for fear of him. Whoever of them shall say, I am a god besides him, that angel will we reward with hell for so will we reward the unjust Do not the unbelievers therefore know, that the heavens and the earth were solid, and we clave the same in sunder, ^p and made every living thing of water? ‡ Will they not therefore believe? And we placed stable mountains on the earth, lest it should move with them, ^q and we made broad passages between them for paths, that they might be directed *in their journeys* and we made the heaven a roof well supported Yet they turn aside from the signs thereof, *not considering that they are the workmanship of God* It is he who hath created the night, and the day, and the sun, and the moon, all the celestial bodies

¹ That is the whole creation would necessarily fall into confusion and be overturned by the competition of such mighty antagonists

* Do the angels worship any other divinities than God? Produce your proof —Savary

^m : e This is the constant doctrine of all the sacred books not only of the Koran but of those which were revealed in former ages all of them bearing witness to the great and fundamental truth of the unity of God

ⁿ This passage was revealed on account of the Khozantes who held the angels to be the daughters of God

† “The unbelievers have said God has had a son by intercourse with the angels Far from him be this blasphemy! The angels are his honoured servants —Savary

^o : e They presume not to say any thing, until he hath spoken it behaving as servants who know their duty

^p That is they were one continued mass of matter till we separated them and divided the heaven into seven heavens, and the earth into as many stories and distinguished the various orbs of the one and the different climates of the other &c Or as some choose to translate the words, *The heavens and the earth were shut up and we opened the same* their meaning being that the heavens did not rain nor the earth produce vegetables, till God interposed his power ^q

‡ That we caused the rain to descend, which giveth life to all the plants —Savary

⁴ See chap 16, p 215

move swiftly, *each in its respective orb* We have not granted unto any man before thee *eternal permanency in this world*, if thou die, therefore, will they be immortal? ^r Every soul shall taste of death and we will prove you with evil, and with good, for a trial of *you*, and unto us shall ye return. When the unbelievers see thee, they receive thee only with scoffing, *saying, Is this he who mentioneth your gods with contempt?* Yet themselves believe not what is mentioned to them of the Merciful. ^s * Man is created of precipitation. ^t Hereafter will I show you my signs, so that ye shall not wish them to be hastened. They say, When *will* this threat be accomplished, if ye speak truth? If they who believe not knew *that the time will surely come*, when they shall not be able to drive back the fire of hell from their faces, nor from their backs, neither shall they be helped, *they would not hasten it* But the day of vengeance shall come upon them suddenly, and shall strike them with astonishment they shall not be able to avert it, neither shall they be respited. Other apostles have been mocked before thee, but the punishment which they scoffed at fell upon such of them as mocked. Say unto the scoffers, Who shall save you by night and by day from the Merciful? Yet they utterly neglect the remembrance of their LORD Have they gods who will defend them, besides us? They are not able to help themselves, neither shall they be assisted against us by their companions. But we have permitted these men and their fathers to enjoy *worldly prosperity*, so long as life was continued unto them Do they not perceive that we come unto the land of the unbelievers, and straiten the borders thereof? Shall they therefore be the conquerors? Say, I only preach unto you the revelation of God but the deaf will not hear thy call, whenever they are preached unto Yet if the least breath of the punishment of thy LORD touch them, they will surely say, Alas for us! verily we have been unjust. We will appoint just balances for the day of resurrection, neither shall any soul be injured at all although *the merit or guilt of an action* be of the weight of a grain of mustard seed only, we will produce it *publicly*, and there will be sufficient accountants with us We formerly gave unto Moses and Aaron the law, being a distinction ^u between good and evil, and a light and admonition unto the pious, who fear their LORD in secret, and who dread the hour of judgment And this book also is a blessed admonition, which we have sent down from heaven will ye therefore deny it? and we gave unto Abraham his direction ^x heretofore, and we knew him to be worthy of the revelations wherewith he was favoured.

^r This passage was revealed when the infidels said, We expect to see Mohammed die, like the rest of mankind

^s Denying his unity, or rejecting his apostles and the scriptures which were given for their instruction, and particularly the Korân

* "And they dare to insult the Merciful!"—Savary

^t Being hasty and inconsiderate ^u It is said this passage was revealed on account of al Nodar Ebn al Hareth, when he desired Mohammed to hasten the divine vengeance with which he threatened the unbelievers ^x

^y Arab, al Forkân See the Prelim Disc sect iii p 40

^z Viz. the ten books of divine revelations which were given him ^z

Remember when he said unto his father, and his people, What are these images, to which ye are so entirely devoted? ⁷ They answered, We found our fathers worshipping them. He said, Verily both ye and your fathers have been in a manifest error. They said, Dost thou *seriously* tell us the truth, or art thou one who jestest *with us*? He replied, Verily your LORD is the LORD of the heavens and the earth, *it is he* who hath created them and I am *one* of those who bear witness thereof. By God, I will surely devise a plot against your idols, after ye shall have retired *from them*, and shall have turned your backs. And *in the people's absence he went into the temple where the idols stood, and he brake them all in pieces, except the biggest of them, that they might lay the blame upon that.* ^a And when they were returned, and saw the havoc which had been made, they said, Who hath done this to our gods? He is certainly an impious person. And certain of them answered, We heard a young man speak *reproachfully* of them. he is named Abraham. They said, Bring him therefore before the people, that they may bear witness *against him*. And when he was brought before the assembly, they said unto him, Hast thou done this unto our gods, O Abraham? He answered, Nay, that biggest of them hath done it. but ask them, if they *can* speak. And they returned unto themselves, ^a and said *the one to the other*, Verily ye are the impious persons. ^{*} Afterward they relapsed into their former obstinacy, ^b and said, Verily thou knowest that these speak not. Abraham answered, Do ye therefore worship, besides God, that which cannot profit you at all, neither can it hurt you? Fie on you and upon that which ye worship besides God! Do ye not understand? They said, Burn him, and avenge your gods. if ye do this *it will be well*. ^c And when Abraham was cast into

⁷ See chap 6, p 105 &c chap 19 p 251, and chap 2 p 31

^a Abraham took his opportunity to do this while the Chaldeans were abroad in the fields, celebrating a great festival, and some say he hid in the temple and when he had accomplished his design, that he might the more evidently convince them of their folly in worshipping them, he hung the axe with which he had hewn and broken down the images, on the neck of the chief idol named by some writers Baal, as if he had been the author of all the mischief. ⁷ For this story which, though it be false, is not ill invented. Mohammed stands indebted to the Jews who tell it with a little variation for they say Abraham performed this exploit in his father's shop, during his absence, that Terah, on his return, demanding the occasion of the disorder, his son told him that the idols had quarrelled and fallen together by the ears about an offering of fine flour which had been brought them by an old woman, and that the father, finding he could not insist on the impossibility of what Abraham pretended, without confessing the impotence of his gods, fell into a violent passion, and carried him to Nimrod, that he might be exemplarily punished for his insolence. ⁸

^{*} That is, they became sensible of their folly

^b Having awoke to a sense of their error they exclaimed We were unjust — *Savayy*

^c Literally, *They were turned down upon their heads*

^e Perceiving they could not prevail against Abraham by dint of argument, says al Beidāwī, they had recourse to persecution and torments. The same commentator tells us the person who gave this counsel was a Persian Curd, ¹ named Heyyūn, and that the earth opened and swallowed him up alive. some, however, say it was Audeshān, a Magian priest, ² and others, that it was Nimrod himself.

⁶ See the Prelim Disc sect iv p 52. ⁷ Al Beidāwī, Jallāloddin, &c. Vide Hyde de Rel vet Pers. c. 2. ⁸ R. Gedal in Shalshel hakkab p 8. Vide Ma'mou Yad hazzaka, c 1, de idol. ¹ Vide D Herbel Bibl. Orient Art Dhokak et Schultens, Indic Geogr in Vit Saladin, voce Curdi. ² Vide D Herbel p 115.

the burning pile, we said, O fire, be thou cold, and a preservation unto Abraham.^d And they sought to lay a plot against him but we caused them to be the sufferers.^e And we delivered him, and Lot, by bringing them into the land wherein we have blessed all creatures.^f And we bestowed on him Isaac and Jacob, as an additional gift and we made all of them righteous persons. We also made them models of religion,^g that they might direct others by our command and we inspired into them the

^d The commentators relate that, by Nimrod's order a large space was inclosed at Cutha, and filled with a vast quantity of wood, which being set on fire, burned so fiercely that none dared to venture near it then they bound Abraham, and, putting him into an engine (which some suppose to have been of the devil's invention), shot him into the midst of the fire, from which he was preserved by the angel Gabriel, who was sent to his assistance, the fire burning only the cords with which he was bound.^h They add that the fire having miraculously lost its heat in respect to Abraham, became an odoriferous air, and that the pile changed to a pleasant meadow, though it raged so furiously otherwise that according to some writers, about two thousand of the idolaters were consumed by it.ⁱ

This story seems to have had no other foundation than that passage of Moses, where God is said to have brought Abraham out of Ur of the Chaldees.^j misunderstood which words the Jews the most trifling interpreters of scripture and some moderns who have followed them have translated out of the fire of the Chaldees taking the word Ur, not for the proper name of a city as it really is, but for an appellative, signifying fire.^k However it is a fable of some antiquity and credited not only by the Jews, but by several of the eastern Christians, the twenty fifth of the second Canon, or January, being set apart in the Syrian calendar for the commemoration of Abraham's being cast into the fire.^l

The Jews also mention some other persecutions which Abraham underwent on account of his religion, particularly a ten years imprisonment.^m some saying he was imprisoned by Nimrod.ⁿ and others, by his father Terah.^o

^p Some tell us that Nimrod, on seeing this miraculous deliverance from his palace, cried out, that he would make an offering to the God of Abraham and that he accordingly sacrificed four thousand kine.^q But if he ever relented he soon relapsed into his former infidelity for he built a tower that he might ascend to heaven to see Abraham's God, which being overthrown.^r still persisting in his design he would be carried to heaven in a chest borne by four monstrous birds, but after wandering for some time through the air, he fell down on a mountain with such a force that he made it shake whereto (as some fancy) a passage in the Koran.^s alludes which may be translated, *although their contrivances be such as to make the mount uns tremble*.

Nimrod disappointed in his design of making war with God turned his arms against Abraham, who, being a great prince, raised forces to defend himself but God, dividing Nimrod's subjects and confounding their language deprived him of the greater part of his people, and plagued those who adhered to him by swarms of gnats, which destroyed almost all of them and one of those gnats having entered into the nostril or ear, of Nimrod, penetrated to one of the membranes of his brain, where, growing bigger every day it gave him such intolerable pain that he was obliged to cause his head to be beaten with a mallet in order to procure some ease, which torture he suffered four hundred years, God being willing to punish, by one of the smallest of his creatures him who insolently boasted himself to be lord of all.^t A Syrian calendar places the death of Nimrod, as if the time were well known, on the 8th of Thapûz, or July.^u

^v i. e. Palestine, in which country the greater part of the prophets appeared

^w See chap 2 p 16

^x "We established them as our vicars to lead the people according to the divine law — Savary

^y Al Beidâwî, Jallâloddin, &c Vide Morgan's Mohamedism Expl v 1 chap 4
^z The MS Gospel of Barnabas, chap 28 ^{aa} Gen xv 7 ^{ab} Vide Targ Jonath et Hierosol in Genes c 11 et 15 et Hyde, de Rel vet Pers p 74, &c ^{ac} Vide Hyde, ibid p 73 ^{ad} R Eliez Pirke c 26, &c Vide Mam More Nev lib iii c 29 ^{ae} Glossa Talmud in Gemar Bava bathra, 91 l ^{af} In Aggada. ^{ag} Al Beidâwî ^{ah} See chap 16, p 216 ^{ai} See chap 14 p 209 ^{aj} Vide D Herbel. Bibl. Orient Art. Nemrod Hyde ubi supra. ^{ak} Vide Hyde, ibid. v 74

doing of good works, and the observance of prayer, and the giving of alms, and they served us. And unto Lot we gave wisdom and knowledge, and we delivered him out of the city which committed filthy crimes, for they were a wicked and insolent people,^b and we led him into our mercy, for he was an upright person. And remember Noah, when he called for destruction on his people,^c before the prophets above mentioned, and we heard him, and delivered him and his family from a great strait, and we protected him from the people who accused our signs of falsehood, for they were a wicked people, wherefore we drowned them all. And remember David and Solomon, when they pronounced judgment concerning a field, when the sheep of certain people had fed therein by night, having no shepherd, and we were witnesses of their judgment, and we gave the understanding thereof unto Solomon.^k And on all of them we bestowed wisdom, and knowledge. And we compelled the mountains to praise us, with David, and the birds also,^l and we did this. And we taught him the art of making coats of mail for you,^m that they may defend you in your wars, will ye therefore be thankful? And unto Solomon we subjected a strong wind,ⁿ it ran at his command to the land whereon we had bestowed our blessing,^o and we knew all things. And we also subjected unto his command divers of the devils who might dive to get pearls for him, and perform other work besides this,^p and we watched over them.^q And remember

^b See chap 7, p 125 &c and chap 11, p 183

^c See chap 8, p 146, note 1

^k Some sheep, in their shepherd's absence, having broken into another man's field (or vineyard, say others) by night, and eaten up the corn, a dispute arose thereupon, and the cause being brought before David and Solomon, the former said that the owner of the land should take the sheep in compensation of the damage which he had sustained, but Solomon who was then but eleven years old, was of opinion that it would be more just for the owner of the field to take only the profit of the sheep, viz their milk, lambs and wool, till the shepherd should, by his own labour and at his own expense put the field into as good condition as when the sheep entered it, after which the sheep might be returned to their master. And this judgment of Solomon was approved by David himself, as better than his own.⁶

^l Mohammed, it seems taking the visions of the Talmudists for truth, believed that when David was fatigued with singing psalms, the mountains, birds, and other parts of the creation, both animate and inanimate, relieved him in chanting the divine praises. This consequence the Jews draw from the words of the psalmist, when he calls on the several parts of nature to join with him in celebrating the praise of God,⁷ it being their perverse custom to expound passages in the most literal manner, which cannot bear a literal sense without a manifest absurdity, and, on the contrary, to turn the plainest passages into allegorical fancies.

^m Men, before his inventing them, using to arm themselves with broad plates of metal. Lest this fable should want something of the marvellous, one writer tells us, that the iron which David used became soft in his hands like wax.⁸

ⁿ "Solomon received from heaven the power of commanding the winds. He caused them to blow at his will on the blessed land. Our knowledge has no bounds."—Savary.

^o Which transported his throne with prodigious swiftness. Some say, this wind was violent or gentle, just as Solomon pleased.⁹

^p Viz, Palestine, whither the wind brought back Solomon's throne in the evening, after having carried it to a distant country in the morning.

^q Such as the building of cities and palaces, the fetching of rare pieces of art from foreign countries, and the like.

⁶ Lest they should swerve from his orders, or do mischief according to their natural

Job,¹ when he cried unto his LORD, *saying*, Verily evil hath afflicted me out thou art the most merciful of those who show mercy Wherefore we heard him, and relieved *him* from the evil which was upon him and we restored unto him his family, and as many more with them, through our mercy, and for an admonition unto those who serve God. And remember Ismael, and Edris,² and Dhu'lkefi.³ All *these* were patient persons, wherefore we led them into our mercy, for they were righteous doers. And remember Dhu'nun,⁴ when he departed * in wrath,⁵ and thought that we could not exercise our power over him. And he cried out in the darkness,⁷ *saying*, There is no God, besides thee praise be unto thee! Verily I have been one of the unjust. Wherefore we heard him, and delivered him from

inclinations Jallalo ddin says, that when they had finished any piece of building, they pulled it down before night if they were not employed in something new

¹ The Mohammedan writers tell us that Job was of the race of Esau and was blessed with a numerous family and abundant riches but that God proved him, by taking away all that he had, even his children, who were killed by the fall of a house, notwithstanding which he continued to serve God, and to return him thanks as usual that he was then struck with a filthy disease, his body being full of worms and so offensive that as he lay on the dunghill none could bear to come near him that his wife however, (whom some call Rahmat the daughter of Ephraim the son of Joseph, and others Makhir the daughter of Manasses) attended him with great patience, supporting him with what she earned by her labour, but that the devil appearing to her one day, after having reminded her of her past prosperity, promised her that if she would worship him he would restore all they had lost, whereupon she asked her husband's consent, who was so angry at the proposal that he swore if he recovered, to give his wife a hundred stripes that Job having pronounced the prayer recorded in this passage God sent Gabriel, who taking him by the hand, raised him up, and at the same time a fountain sprang up at his feet, of which having drank the worms fell off his body and washing therein he recovered his former health and beauty that God then restored all to him double, his wife also becoming young and handsome again, and bearing him twenty six sons, and that Job to satisfy his oath was directed by God to strike her one blow with a palm branch having a hundred leaves¹ Some, to express the great riches that were bestowed on Job after his sufferings, say he had two threshing floors one for wheat, and the other for barley, and that God sent two clouds which rained gold on the one, and silver on the other, till they ran over² The traditions differ as to the continuance of Job's calamities, one will have it to be eighteen years another th-teen, another three, and another exactly seven years seven months, and seven hours

² See chap 19 p 252

³ Who this prophet was is very uncertain One commentator will have him to be Elias or Joshua, or Zacharias ⁴ another supposes him to have been the son of Job and to have dwelt in Syria, to which some add, that he was first a very wicked man, but afterwards repenting died, upon which these words appeared miraculously written over his door *Now hath God been merciful unto Dhu'lkefi*,⁴ and a third tells us he was a person of great strictness of life and one who used to decide causes to the satisfaction of all parties because he was never in a passion, and that he was called Dhu'lkefi from his continual fasting and other religious exercises⁵

⁵ This is the surname of Jonas, which was given him because he was *swallowed by the fish*. See chap 10 p 173

⁶ "Remember Jonas when he departed with regret, and believed himself to be sheltered from our power —*Savary*

⁷ Some suppose Jonas's anger was against the Ninevites being tired with preaching to them for so long a time, and greatly disgusted at their obstinacy and ill usage of him, but others, more agreeably to scripture, say the reason of his ill humour was God's pardoning of that people on their repentance and averting the judgment which Jonas had threatened them with, so that he thought he had been made a liar⁸

⁸ * Out of the belly of the fish

¹ Al Beidawi, Jallalo ddin, Abu'l-feda, &c See D'Herbel Bibl Orient Art Ajoub.
² Jallalo ddin. ³ Al Beidawi ⁴ Abu'l-feda. ⁵ Jallalo ddin ⁶ Al Beidawi

affliction,^a for so do we deliver the true believers. And remember Zacharias, when he called upon his LORD, saying, O LORD, leave me not childless yet thou art the best heir. Wherefore we heard him, and we gave him John, and we rendered his wife fit for bearing a child unto him. These strove to excel in good works, and called upon us with love, and with fear, and humbled themselves before us. And remember her who preserved her virginity,^b and into whom we breathed of our spirit, ordaining her and her son for a sign unto all creatures. Verily this your religion is one religion,^c and I am your LORD, wherefore serve me. But the Jews and Christians have made schisms in the affair of their religion among themselves, but all of them shall appear before us. Whosoever shall do good works, being a true believer, there shall be no denial of the reward due to his endeavours, and we will surely write it down unto him. An inviolable prohibition is laid on every city which we shall have destroyed, for that they shall not return any more into the world, until Gog and Magog shall have a passage opened for them,^d and they shall hasten from every high hill,^e and the certain promise shall draw near to be fulfilled and behold, the eyes of the infidels shall be fixed with astonishment, and they shall say, Alas for us! we were formerly regardless of this day, yea, we were wicked doers. Verily both ye, O men of Mecca, and the idols which ye worship besides God, shall be cast as fuel into hell fire ye shall go down into the same. If these were really gods, they would not go down into the same and all of them shall remain therein for ever. In that place shall they groan for anguish and they shall not hear aught therein.^f As for those unto whom the most excellent reward of paradise hath been predestinated by us, they shall be transported far off from the same,^g they shall not hear the least sound thereof and they shall continue for ever in the felicity which their souls desire. The greatest terror shall not trouble them, and the angels shall meet them to congratulate them, saying, This is your day which ye were promised. On that day we will roll up the heavens, as the angel at Sijl^h rolleth up the book wherein every man's actions

^a See chap. 37.

^b Nameiy, the Virgin Mary.

^c Being the same which was professed by all the prophets, and holy men and women, without any fundamental difference or variation.

^d i. e. Until the resurrection, one sign of the approach whereof will be the irruption of those barbarians.

^e In this passage some copies, instead of *hadabim*, i. e. an elevated part of the earth, have *jadathin*, which signifies, a grave and if we follow the latter reading, the pronoun they must not refer to Gog and Magog, but to mankind in general.

^f Because of their astonishment and the insupportable torments they shall endure, or, as others expound the words, They shall not hear therein any thing which may give them the least comfort.

^g One Ebn al Zabari objected to the preceding words, Both ye and that which ye worship besides God shall be cast into hell, because, being general, they asserted an absolute falsehood, some of the objects of idolatrous worship being so far from any danger of damnation, that they were in the highest favour with God, as Jesus, Ezra, and the angels wherefore this passage was revealed, excepting those who were predestined to salvation.

^h Whose office is to write down the actions of every man's life, which, at his death, he rolls up as completed. Some pretend one of Mohammed's scribes is here meant.

are recorded As we made the first creature out of nothing, so we will also reproduce it at the resurrection. This is a promise which *it* lieth on us to fulfil we will surely perform it And now have we written in the psalms, after the promulgation of the law, that my servants the righteous shall inherit the earth.^a Verily in this book are contained sufficient means of salvation, unto people who serve God. We have not sent thee, O Mohammed, but as a mercy unto all creatures.* Say, No other hath been revealed unto me than that your God is one God will ye therefore be resigned unto him? But if they turn their backs to the confession of God's unity, say, I proclaim war against you all equally¹ but I know not whether that which ye are threatened with^k be nigh, or whether *it* be far distant† Verily God knoweth the discourse which is spoken in public, and he also knoweth that which ye hold in private. I know not but per adventure the respite granted you is for a trial of you, and that ye may enjoy the prosperity of this world for a time Say, LORD, judge between me and my adversaries with truth. Our LORD is the merciful, whose assistance is to be implored against the blasphemies and calumnies which ye utter

CHAPTER XXII

INTITLED, THE PILGRIMAGE,¹ REVEALED AT MECCA =

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

O MEN of Mecca, fear your LORD Verily the shock of the last hourⁿ will be a terrible thing On the day whereon ye shall see it, every woman who giveth suck shall forget the infant which she suckleth,^o and every female that is with young shall cast her burden, and thou shalt see men seemingly drunk, yet they shall not be really drunk but the punishment of God will be severe. There is a man who disputeth concerning God without knowledge,^p and followeth every rebellious devil against

and others take the word *Sijl* or, as it is also writter, *Sijill*, for an appellative, signifying a book or written scroll and accordingly, render the passage, as a written scroll is rolled up^q

^a These words are taken from Psalm xxxvii 29

* We have sent thee only to announce unto all men the divine mercy —Savary

¹ Or, I have publicly declared unto you what I was commanded

Viz, the losses and disgraces which ye shall suffer by the future successes of the Moslems, or the day of judgment.

† "If ye persist in your unbelief I announce calamities unto you. I know not whether they are at hand or as yet at a distance —Savary

¹ Some ceremonies used at the pilgrimage of Mecca being mentioned in this chapter, gave occasion to the inscription

^m Some¹ except two verses beginning at these words *There are some men who serve God in a wavering manner, &c.* And others² six verses, beginning a., *These are two opposite parties, &c.*

ⁿ Or, the earthquake which some say is to happen a little before the sun rises from the west, one sign of the near approach of the day of judgment.³

^o See the Prelim Disc. sect. 4, p 59

^p This passage was revealed on account of al Nodar Ebn al Hareth, who main-

^q Al Beidāwī, Jallalo ddin, &c.
Prelim Disc sect iv p 56. &c.

¹ Jallalo ddin

² Al Beidāwī

³ See the

whom it is written, that whoever shall take him for his patron, he shall surely seduce him, and shall lead him into the torment of hell.* O men, if ye be in doubt concerning the resurrection, *consider that we first created you of the dust of the ground, afterwards, of seed, afterwards, of a little coagulated blood,*¹ afterwards, of a piece of flesh, perfectly formed *in part, and in part imperfectly formed*, that we might make *our power* manifest unto you and we caused that which we please to rest in the wombs, until the appointed time of *delivery* Then we bring you forth infants, and afterwards *we permit* you to attain your age of full strength and one of you dieth *in his youth*, and another of you is postponed to a decrepid age, so that he forgetteth whatever he knew Thou seest the earth *sometimes* dried up and barren but when we send down rain thereon, it is put in motion and swelleth, and produceth every kind of luxuriant *vegetables* This *showeth* that GOD is the truth, and that he raiseth the dead to life, and that he is almighty, and that the hour of *judgment* will surely come (there is no doubt thereof), and that GOD will raise again those who are in the graves. There is a man who disputeth concerning GOD without either knowledge, or a direction, or an enlightening book,² proudly turning his side, that he may seduce *men* from the way of GOD Ignominy shall attend him in this world, and on the day of resurrection we will make him taste the torment of burning, *when it shall be said unto him, This thou sufferest* because of that which thy hands have formerly committed, for GOD is not unjust towards mankind.³ There are some men who serve GOD *in a wavering manner, standing, as it were, on the verge*⁴ of the true religion If good befall *one of them*, he resteth satisfied therein, but if any tribulation tained that the angels were the daughters of GOD, and that the Korân was a fardel of old fables, and denied the resurrection⁵

* The greatest part of men dispute concerning GOD, without being guided by the light They follow rebellious Satan It is written that he shall lead astray, and shall draw down into hell, whoever shall have taken him as his patron — Savary

¹ See chap 96

² The person here meant, it is said, was Abu Jahl,⁶ a principal man among the Koreish, and a most inveterate enemy of Mohammed and his religion His true name was Amru Ebn Hesham of the family of Makhzûm and he was surnamed Abu Ihocm, i e the father of wisdom which was afterwards changed into Abu Jahl, or the father of folly He was slain in the battle of Bedr⁶

— — — — — / may mislead their fellow creatures from the right path In this world they shall be covered with ignominy, and at the day of resurrection we will make them to undergo the torment of fire Such shall be the reward of their crimes GOD never deceiveth his servants"—Savary

³ This expression alludes to one who being posted in the skirts of an army, if he sees the victory inclining to his own side, stands his ground, but if the enemy is likely to prevail, takes to his heels

The passage they say was revealed on account of certain Arabs of the desert, who came to Medina, and having professed Mohammedism, were well enough pleased with it so long as their affairs prospered, but if they met with any adversity, were sure to lay the blame on their new religion A tradition of Abu Said mentions another accident as the occasion of this passage, viz that a certain Jew embraced Islâm, but afterwards taking a dislike to it on account of some misfortunes which had befallen him, went to Mohammed, and desired he might renounce it, and be freed from the obligations of it but the prophet told him that no such thing was allowed in his religion⁷

⁶ Al Bedawi.

⁵ Jallâl'oddin

⁶ See chap 8, p 145.

⁷ Al Bedawi.

befall him, he turneth himself round, with the loss *both* of this world, and of the life to come. This is manifest perdition. He will call upon that, besides GOD, which can neither hurt him, nor profit him. This is an error remote *from truth*. He will invoke him who will sooner be of hurt *to his worshipper* than of advantage. *Such* is surely a miserable patron, and a miserable companion.* But GOD will introduce those who shall believe, and do righteous works, into gardens through which rivers flow, for GOD doth that which he pleaseth. Whoso thinketh that GOD will not assist *his apostle* in this world, and in the world to come, let him strain a rope towards heaven, then let him put an end to his life, and see whether his devices can render that ineffectual for which he was angry†. Thus do we send down *the Korân being* evident signs for GOD directeth whom he pleaseth. As to the true believers, and those who Judaize, and the Sabians, and the Christians, and the Magians, and the idolaters, verily GOD shall judge between them on the day of resurrection, for GOD is witness of all things. Dost thou not perceive that all *creatures* both in heaven and on earth adore GOD,‡ and the sun, and the moon, and the stars, and the mountains, and the trees, and the beasts, and many men? but many are worthy of chastisement and whosoever GOD shall render despicable, there shall be none to honour, for GOD doth that which he pleaseth. These are two opposite parties, who dispute concerning their LORD§. And they who believe not shall have garments of fire fitted unto them. boiling water shall be poured on their heads, their bowels shall be dissolved thereby, and *also* their skins, and they shall *be beaten* with maces of iron. So often as they shall endeavour to get out of *hell*, because of the anguish *of their torments*, they shall be dragged back into the same, and *their tormentors shall say unto them*, Taste ye the pain of burning. GOD will introduce those who shall believe, and act righteously, into gardens through which rivers flow. they shall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold, and pearls, and their vestures therein shall be silk. They are directed unto a good saying,¶ and are directed into the honourable way†. But they who shall disbelieve, and obstruct the way of GOD, and *hinder men from visiting* the holy temple of *Mecca*, which we have appointed for a place of worship

* "Woe unto the patron! woe unto the worshipper!"—*Savary*

† Or *Let him tie a rope to the roof of his house and hang himself* that is, let him carry his anger and resentment to ever so great a height, even to be driven to the most desperate extremities, and see whether with all his endeavours he will be able to intercept the divine assistance§

‡ Confessing his power, and obeying his supreme command

§ *Viç*, the true believers, and the infidels. The passage is said to have been revealed on occasion of a dispute between the Jews and the Mohammedans, the former insisting that they were in greater favour with GOD their prophet and revelations being prior to those of the latter, and these replying that they were more in GOD's favour, for that they believed not only in Moses, but also in Mohammed, and in all the scriptures without exception, whereas the Jews rejected Mohammed, though they knew him to be a prophet out of envy¶

¶ *Viç*, the profession of GOD's unity, or these words, which they shall use at their entrance into paradise. *Praise be unto GOD, who hath fulfilled his promise unto us*¹⁰

† "Because that they have made their profession of faith, and have walked in the way of salvation"—*£*

unto *all* men the inhabitant thereof, and the stranger *have an equal right to visit it* and whosoever shall seek impiously to profane it, we will cause him to taste a grievous torment. *Call to mind* when we gave the site of the house of the *Caaba* for an abode unto Abraham,* *saying*, Do not associate any thing with me, and cleanse my house for those who compass it, and who stand up, and who bow down to worship And proclaim unto the people a solemn pilgrimage,^b let them come unto thee on foot, and on every lean camel, arriving from every distant road, that they may be witnesses of the advantages *which accrue* to them *from the visiting this holy place*,^c and may commemorate the name of GOD on the appointed days,^d *in gratitude* for the brute cattle which he hath bestowed on them Wherefore eat thereof, and feed the needy, and the poor Afterwards let them put an end to the neglect of their persons,^e and let them pay their vows,^f and compass the ancient house ^g This *let them do* And whosoever shall regard the sacred ordinances of GOD,^h this will be better for him in the sight of his LORD *All sorts of cattle are allowed you to eat*, except what hath

* *c* For a place of religious worship showing him the spot where he stood, and also the model of the old building which had been taken up to heaven at the flood ¹

^b It is related that Abraham, in obedience to this command, went up to mount Abu kobeis near Mecca, and cried from thence *O men perform the pilgrimage to the house of your Lord*, and that God caused those who were then in the loins of their fathers, and the wombs of their mothers, from east to west and who he knew beforehand, would perform the pilgrimage, to hear his voice Some say, however, that these words were directed to Mohammed, commanding him to proclaim the pilgrimage of valediction ² according to which exposition the passage must have been revealed at Medina

(Before the time of Mohammed the Arabians went in pilgrimage to Mecca They went there to celebrate the memory of Abraham and of Ishmael This was only a custom Mohammed consecrated it by religious ceremonies, and enjoined it by a precept Under religious motives he hid political views He wished that Mecca should become a point of union for all the Mohammedans, that they should resort there to exchange the gold and the productions of their own countries for the aromatics of Arabia Felix The great caravans which travel every year from Persia Damascus, Morocco and Cairo unite at Mecca During the time of the pilgrimage an immense commerce is carried on in that city, and at Jidda, which is the port of it — *Savary*)

^c *Viz* the temporal advantage made by the great trade driven at Mecca during the pilgrimage, and the spiritual advantage of having performed so meritorious a work

^d Namely, the ten first days of Dhu lhajja, or the tenth day of the same month, on which they slay the sacrifices, and the three following days ³

^e By shaving their heads and other parts of their bodies, and cutting their beards and nails in the valley of Mina which the pilgrims are not allowed to do from the time they become Mohrimis, and have solemnly dedicated themselves to the performance of the pilgrimage, till they have finished the ceremonies and slain their victims ⁴

^f By doing the good works which they have vowed to do in their pilgrimage Some understand the words only of the performance of the requisite ceremonies

^g "Let them put away all leaven of unbelief let them accomplish their vows, and let them make the circuit of the holy house — *Savary*

^h *c* The Caaba, which the Mohammedans pretend was the first edifice built and appointed for the worship of God ⁵ The going round this chapel is a principal ceremony of the pilgrimage and is often repeated, but the last time of their doing it, when they take their farewell of the temple, seems to be more particularly meant in this place.

¹ By observing what he has commanded, and avoiding what is forbidden, or as the words also signify *Whoever shall honour what God hath sanctified*, or commanded not to be profaned, as the temple and territory of Mecca, and the sacred months, &c

² See the Prelim Disc. sect. iv p 82 ³ Al Beidawi ⁴ Idem Jallalo ddin

⁵ Idem See chap 2, p 16 chap 5, p 94, and Bobov de Peregr Meccana, p 15 & ⁶ See chap 3, p 47 and the Prelim Disc. sect. iv

been read unto you, in former passages of the Koran, to be forbidden. But depart from the abomination of idols, and avoid speaking that which is false ¹ being orthodox in respect to GOD, associating *no other god* with him, for whoever associateth *any other* with GOD is like that which falleth from heaven, and which the birds snatch away, or the wind bloweth to a far distant place ² This is so. And whoso maketh valuable offerings unto GOD, ³ verily they proceed from the piety of men's hearts. Ye receive various advantages from the *cattle designed for sacrifices*, until a determined time for *slaying them* then the place of sacrificing them is at the ancient house. Unto the professors of every religion ⁴ have we appointed certain rites, that they may commemorate the name of GOD on *slaying* the brute cattle which he hath provided for them. You! GOD is one GOD wherefore resign yourselves *wholly* unto him. And do thou bear good tidings unto those who humble themselves, whose hearts, when mention is made of GOD, are struck with fear, and unto those who patiently endure that which befalleth them, and who duly perform their prayers, and give alms out of what we have bestowed on them. The camels *slain for sacrifice* have we appointed for you as symbols of your obedience unto GOD ye also receive other advantages from them. Wherefore commemorate the name of GOD over them, *when ye slay them*, standing on their feet disposed in right order ⁵ and when they are fallen down *dead*, eat of them, and give to eat thereof both unto him who is content *with what is given him, without asking*, and unto him who asketh ⁶. Thus have we given you dominion over them, that ye might return us thanks. Their flesh is not accepted of GOD, neither their blood, but your piety is accepted of him. Thus have we given you dominion over them, that ye might magnify GOD, for the revelations whereby he hath directed you. And bear good tidings unto the righteous, that GOD will repel the *ill designs of the infidels* from the true believers, for GOD loveth not every perfidious unbeliever ⁷. Permission is granted unto those who

Either by asserting wrong and impious things of the Deity, or bearing false witness against your neighbours.

² Because he who falls into idolatry sinketh from the height of faith into the depth of infidelity has his thoughts distracted by wicked lusts, and is hurried by the devil into the most absurd errors ³.

⁴ By choosing a well favoured and costly victim in honour of him to whom it is destined. They say Mohammed once offered a hundred fat camels and among them one which had belonged to Abu Jahl, having in his nose a ring of gold and that Omar offered a noble camel for which he had been bid three hundred *dinars* ⁷.

The original may also be translated generally *Whoso regardeth the rites of the pilgrimage, &c*. But the victims seem to be more particularly intended in this place ⁴.

⁵ Jallalo'ddin understands this passage in a restrained sense of the former nations who were true believers, to whom God appointed a sacrifice, and a fixed place and proper ceremonies for the offering of it.

⁶ That is as some expound, the word, standing on three feet, having one of their fore feet tied up which is the manner of tying camels to prevent their moving from the place. Some copies instead of *sawâffa* read *sawâffena*, from the verb *safana*, which properly signifies the posture of a horse when he stands on three feet, the edge of the fourth only touching the ground.

⁷ Or, as the words may also be rendered, *Unto him who asketh in a modest and humble manner, and unto him who wanteth but dareth not ask*.

⁸ "Announce happiness to those who exercise beneficence. God will destroy

take arms *against the unbelievers*, for that they have been unjustly persecuted by them (and GOD is certainly able to assist them) who have been turned out of their habitations injuriously, *and for no other reason* than because they say, Our LORD is GOD^p And if GOD did not repel the violence of some men by others, verily monasteries, and churches, and synagogues, and the temples of the Moslems, wherein the name of GOD is frequently commemorated, would be utterly demolished^q And GOD will certainly assist him who shall be on his side for GOD is strong and mighty And he will assist those who, if we establish them in the earth, will observe prayer, and give alms, and command that which is just, and forbid that which is unjust And unto GOD shall be the end of all things If they accuse thee, O Mohammed, of imposture, consider that, before them, the people of Noah, and the tribes of Ad and Thamud, and the people of Abraham, and the people of Lot, and the inhabitants of Madian, accused their prophets of imposture and Moses was also charged with falsehood And I granted a long respite unto the unbelievers but afterwards I chastised them, and how different was the change I made in their condition! How many cities have we destroyed, which were ungodly, and which are now fallen to ruin on their roofs? * And how many wells have been abandoned, and lofty castles? Do they not therefore journey through the land? And have they not hearts to understand with, or ears to hear with? Surely as to these things their eyes are not blind, but the hearts are blind which are in their breasts They will urge thee to hasten the threatened punishment, but GOD will not fail to perform what he hath threatened and verily one day with thy LORD is as a thousand years, of those which ye compute.^r Unto how many cities have I granted respite, though they were wicked? Yet afterwards I chastised them and unto me shall they come to be judged at the last day Say, O men, verily I am only a public preacher unto you And they who believe, and do good works, shall obtain forgiveness and an honourable provision But those

the snares which are spread for the believers He hateth the deceiver and the infidel —Savary

^p This was the first passage of the Koran which allowed Mohammed and his followers to defend themselves against their enemies by force and was revealed a little before the flight to Medina till which time the prophet had exhorted his Moslems to suffer the injuries offered them with patience, which is also commanded in above seventy different places of the Koran^s

^q That is, The public exercise of any religion, whether true or false, is supported only by force, and therefore as Mohammed would argue, the true religion must be established by the same means

* "How many guilty cities have we overthrown! They are now buried under their own ruins —Savary

^r That is, How many spots in the deserts, which were formerly inhabited, are now abandoned? a neglected well being the proper sign of such a deserted dwelling in those parts, as ruins are of a demolished town

Some imagine that this passage intends more particularly a well at the foot of a certain hill in the province of Hadramaut, and a castle built on the top of the same hill both belonging to the people of Handha Ebn Safwan, a remnant of the Thamudites, who having killed their prophet, were utterly destroyed by God, and their dwelling abandoned^s

^s See 2 Pet iii 8

who endeavour to make our signs of none effect *shall be* the inhabitants of hell. We have sent no apostle, or prophet, before thee, but, when he read, Satan suggested *some error* in his reading[†] But God shall make void that which Satan hath suggested then shall God confirm his signs, for God *is* knowing *and* wise. *But thus he permitteth*, that he may make that which Satan hath suggested, a temptation unto those in whose hearts there is an infirmity, and whose hearts are hardened (for the ungodly are certainly in a wide disagreement *from the truth*) and that they on whom knowledge hath been bestowed may know that *this book* is the truth from thy LORD, and may believe therein, and that their hearts may acquiesce in the same for God *is* surely the director of those who believe, into the right way But the infidels will not cease to doubt concerning it, until the hour of *judgment* cometh suddenly upon them, or until the punishment of a grievous day[‡] overtake them On that day the kingdom shall be God's he shall judge between them^{*} And they who shall have believed, and shall have wrought righteousness, *shall be* in gardens of pleasure, but they who shall have disbelieved, and shall have charged our signs with falsehood, those shall suffer a shameful punishment And *as to those* who shall have fled their country for the sake of God's true religion, and afterwards shall have been slain, or shall have died, on them will God bestow an excellent provision, and God is the best provider He will surely introduce them with an introduction with which they shall be well pleased[†] for God *is* knowing *and* gracious This *is so* Whoever shall take a vengeance equal to the injury which hath been done him,[‡] and shall afterwards be unjustly treated,^{*} verily God will assist him for God *is* merciful, *and* ready to forgive This *shall be done*, for that God causeth the night to succeed the

[†] The occasion of the passage is thus related Mohammed one day reading the 53rd chapter of the Koran when he came to this verse *What think ye of Allât, and al Uzza and of Manâh the other third goddess?* the devil put the following words into his mouth which he pronounced through inadvertence or, as some tell us because he was then half a leep¹ viz *These are the most high and beauteous damsels whose intercession is to be hoped for* The Koreish who were sitting near Mohammed, greatly rejoiced at what they had heard, and when he had finished the chapter, joined with him and his followers in making their adoration but the prophet being acquainted by the angel Gabriel with the reason of their complacence, and with what he had uttered was deeply concerned at his mistake, till this verse was revealed for his consolation²

We are told however by al Baidâwî that the more intelligent and accurate persons reject the aforesaid story and the verb, here translated *read*, signifying also to *wish* for any thing, they interpret the passage of the suggestions of the devil to debauch the affections of these holy persons or to employ their minds in vain wishes and desires

[‡] Or, *a day which maketh childless* by which some great misfortune in war is expressed as the overthrow the infidels received at Bedr Some suppose the resurrection is here intended

^{*} "Then will the balance be in the hand of God. He will judge between mortals —*Savary*

[†] "He will introduce them into an abode that shall enchant them He is wise and gracious —*Savary*

[‡] And shall not take a more severe revenge than the fact deserves

^{*} By the aggressor's seeking to revenge himself again of the person injured, by offering him some further violence

The passage seems to relate to the vengeance which the Moslems should take of the infidels, for their unjust persecution of them

¹ Yahya.

² Al Baidâwî, Jallalo ddin, Yahya, &c See chap 16, p 223

day, and he causeth the day to succeed the night, and for that God *both* heareth *and* seeth This, because GOD is truth, and because what they invoke besides him is vanity, and for that GOD is the high, the mighty Dost thou not see that GOD sendeth down water from heaven, and the earth becometh green? for GOD is gracious *and* wise Unto him *belongeth* what soever is in heaven and on earth and GOD is self sufficient, worthy to be praised. Dost thou not see that GOD hath subjected whatever is in the earth to your service, and *also* the ships which sail in the sea, by his command? And he withholdeth the heaven that it fall not on the earth, unless by his permission ⁷ for GOD is gracious unto mankind, *and* merciful. It is he who hath given you life, and will hereafter cause you to die, afterwards he will *again* raise you to life, *at the resurrection* but man is surely ungrateful. Unto the professors of every religion have we appointed certain rites, which they observe. Let them not therefore dispute with thee concerning *this* matter but invite *them* unto thy LORD for thou followest the right direction But if they enter into debate with thee, answer, GOD well knoweth that which ye do GOD will judge between you on the day of resurrection, concerning that wherein ye *now* disagree Dost thou not know that GOD knoweth whatever is in heaven and on earth? Verily *this is written* in the book of *his decrees* this is easy with GOD They worship, besides GOD, that concerning which he hath sent down no convincing proof, and concerning which they have no knowledge but the unjust doers shall have none to assist them And when our evident signs are rehearsed unto them, thou mayest perceive, in the countenances of the unbelievers, a disdain *thereof* it wanteth little but that they rush with violence on those who rehearse our signs unto them Say, shall I declare unto you a worse thing than this? The fire of *hell*, which GOD hath threatened unto those who believe not, is *worse*, and an unhappy journey *shall it be thither* O men, a parable is propounded *unto you*, wherefore hearken unto it Verily *the idols* which ye invoke, besides GOD, can never create a single fly, although they were *all* assembled for that *purpose* and if the fly snatch any thing from them, they cannot recover the same from it ⁸ Weak is the petitioner, and the petitioned They judge not of GOD according to his due estimation for GOD is powerful *and* mighty GOD chooseth messengers from among the angels,⁹ and from among men for GOD is he who heareth *and* seeth. He knoweth that which is before them, and that which is behind them and unto GOD shall *all* things return O true believers, bow down, and

⁷ Which it will do at the last day

⁸ The commentators say that the Arabs used to anoint the images of their gods with some odorous composition, and with honey, which the flies ate, though the doors of the temple were carefully shut, getting in at the windows or crevices.

Perhaps Mohammed took this argument from the Jews, who pretend that the temple of Jerusalem, and the sacrifices there offered to the true God were never annoyed by flies,⁹ whereas swarms of those insects infested the heathen temples, being drawn thither by the steam of the sacrifices.⁴

⁹ Who are the bearers of the divine revelations to the prophets, but ought not to be the objects of worship.

prostrate yourselves, and worship your LORD, and work righteousness, that ye may be happy and fight in defence of God's true religion, as it behoveth *you* to fight for the same. He hath chosen you, and hath not imposed on you any difficulty in the religion *which he hath given you*, the religion of your father Abraham he hath named you Moslems heretofore, and in this *book*, that *our* apostle may be a witness against you *at the day of judgment*, and that ye may be witnesses against *the rest of mankind*. Wherefore be ye constant at prayer, and give alms and adhere firmly unto GOD. He is your master, and he is the best master, and the best protector *

CHAPTER XXIII

INTITLED, THE TRUE BELIEVERS, REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

[*XVIII] Now are the true believers happy who humble themselves in their prayer, and who eschew *all* vain discourse, and who *are* doers of alms-deeds, and who keep themselves from carnal knowledge *of any women* except their wives, or the *captives* which their right hands possess (for *as to them* they shall be blameless but whosoever coveteth any *woman* beyond these, they *are* transgressors) and who acquit themselves faithfully of their trust, and *justly perform* their covenant, and who observe their *appointed times of prayer* these shall be the heirs, who shall inherit paradise, they shall continue therein for ever. We formerly created man in a finer sort of clay, afterwards we placed him *in the form of seed* in a sure receptacle ^b afterwards we made the seed coagulated blood, and we formed the coagulated blood into a piece of flesh then we formed the piece of flesh into bones, and we clothed those bones with flesh then we produced the same by another creation. ^c Wherefore blessed be GOD, the most excellent Creator ^d After this shall ye die and afterwards shall ye be restored to life, on the day of resurrection. And we have created over you seven heavens ^e and we are not negligent of what we have created. And we send down rain from heaven, by measure, and we cause it to remain on the earth we are also certainly able to deprive you of the same. And we cause gardens of palm trees, and vineyards, to spring forth for you by

* 'Be immovable in the faith. God is your master. Courage unto the servant, and praise unto the patron! —Savary

^b *Viz*, the womb

^c *s. e.* Producing a perfect man, composed of soul and body

^d "We accomplished our creation by animating it with life." —Savary

^e See chap. 6 p 108, note

^e Literally, *seven paths*, by which the heavens are meant because, according to some expositors, they are the *paths* of the angels and of the celestial bodies though the original word also signifies things which are *folded* or *placed like stories* one above another, as the Mohammedans suppose the heavens to be.

means thereof, wherein ye have many fruits, and whereof ye eat. And we also raise for you a tree springing from Mount Sinai,^f which produceth oil, and a sauce for those who eat. Ye have likewise an instruction in the cattle, we gave you to drink of the *milk* which is in their bellies, and ye receive many advantages from them, and of them do ye eat and on them, and on ships, are ye carried.^g We sent Noah heretofore unto his people, and he said, O my people, serve God ye have no God besides him, will ye therefore not fear *the consequence of your worshipping other gods?* And the chiefs of his people, who believed not, said, This is no other than a man, as ye are he seeketh to raise himself to a superiority over you. If God had pleased to have sent a messenger unto you, he would surely have sent angels we have not heard this of our forefathers. Verily he is no other than a man *disturbed* with frenzy wherefore wait concerning him for a time† Noah said, O LORD, do thou protect me, for that they accuse me of falsehood. And we revealed our orders unto him, saying, Make the ark in our sight, and according to our revelation. And when our decree cometh to be executed, and the oven shall boil and pour forth water, carry into it of every species of animals one pair, and also thy family, except such of them on whom a previous sentence of destruction hath passed^h and speak not unto me in behalf of those who have been unjust, for they shall be drowned. And when thou and they who shall be with thee shall go up unto the ark, say, Praise be unto God, who hath delivered us from the ungodly people! And say, O LORD, cause me to come down from this ark with a blessed descent,‡ for thou art the best able to bring me down from the same with safety Verily herein were signs of our omnipotence, and we proved mankind thereby Afterwards we raised up another generationⁱ after them, and we sent unto them an apostle from among them,^k who said, Worship God ye have no God besides him, will ye therefore not fear *his vengeance?* And the chiefs of his people, who believed not, and who denied the meeting of the life to come, and on whom we had bestowed affluence in this present life, said, This is no other than a man, as ye are, he eateth of that whereof ye eat, and he drinketh of that whereof ye drink and if ye obey a man like unto yourselves, ye will surely be sufferers. Doth he threaten you that after ye shall be dead, and shall become dust and bones, ye shall be brought forth *alive from your graves?* Away, away with that ye are threatened with! There is no other life besides our present life we die, and we live, and we shall not be raised

^f *Viz*, the olive The gardens near this mountain are yet famous for the excellent fruit trees, of almost all sorts, which grow there⁵

^g The beast more particularly meant in this place is the camel which is chiefly used for carriage in the East, being called by the Arabs, the *land ship*, on which they pass those *seas of sand*, the deserts.

^{*} 'They carry you on the earth as the ships bear you on the sea'—*Savary*

† 'Let us shut him up for a time'—*Savary*

ⁱ See chap 11, p 177, &c.

‡ When thou shalt descend from it, put up to him this prayer, Lord! O thou who art the best of guides, deign to bless our outgoing!—*Savary*

^k Namely the tribe of Ad, or of Thamud

Viz., the prophet of Hûd, or Saleh

again. This is no other than a man, who deviseth a lie concerning God but we will not believe him. *Their apostle* said, O LORD, defend me, for that they have accused me of imposture. God answered, After a little while they shall surely repent *their obstinacy*. Wherefore a severe punishment was justly inflicted on them, and we rendered them *like* the refuse *which is carried down by a stream*.* Away therefore with the ungodly people! Afterwards we raised up other generations¹ after them. No nation shall be punished before their determined time, neither shall they be respited *after*. Afterwards we sent our apostles, one after another. So often as their apostle came into any nation, they charged him with imposture and we caused them successively to follow one another *to destruction*, and we made them *only subjects of* traditional stories†. Away therefore with the unbelieving nations! Afterwards we sent Moses, and Aaron his brother, with our signs and manifest power, unto Pharaoh and his princes but they proudly refused *to believe on him*, for they were a haughty people. And they said, Shall we believe on two men like unto ourselves, whose people are our servants? And they accused them of imposture wherefore they became of *the number of* those who were destroyed. And we heretofore gave the book *of the law* unto Moses, that *the children of Israel* might be directed *thereby*. And we appointed the son of Mary, and his mother, for a sign and we prepared an abode for them in an elevated part of the earth,^m being a *place of quiet and security, and watered with running springs*. O apostles, eat of those things which are good,ⁿ and work righteousness for I well know that which ye do. This your religion is one religion,^o and I am your LORD wherefore fear me. But *men* have rent the affair of their *religion* into various sects every party rejoiceth in that which they follow. Wherefore leave them in their confusion, until a certain time^p. Do they think that we hasten unto them the wealth and children which we have abundantly bestowed on them, for their good? But ye do not understand. Verily they who stand in awe, for fear of their LORD, and who believe in the signs of their LORD, and who

* The cry of the exterminating angel was heard and, like withered buds, the unbelievers were destroyed.—*Savary*

¹ As the Sodomites, Midianites, &c

† "We have brought a new Scripture. Far from us be those who will not believe in it.—*Savary*

^m The commentators tell us the place here intended is Jerusalem, or Damascus, or Ramlah, or Palestine, or Egypt.

But perhaps the passage means the hill to which the virgin Mary retired to be delivered according to the Mohammedan tradition.⁷

ⁿ These words are addressed to the apostles in general, to whom it was permitted to eat of all clean and wholesome food, and were spoken to them severally at the time of their respective mission. Some, however, think them directed particularly to the virgin Mary and Jesus, or singly to the latter (in which case the plural number must be used out of respect only), proposing the practice of the prophets for their imitation. Mohammed probably designed in this passage to condemn the abstinence observed by the Christian monks.⁶

^o See chap 21, p 272

^p e. i. Till they shall be slain, or shall die a natural death.

attribute not companions unto their LORD, and who give that which they give *in alms*, their hearts being struck with dread, for that they must return unto their LORD these hasten unto good, and are foremost to *obtain* the same We will not impose any difficulty on a soul, except according to its ability with us *is* a book, which speaketh the truth, and they shall not be injured. But their hearts are *drowned* in negligence, as to this *matter*, and they have works different from those *we have mentioned*, which they will continue to do, until, when we chastise such of them as enjoy an affluence of fortune, by a *severe* punishment,¹ behold, they cry aloud for help * *but it shall be answered them*, Cry not for help to-day for ye shall not be assisted by us My signs were read unto you, but ye turned back on your heels proudly elating yourselves because of *your possessing the holy temple*, discoursing together by night, and talking foolishly Do they not therefore attentively consider that which is spoken *unto them*, whether a *revelation* is come unto them which came not unto their forefathers? Or do they not know their apostle, and therefore reject him? Or do they say, He is a madman? Nay, he hath come unto them with the truth, but the greater part of them detest the truth. If the truth had followed their desires, verily the heavens and the earth, and whoever therein *is*, had been corrupted² But we have brought them their admonition, and they turn aside from their admonition. Dost thou ask of them any maintenance *for thy preaching*? since the maintenance of thy LORD is better, for he is the most bounteous provider Thou certainly invitest them to the right way, and they who believe not in the life to come, do surely deviate from *that* way If we had had compassion on them, and taken off from them the calamity which had befallen them,³ they would surely have more obstinately persisted in their error, wandering *in confusion* † We formerly chastised them with a punishment⁴ yet they did not humble themselves before their LORD, neither did they make supplications *unto him*, until, when we have opened upon them a door, from which a severe punishment⁵ *hath issued*,

¹ By which is intended either the overthrow at Bedr where several of the chief Korashites lost their lives or the famine with which the Meccans were afflicted at the prayer of the prophet, conceived in these words O God *set thy foot strongly on Modar* (an ancestor of the Foreish) *and give them years like the years of Joseph* whereupon so great a dearth ensued that they were obliged to feed on dogs, carrion, and burnt bones⁶

* Those who are in ignorance of this doctrine, those who in their works have not virtue for their object, shall remain in their blindness till the hour when the most powerful of them feeling our vengeance shall cry out tumultuously —*Savary*

² That is, If there had been a plurality of gods as the idolaters contend⁷ or, if the doctrine taught by Mohammed had been agreeable to their inclinations &c

³ *viz* The Famine It is said that the Meccans being reduced to eat ilhiz, which is a sort of miserable food made of blood and camels hair used by the Arabs in time of scarcity, Abu Sohan came to Mohammed, and said, *Tell me, I adjure thee by God, and the relation that is between us dost thou think thou art sent as a mercy unto all creatures, since thou hast slain the fathers with the sword, and the children with hunger* ⁸

† If pity had caused us to predict unto them the calamities which they were about to suffer, they would have been only the more obstinate in their error —*Savary*

⁴ Namely, the slaughter at Bedr

⁵ *viz* Famine which is more terrible than the calamities of war⁹

According to these explications, the passage must have been revealed at Medina unless it be taken in a prophetic sense

⁹ Al Beidawi

¹ See chap 21 p 206.

² Al Beidawi

³ Idem

behold, they are driven to despair thereat. It is *God* who hath created in you *the senses of hearing and of sight, that ye may perceive our judgments, and hearts, that ye may seriously consider them* yet how few of you give thanks! It is he who hath produced you in the earth, and before him shall ye be assembled. It is he who giveth life, and putteth to death, and to him *is to be attributed* the vicissitude of night and day do ye not therefore understand? But the *unbelieving Meccans* say as *their* predecessors said they say, When we shall be dead, and shall have become dust and bones, shall we really be raised to life? We have already been threatened with this, and our fathers also heretofore this is nothing but fables of the ancients. Say, Whose is the earth, and whoever therein *is*, if ye know? They will answer, *God's*. Say, Will ye not therefore consider? Say, who is the LORD of the seven heavens, and the LORD of the magnificent throne? They will answer, *They are God's*. Say, Will ye not therefore fear *him*? Say, in whose hand is the kingdom of all things, who protecteth *whom he pleaseth*, but is himself protected of none, if ye know? They will answer, *In God's*. Say, How therefore are ye bewitched? * Yea, we have brought them the truth, and they are certainly liars in denying the same. God hath not begotten issue, neither is there any other god with him otherwise every god had surely taken away that which he had created, ^x and some of them had exalted themselves above the others.⁷ Far be that from GOD, which they affirm of *him*! He knoweth that which is concealed, and that which is made public wherefore far be it from him to have those sharers in his honour which they attribute to him! Say, O LORD, If thou wilt surely cause me to see *the vengeance* with which they have been threatened, O LORD, set me not among the ungodly people for we are surely able to make thee see that with which we have threatened them. Turn aside evil with that which is better ^a we well know *the calumnies* which they utter against thee. And say, O LORD, I fly unto thee for refuge, against the suggestions of the devils and I have recourse unto thee, O LORD, to drive them away, that they be not present with me ^a *The gainsaying of the unbelievers ceaseth not* until, when death overtaketh any of them, he saith, O LORD, suffer me to return to life, that I may do that which is right, in *professing the true faith* which I have neglected.^b By no means. Verily these are the words which ye shall speak but behind them there shall be a bar,^c until the day of resurrection

* Will then, your eyes be always closed against the light? — *Savary*

^x And set up a distinct creation and kingdom of his own

⁷ See chap 17 p 231

^a That is By forgiving injuries, and returning of good for them which rule is to be qualified however with this proviso that the true religion receive no prejudice by such mildness and clemency ⁴

^a To besiege me or, as it may also be translated *That they hurt me not*

^b Or, as the words may also import, *In the world which I have left*, that is, during the further term of life which shall be granted me, and from which I have been cut off ⁵

^c The original word barzakh here translated *bar* primarily signifies any partition, or interstice, which divides one thing from another, but is used by the Arabs not always in the same, and sometimes in an obscure sense They seem generally to

⁴ Al Beidawi.

⁵ Idem.

When therefore the trumpet shall be sounded, there shall be no relation between them *which shall be regarded* on that day, neither shall they ask assistance of each other. They whose balances shall be heavy *with good works* shall be happy, but they whose balances shall be light are those who shall lose their souls, *and* shall remain in hell for ever^d. The fire shall scorch their faces, and they shall writhe their mouths therein *for anguish* and it shall be said unto them, Were not my signs rehearsed unto you, and did ye not charge them with falsehood? They shall answer, O LORD, our unhappiness prevailed over us, and we were people who went astray. O LORD, take us forth from this fire if we return to our former wickedness, we shall surely be unjust. God will say unto them, Be ye driven away with ignominy thereinto and speak not unto me to deliver you. Verily there were a party of my servants, who said, O LORD, we believe wherefore forgive us, and be merciful unto us, for thou art the best of those who shew mercy. But ye received them with scoffs, so that they suffered you to forget my admonition,^e and ye laughed them to scorn. I have this day rewarded them, for that they suffered the injuries ye offered them with patience verily they enjoy great felicity. God will say, What number of years have ye continued on earth? They will answer, We have continued *there* a day, or part of a day^f but ask those who keep account.^g God will say, Ye have tarried but a while, if ye knew it. Did ye think that we had created you in sport, and that ye should not be brought again before us? Wherefore let God be exalted, the King, the Truth! There is no God besides him, the LORD of the honourable throne. Whoever together with the true God shall invoke another god, concerning whom he hath no demonstrative proof, shall surely be brought to an account for the same before his LORD. Verily the infidels shall not prosper. Say, O LORD, pardon, and show mercy, for thou art the best of those who show mercy.*

express by it what the Greeks did by the word Hades, one while using it for the place of the dead another while for the time of their continuance in that state and another while for the state itself. It is defined by their critics to be the interval or space between this world and the next, or between death and the resurrection every person who dies being said to enter into al barzakh, or as the Greek expresses it *μεταβίβας εἰς αἰῶν*. One lexicographer⁷ tells us that in the Koran it denotes the grave but the commentators on this passage expound it a bar, or invincible obstacle, cutting off all possibility of return into the world, after death. See chap 25, where the word again occurs.

Some interpreters understand the words we have rendered behind them to mean before them, (it being one of those words of which there are several in the Arabic tongue, that have direct contrary significations,) considering Al Barzakh as a future space, and lying before, and not behind them.

^d See the Prelim Disc sect iv p 63

* Being unable to prevail on you by their remonstrances, because of the contempt wherein ye held them.

^f The time will seem thus short to them in comparison to the eternal duration of their torments, or because the time of their living in the world was the time of their joy and pleasure it being usual for the Arabs to describe what they like as of short, and what they dislike, as of long continuance.

^g That is, the angels, who keep account of the length of men's lives and of their works, or any other who may have leisure to compute, and not us, whose torments distract our thoughts and attention.

* 'Thy mercy is unbounded'—*Savary*

^e Vide Pocock not in Port Mosiis, p 245 &c and the Prelim Disc. sect. iv p 55. ^f Ebn Maruf, apud Gol. Lex Arab col. 264.

CHAPTER XXIV

INTITLED LIGHT,^a REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

This Sura have we sent down *from heaven*, and have ratified the same, and we have revealed evident signs, that ye may be warned. The whore, and the whoremonger, shall ye scourge with a hundred stripes.¹ And let not compassion towards them prevent you from *executing* the judgment of God,² if ye believe in God and the last day and let some of the true believers be witnesses of their punishment.^{1*} The whoremonger shall not marry *any other* than a harlot or an idolatress. And a harlot shall no *man* take in marriage, except a whoremonger, or an idolater. And this *kind of marriage* is forbidden the true believers.^m But *as to* those who accuse women of reputation of *whoredom*,ⁿ and produce not four witnesses *of the fact*,^o scourge them with fourscore stripes and receive not their testimony for ever, for such are infamous prevaricators excepting those who shall afterwards repent, and amend, for *unto such will* God be gracious and merciful. They who shall accuse *their wives* of adultery, and

^a This title is taken from an allegorical comparison made between light and God, or faith in him, about the middle of the chapter

¹ This law is not to be understood to relate to married people who are of free condition because adultery in such, according to the Sonna is to be punished by stoning.⁸

² *e* Be not moved by pity either to forgive the offenders or to mitigate their punishment. Mohammed was for so strict and impartial an execution of the laws, that he is reported to have said *If Fiteima the daughter of Mohammed steal let her hand be struck off*.⁹

¹ That is let the punishment be inflicted in public and not in private, because the ignominy of it is more intolerable than the smart, and more likely to work a reformation on the offender. Some say there ought to be three persons present at the least, but others think two or even one to be sufficient.¹⁰

^{*} "The immodest of both sexes shall be punished by a hundred stripes. This is the judgment of God. You shall have no pity on them if you believe in God, and in the last day. Let some of the believers be witness of their chastisement. —*Savary*

^m The preceding passage was revealed on account of the meaner and more indigent Mohajerins, or refugees who sought to marry the whores of the infidels, taken captives in war, for the sake of the gain which they made by prostituting themselves. Some think the prohibition was special, and regarded only the Mohajerins before mentioned and others were of opinion it was general, but it is agreed to have been abrogated by the words which follow in this chapter *Marry the single women among you*, harlots being comprised under the appellation of *single women*.¹

It is supposed by some that not *marriage* but *unlawful commerce* with such women is here forbidden.

ⁿ The Arabic word *mohsinat* properly signifies *women of unblameable conduct* but, to bring the chastisement after mentioned on the calumniator, it is also requisite that they be free women of ripe age, having their understandings perfect, and of the Mohammedan religion. Though the word be of the feminine gender, yet *men* are also supposed to be comprised in this law.

Abu Hanifa was of opinion that the slanderer ought to be scourged in public as well as the fornicator, but the generality are against him.²

^o See chap 4, p 61

⁸ See chap 4, pp 61, 63
Jallalo'ddin

² Ibidem.

⁹ Al Beidawi.

¹⁰ Idem.

¹ Al Beidawi.

shall have no witnesses *thereof*, besides themselves, the testimony which shall be required of one of them shall be, that he swear four times by God that he speaketh the truth and the fifth time that he imprecate the curse of God on him if he be a liar And it shall avert the punishment from the wife, if she swear four times by God that he is a liar, and if the fifth time she imprecate the wrath of God on her, if he speaketh the truth.^p If it were not for the indulgence of God towards you, and his mercy, and that God is easy to be reconciled, and wise, he would immediately discover your crimes * As to the party among you who have published the falsehood concerning Ayesha,^q think it not to be an evil unto you on the contrary, it is better for you † Every man of them shall be punished according to the injustice of which he hath been guilty, ‡ and he

^p In case both swear, the man's oath discharges him from the imputation and penalty of slander, and the woman's oath frees her from the imputation and penalty of adultery, but though the woman do swear to her innocence, yet the marriage is actually void or ought to be declared void by the judge, because it is not fit they should continue together after they have come to these extremities *

* "If the wise and merciful God did not extend his clemency unto you, he would inflict instant punishment upon perjury —Savary

^q For the understanding of this passage it is necessary to relate the following story —Mohammed having undertaken an expedition against the tribe of Mostalek in the sixth year of the Hejra, took his wife Ayesha with him, to accompany him In their return, when they were not far from Medina, the army removing by night Ayesha on the road alighted from her camel and stepped aside on a private occasion but on her return, perceiving she had dropped her necklace which was of onyxes of Dhafâr, she went back to look for it and in the mean time her attendants taking it for granted that she was got into her pavilion (or little tent surrounded with curtains wherein women are carried in the East,) set it again on the camel, and led it away When she came back to the road, and saw her camel was gone, she sat down there, expecting that when she was missed some one would be sent back to fetch her, and in a little time she fell asleep Early in the morning Safwân Ebn al Moattel who had stayed behind to rest himself coming by and perceiving somebody asleep went to see who it was and knew her to be Ayesha upon which he waked her by twice pronouncing with a low voice these words, *We are God's, and unto him must we return* Then Ayesha immediately covered herself with a veil, and Safwan set her on his own camel, and led her after the army, which they overtook by noon as they were resting

This accident had like to have ruined Ayesha whose reputation was publicly called in question, as if she had been guilty of adultery with Safwan and Mohammed knew not what to think, when he reflected on the circumstances of the affair which were improved by some malicious people very much to Ayesha's dishonour, and notwithstanding, his wife's protestations of her innocence, he could not get rid of his perplexity, nor stop the mouths of the censorious till about a month after, when this passage was revealed declaring the accusation to be unjust †

† The words are directed to the prophet, and to Abu Beer Ayesha, and Safwan the persons concerned in this false report since, besides the amends they might expect in the next world God had done them the honour to clear their reputations by revealing eighteen verses expressly for that purpose *

* The persons concerned in spreading the scandal, were Abdallah Ebn Obba, (who first raised it, and inflamed the matter to the utmost out of hatred to Mohammed) Zeid Ebn Refâa, Hassân Ebn Thabet Mestab Ebn Othâtha, a great grandson of Abdalmotalleb's, and Hamna Bint Jahash and every one of them received four score stripes, pursuant to the law ordained in this chapter, except only Abdallah who was exempted, being a man of great consideration †

† It is said that, as a farther punishment, Hassân and Mestab became blind, and that the former of them also lost the use of both his hands ‡

^p Al Beidâwî Jallalo ddin ^q Al Bokhari in Sonna, Al Beidâwî, Jallalo ddin, &c Vide Abulf. Vit Moham p 82, &c, et Gagnier Vie de Moham. lib 4 c. 7

^{*} Al Beidâwî ^{*} Abulfeda, Vit Moh p 83 [†] Al Beidâwî

among them who hath undertaken to aggravate the same^t shall suffer a grievous punishment Did not the faithful men, and the faithful women, when ye heard this, judge in their own minds for the best, and say, This is a manifest falsehood? Have they produced four witnesses thereof? wherefore, since they have not produced the witnesses, they are surely liars in the sight of God *Had it not been for the indulgence of God towards you, and his mercy, in this world and in that which is to come, verily a grievous punishment had been inflicted on you, for the calumny which ye have spread when ye published that with your tongues, and spoke that with your mouths, of which ye had no knowledge, and esteemed it to be light, whereas it was a matter of importance in the sight of God* * When ye heard it, did ye say, It belongeth not unto us, that we should talk of this *matter* God forbid! this is a grievous calumny God warneth you, that ye return not to the like *crime* for ever, if ye be true believers And God declareth unto you *his* signs, for God is knowing and wise Verily they who love that scandal be published of those who believe, shall receive a severe punishment both in this world and in the next God knoweth, but ye know not *Had it not been for the indulgence of God towards you and his mercy, and that God is gracious and merciful, ye had felt his vengeance* O true believers, follow not the steps of the devil for whoso ever shall follow the steps of the devil, he will command them filthy crimes, and that which is unlawful If *it were not for the indulgence of God, and his mercy towards you, there had not been so much as one of you cleansed from his guilt for ever but God cleanseth whom he pleaseth, for God both heareth and knoweth* Let not those among you, who possess abundance of *wealth* and have ability, swear that they will not give unto their kindred, and the poor, and those who have fled their country for the sake of Gods true religion but let them forgive, and act with benevolence towards them Do ye not desire that God should pardon you?^u And God is gracious and merciful Moreover they who falsely accuse modest women, who behave in a negligent manner,^v and are true believers, shall be cursed in this world and in the world to come, and they shall suffer a severe punishment ^w One day their own tongues shall bear witness against them, and their hands and their feet, concerning that which they have done On that day shall God render unto them their just due, and they shall know

^t Viz Abdallah Ebn Obba, who had not the grace to become a true believer but died an infidel^b

^{*} Had the divine goodness and clemency not watched over you, this falsehood would have drawn down upon your heads a terrible chastisement It has passed from mouth to mouth You have repeated that of which you had no knowledge and have regarded a slander as a trivial fault and it is a crime in the eyes of the Eternal —*Savary*

^u This passage was revealed on account of Abu Beccr who swore that he would not for the future bestow any thing on Mestab though he was his mother's sister's son and a poor Mohâjer, or refugee, because he had joined in scandalizing his daughter Ayesha But on Mohammed's reading this verse to him, he continued Mestab's pension^b

^v Who may be less careful in their conduct and more free in their behaviour, as being conscious of no ill.

^w Though the words be general yet they principally regard those who should calumniate the prophet's wives According to a saying of Ebn Abbas, if the threats contained in the whole Korân be examined, there are none so severe as those.

that God is the evident truth The wicked women *should be joined* to the wicked men, and the wicked men to the wicked women, but the good women *should be married* to the good men, and the good men to the good women. These shall be cleared from the *calumnies* which slanderers speak of them ^x they shall obtain pardon, and an honourable provision O true believers, enter not any houses besides your own houses, until ye have asked leave, and have saluted the family thereof ^y this is better for you, peradventure ye will be admonished And if ye shall find no person in the houses, yet do not enter them until leave be granted you and if it be said unto you, Return back, do ye return back. This *will be* more decent for you, ^z and God knoweth that which ye do It shall be no crime in you that ye enter uninhabited houses,^a wherein ye may meet with a convenience God knoweth that which ye discover, and that which ye conceal Speak unto the true believers, that they restrain their eyes, and keep themselves from immodest actions this will be more pure for them, for God is well acquainted with that which they do And speak unto the believing women, that they restrain their eyes, and preserve their modesty, and discover not their ornaments,^b except what necessarily appeareth thereof,^c and let them throw their veils over their bosoms,^d and not show their ornaments unless to their husbands,^e or their occasioned by the false accusation of Ayesha, wherefore he thought even repentance would stand her slanderers in no stead ¹

^x Al Beidâwî observes on this passage that God cleared four persons by four extraordinary testimonies for he cleared Joseph by the testimony of a child in his mistress's family,² Moses, by means of the stone which fled away with his garments,³ Mary, by the testimony of her infant,⁴ and Ayesha by these verses of the Korân

^y To enter suddenly or abruptly into any man's house or apartment, is reckoned a great incivility in the East, because a person may possibly be surprised in an indecent action or posture or may have something discovered which he would conceal It is said that a man came to Mohammed, and wanted to know whether he must ask leave to go in to his sister, which being answered in the affirmative he told the prophet that his sister had nobody else to attend upon her, and it would be troublesome to ask leave every time he went in to her What, replied Mohammed, *wouldest thou see her naked* ⁵

^z Than to be importunate for admission or to wait at the door

^a ^c Which are not the private habitation of a family, such as public inns shops sheds, &c

^b As their clothes, jewels, and the furniture of their toilet, much less such parts of their bodies as ought not to be seen

^c Some think their outer garments are here meant and others their hands and faces it is generally held, however, that a free woman ought not to discover even those parts usual to the persons after excepted or on some unavoidable occasion, as their giving evidence in public, taking advice or medicines in case of sickness &c

^d Taking care to cover their heads, necks, and breasts

(The Turkish women, as we have already stated never go out without being veiled In Egypt the women wrap themselves up in a long mantle of black silk, which covers the whole body On their feet they wear slippers of a very thin yellow leather Long trousers and robes which trail on the ground, prevent their legs from being seen, but, as they wear no stockings Mohammed forbids them to move their feet about in such a manner as to expose the charms which ought to be concealed In public they are always dressed with the utmost decency but in their own houses they lay aside all this accumulation of covering and are dressed as slightly as possible)—Savary

For whose sake it is that they adorn themselves and who alone have the privilege to see their whole body

¹ Al Beidâwî

² See chap 12, p 191

³ See chap 2, p 8, and chap 33

⁴ See chap 19 p 251.

⁵ Al Beidâwî

fathers, or their husbands' fathers, or their sons, or their husbands' sons, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons,^f or their women,^g or the *captives* which their right hands shall possess,^h or unto such men as attend them, and have no need of women,ⁱ or unto children, who distinguish not the nakedness of women. And let them not make a noise with their feet,* that their ornaments which they hide may *thereby* be discovered.^k And be ye all turned unto God, O true believers, that ye may be happy. Marry those who are single^l among you, and such as are honest of your men servants and your maid servants if they be poor, God will enrich them of his abundance, for God is bounteous and wise. And let those who find not a match, keep themselves *from fornication*, until God shall enrich them of his abundance. And unto such of your slaves^m as desire a written instrument *allowing them to redeem themselves on paying a certain sum,*ⁿ write one, if ye know good in them,^o and give them of the riches of God, which he hath given you.^p And compel not your maid servants to prostitute themselves, if they be willing to live chastely, that ye may

^f These near relations are also excepted, because they cannot avoid seeing them frequently, and there is no great danger to be apprehended from them. They are allowed, therefore to see what cannot well be concealed in so familiar an intercourse,^g but no other part of their body particularly whatever is between the navel and the knees.

Uncles not being here particularly mentioned, it is a doubt whether they may be admitted to see their nieces. Some think they are included under the appellation of *brothers* but others are of opinion that they are not comprised in this exception and gives this reason for it, *viz* lest they should describe the persons of their nieces to their sons.^h

ⁱ That is, such as are of the Mohammedan religion it being reckoned by some unlawful or, at least indecent for a woman who is a true believer to uncover herself before one who is an infidel because she will hardly refrain describing her to the men but others suppose all women in general are here excepted, for, in this particular doctors differ.^j

^k Slaves of either sex are included in this exemption, and as some think, domestic servants who are not slaves, as those of a different nation. It is related that Mohammed once made a present of a man slave to his daughter Fatema, and when he brought him to her she had on a garment which was so scanty that she was obliged to leave either her head or her feet uncovered and that the prophet, seeing her in great confusion on that account, told her she need be under no concern, for that there was none present besides her father and her slave.^l

^l Or have no desire to enjoy them such as decrepid old men and deformed or silly persons who follow people as hangers on, for their spare victuals, being too despicable to raise either a woman's passion or a man's jealousy. Whether eunuchs are comprehended under this general designation, is a question among the learned.^m

ⁿ Let them not move about their feet so as to allow those charms to be seen which ought to be veiled. — *Savary*

^o By shaking the rings, which the women in the East wear about their ankles and are usually of gold or silver.^p The pride which the Jewish ladies of old took in making a *tinkling* with these ornaments of their feet is (among other things of that nature) severely reproved by the prophet Isaiah.^q

ⁱ a. Those who are unmarried of either sex, whether they have been married before or not.

^g Of either sex.

^h Whereby the master obliges himself to set his slave at liberty, on receiving a certain sum of money, which the slave undertakes to pay.

^o That is, if ye have found them faithful, and have reason to believe they will perform their engagement.

^p Either by bestowing something on them of your own substance, or by abating

^f Al Beidâwî

^g Jallalo ddin

^h Al Beidâwî

ⁱ Idem, Jallalo ddin

^j Idem.

^k Idem, Yahya, &c.

^l Idem

^m Isaiah iii, 16, 18.

seek the casual advantage of this present life but whoever shall compel them thereto, verily God will be gracious and merciful unto such women after their compulsion.⁴ And now have we revealed unto you evident signs, and history like unto some of the histories of those who have gone before you,⁵ and an admonition unto the pious. God is the light of heaven and earth the similitude of his light is as a niche in a wall, wherein a lamp is placed, and the lamp inclosed in a case of glass, the glass appears as it were a shining star It is lighted with the oil of a blessed tree, an olive neither of the east nor of the west ⁶ it wanteth little but that the oil thereof would give light, although no fire touched it.⁷ This is light added unto light.⁸ God will direct unto his light whom he pleaseth. God propoundeth parables unto men, for God knoweth all things. In the houses which God hath permitted to be raised,⁹ and that his name be commemorated therein! men celebrate his praise in the same, morning and evening, whom neither merchandizing nor selling diverteth from the remembering of God, and the observance of prayer, and the giving of alms, fearing the day whereon men's hearts and eyes shall be troubled, that God may recompense them according to the utmost merit of what they shall have wrought, and may add unto them of his abundance a more excellent reward, for God bestoweth on whom he pleaseth without measure. But as to the unbelievers, their works are like the vapour in a plain,¹⁰ which the thirsty traveller thinketh to be water, until, when he cometh thereto,

them a part of their ransom. Some suppose these words are directed not to the masters only but to all Moslems in general recommending it to them to assist those who have obtained their freedom and paid their ransom either out of their own stock, or by admitting them to have a share in the public alms.⁵

⁴ It seems Abdallah Ebn Obba had six women slaves on whom he had laid a certain tax, which he obliged them to earn by the prostitution of their bodies and one of them made her complaint to Mohammed, which occasioned the revelation of this passage.⁶

⁵ e The story of the false accusation of Ayesha, which resembles those of Joseph and the Virgin Mary.⁷

⁶ But of a more excellent kind. Some think the meaning to be that the tree grows neither in the eastern parts nor the western parts, but in the midst of the world, namely in Syria, where the best olives grow.⁸

⁷ "The oil of which is lighted up at the slightest approach of fire and produces rays which are incessantly renewed — *Satary*

⁸ Or a light whose brightness is doubly increased by the circumstances above mentioned

The commentators explain this allegory, and every particular of it, with great subtlety, interpreting the *light* here described, to be the *light* revealed in the Koran or God's enlightening grace in the heart of man and in divers other manners

⁹ The connexion of these words is not very obvious. Some suppose they ought to be joined with the preceding words, Like a niche, or It is lighted in the houses, &c., and that the comparison is more strong and just, by being made to the lamps in mosques, which are larger than those in private houses. Some think they are rather to be connected with the following words *Men praise*, &c. And others are of opinion they are an imperfect beginning of a sentence and that the words *Praise ye God*, or the like, are to be understood. However the houses here intended are those set apart for divine worship, or particularly the three principal temples of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.¹⁰

¹⁰ The Arabic word *Serdāb* signifies that false appearance which, in the eastern countries, is often seen in sandy plains about noon, resembling a large lake of water in motion, and is occasioned by the reverberation of the sunbeams. It sometimes

⁴ Al Beidāwī.⁵ Idem, Jallāloddīn⁷ Idem⁸ Idem⁹ Al Beidāwī.

He findeth it *to be* nothing, but he findeth God with him,⁷ and he will fully pay him his account, and God is swift in taking an account or, as the darkness in a deep sea, covered by waves *riding* on waves, above which are clouds, being *additions* of darkness one over the other, when *one* stretched forth his hand, he is far from seeing it And unto whomsoever God shall not grant *his* light, he shall enjoy no light at all. Dost thou not perceive that all *creatures* both in heaven and earth praise God and the birds *also*, extending their wings? Every one knoweth his prayer, and his praise and God knoweth that which they do Unto God *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and unto God *shall be* the return *at the last day* Dost thou not see that God gently driveth forward the clouds, and gathereth them together, and then layeth them on heaps? Thou also seest the rain, which falleth from the midst thereof, and God sendeth down from heaven *as it were* mountains, wherein there is hail, he striketh therewith whom he pleaseth, and turneth the same away from whom he pleaseth the brightness of his lightning wanteth but little of taking away the sight * God shifteth the night, and the day verily herein is an instruction unto those who have sight And God hath created every animal of water, * one of them goeth on his belly, and another of them walketh upon two feet, and another of them walketh upon four *feet* God createth that which he pleaseth, for God is almighty Now have we sent down evident signs and God directeth whom he pleaseth into the right way The *hypocrites* say, We believe in God, and on *his* apostle, and we obey *them* yet a part of them turneth back, after this, but these are not *really* believers And when they are summoned before God and his apostle, that he may judge between them, behold, a part of them retire but if the light had been on their side, they would have come and submitted themselves unto him Is there an infirmity in their hearts? Do they doubt? Or do they fear lest God and his apostle act unjustly towards them? But themselves are the unjust doers * The saying of the true believers, when they are summoned before God and his apostle, that he may judge between them, is no other than that they say, We have heard and do obey and these are they who shall prosper Whoever shall obey God and his apostle, and shall fear God, and shall be devout towards him, these shall enjoy great felicity They swear by God, with a most solemn oath, that if thou commandest them,

tempts thirsty travellers out of their way but deceives them when they come near, either going forward, (for it always appears at the same distance,) or quite vanishing.¹

⁷ That is, he will not escape the notice or vengeance of God

* "The refulgence of his lightning dazzleth the feeble eyes of mortals"—*Savary*

* This assertion which has already occurred in another place,² being not true in strictness, the commentators suppose that by water is meant seed, or else that water is mentioned only as the chief cause of the growth of animals and a considerable and necessary constituent part of their bodies

* This passage was occasioned by Bashir the hypocrite, who, having a controversy with a Jew, appealed to Caab Ebn al Ashraf whereas the Jew appealed to Mohammed,³ or as others tell us, by Mogheira Ebn Wayel, who refused to submit a dispute he had with Ali to the prophet's decision⁴

¹ Vide Q Curt de rebus Alex lib vii et Gol in Alfrag p 111 L et in Adag Arab ad calcem Gram Erp p 93 ² Chap 21, p 286. ³ See chap 4, p 86

⁴ Al Beidawi.

they will go forth *from their houses and possessions* Say, Swear not to a *falsehood* obedience is more requisite and GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do * Say, Obey GOD, and obey the apostle but if ye turn back, verily it is expected of him *that he perform* his duty, and of you *that ye perform* your duty, and if ye obey him, ye shall be directed, but the duty of our apostle is only public preaching GOD promiseth unto such of you as believe, and do good works, that he will cause them to succeed *the unbelievers* in the earth, as he caused those who were before you to succeed *the infidels of their time*,^b and that he will establish for them their religion which pleaseth them, and will change their fear into security They shall worship me, and shall not associate any *other* with me But whoever shall disbelieve after this, they will be the wicked doers. Observe prayer, and give alms, and obey the apostle, that ye may obtain mercy Think not that the unbelievers shall frustrate *the designs of God* on earth and their abode *hereafter* shall be *hell fire*, a miserable journey *shall it be thither!* O true believers, let your slaves and those among you who shall not have attained the age of puberty, ask leave of you, *before they come into your presence*, three times *in the day*,^c namely, before the morning prayer,^d and when ye lay aside your garments at noon,^e and after the evening prayer^f *These are the three times* for you to be *private* it shall be no crime in you, or in them, *if they go in to you without asking permission* after these times, while ye are in frequent attendance, the one of you on the other Thus GOD declareth *his signs* unto you, for GOD is knowing and wise. And when your children attain *the age* of puberty, let them ask leave to *come into your presence at all times*, in the same manner as those who *have attained that age* before them, ask leave Thus GOD declareth his signs unto you,

* 'Your obedience is just The Omnipotent weigheth all your actions — *Savary*

^b *1 c* As he caused the Israhelites to dispossess the Canaanites &c

^c Because there are certain times when it is not convenient, even for a domestic, or a child, to come into one without notice It is said this passage was revealed on account of Asma Bint Morthed, whose servant entered suddenly upon her, at an improper time, but others say it was occasioned by Modraj Ebn Amru, then a boy, who being sent by Mohammed to call Omar to him, went directly into the room where he was, without giving notice and found him taking his noon's nap and in no very decent posture at which Omar was so ruffled that he wished God would forbid even their fathers and children, to come in to them abruptly, at such times^d

(The ancient authority of the father of a family, the first which was known to man is still preserved entire in the East The Koran did not establish it It only rendered it more sacred There, a father of a family still enjoys all the rights conferred on him by nature He is the judge and high priest His servants his children, do not come into his presence without his permission They are bound to go at morning, noon, and at evening to offer their services to him, and receive his blessing He decides on the disputes which arise between them, and sacrifices the victims of the Beiram (the festival of the Turks) It is there that objects capable of exciting affecting emotions may be seen Under the same roof often reside four generations Extreme old age, robust manhood, and tender infancy, may there be seen united together by sacred and cherished ties) — *Savary*

^d Which is the time or people rising from their beds, and dressing themselves for the day

That is, when ye take off your upper garments to sleep at noon; which is a common custom in the East, and all warm countries

^f When ye undress yourselves to prepare for bed Al Beidawi adds a fourth season when permission to enter must be asked, viz at night: but this follows of course.

and God *is* knowing *and* wise *As to* such women as are past child bearing, who hope not to marry *again, because of their advanced age*, it shall be no crime in them, if they lay aside their *outer garments*, not showing their ornaments,^{8*} but if they abstain *from this, it will be* better for them, God *both* heareth *and* knoweth It shall be no crime in the blind, nor shall it be any crime in the lame, neither shall it be any crime in the sick, or in yourselves, that ye eat in your houses,^h or in the houses of your fathers, or the houses of your mothers, or in the houses of your brothers, or the houses of your sisters, or the houses of your uncles on the father's side, or the houses of your aunts on the father's side, or the houses of your uncles on the mother's side, the houses of your aunts on the mother's side, or *in those houses* the keys whereof ye have in your possession, or *in the house* of your friend It shall not be any crime in you whether ye eat together, or separatelyⁱ And when ye enter any houses, salute one another^k on the part of God, with a blessed and a welcome salutation Thus God declareth his signs unto you, that ye may understand Verily they only *are* true believers who believe in God and his apostle, and when they are assembled with him on any affair,^l depart not until they have obtained leave of him Verily they who ask leave of thee are those who believe in God and his apostle When, therefore, they ask leave of thee *to depart*, on account of any business of their own, grant leave unto such of them as thou shalt think fit, and ask pardon for them of God,^m for God *is* gracious *and* merciful Let not the calling of the apostle be esteemed among you, as your calling the one to the other ⁿ God knoweth such of you as privately withdraw themselves

* See before p 291

⁸ Aged women who are passed the time of marriage may lay aside their veils, provided that they do not affect to show themselves —*Savary*

^h i. e. Where your wives or families are or in the houses of your sons which may be looked on as your own

This passage was designed to remove some scruples or superstitions of the Arabs, in Mohammed's time some of whom thought their eating with maimed or sick people defiled them others imagined they ought not to eat in the house of another, though ever so nearly related to them or though they were intrusted with the key and care of the house in the master's absence, and might therefore conclude it would be no offence, and others declined eating with their friends though invited, lest they should be burdensome⁶ The whole passage seems to be no more than a declaration that the things scrupled were perfectly innocent, however, the commentators say it is now abrogated, and that it related only to the old Arabs, in the infancy of Mohammedism

ⁱ As the tribe of Leith thought it unlawful for a man to eat alone, and some of the Ansars, if they had a guest with them never ate but in his company so there were others who refused to eat with any out of a superstitious caution lest they should be defiled or out of a hoggish greediness

^k Literally yourselves that is, according to al Beidawi, the people of the house to whom ye are united by the ties of blood and by the common bond of religion And if there be nobody in the house says Jallalo ddin, salute yourselves, and say, *Peace be on us, and on the righteous servants of God* for the angels will return your salutation.

^l As at public prayers, or a solemn feast, or at council, or on a military expedition.

^m Because such departure though with leave and on a reasonable excuse, is a kind of failure in the exact performance of their duty seeing they prefer their temporal affairs to the advancement of the true religion⁶

ⁿ "Speak not to the prophet with that familiarity which ye use unto each other" —*Savary*

⁶ These words are variously interpreted for their meaning may be, either, Make

⁶ Al Beidawi, Jallalo ddin.

⁷ *Idem*

⁶ Al Beidawi

from the assembly, taking shelter behind one another But let those who withstand his command take heed, lest some calamity befall them *in this world*, or a grievous punishment be inflicted on them *in the life to come*. *Doth* not whatever is in heaven and on earth *belong* unto God? He well knoweth what ye are about and on a certain day they shall be assembled before him, and he shall declare unto them that which they have done, for God knoweth all things

CHAPTER XXV

INTITLED, AL FORKAN, REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

BLESSED be he who hath revealed the Forkan^o unto his servant, that he may be a preacher to all creatures, unto whom *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and of earth who hath begotten no issue, and hath no partner in *his* kingdom who hath created all things, and disposed the same according to his determinate will* Yet have they taken *other* gods besides him which have created nothing but are themselves created,^p and are able neither to avert evil from, nor to procure good unto themselves, and have not the power of death, or of life, or of raising *the dead* And the unbelievers say, This *Korân* is no other than a forgery which he hath contrived, and other people have assisted him therein^q but they utter an unjust thing, and a falsehood They also say, *These* are fables of the ancients, which he hath caused to be written down, and they are dictated unto him morning and evening Say, He hath revealed it, who knoweth the secrets in heaven and earth verily he is gracious *and* merciful And they say, What *kind* of apostle is this? He eateth food, and walketh in the streets^r *as we do* unless an angel be sent down unto him,

not light of the apostle's summons as ye would of another person's of equal condition with yourselves by not obeying it, or by departing out of or coming into his presence without leave first obtained or Think not that when the apostle calls upon God in prayer, it is with him, as with you, when ye prefer a petition to a superior who sometimes grants but as often denies your suit, or Call not to the apostle as ye do to one another that is by name or familiarly and with a loud voice, but make use of some honourable compellation, as, O apostle of God, or O prophet of God and speak in an humble modest manner^s

^o Which is one of the names of the Koran See the Prelim Disc sect iii p 40

* "By Him all that existeth was drawn from nothing, and he preserveth it harmonious order"—*Savary*

^p Being either the heavenly bodies, or idols, the works of men's hands

^q See chap 16, p 223 It is supposed the Jews are particularly intended in this place, because they used to repeat passages of ancient history to Mohammed, on which he used to discourse and make observations¹

Being subject to the same wants and infirmities of nature, and obliged to submit to the same low means of supporting himself and his family, with ourselves The Meccans were acquainted with Mohammed, and with his circumstances and way of life too well to change their old familiarity into the reverence due to the messenger of God: for a prophet hath no honour in his own country

^o Al Beidâwî, Jallâloddîn, &c¹ Al Beidâwî

and become a *fellow* preacher with him, or *unless* a treasure be cast down unto him, or he have a garden, *of the fruit* whereof he may eat, *we will not believe*. The ungodly also say, Ye follow no other than a man who is distracted. Behold what they liken thee unto But they are deceived, neither can they *find a just occasion to reproach thee*.^{*} Blessed be he, who, if he pleaseth, will make for thee a better *provision* than this *which they speak of* namely, gardens through which rivers flow and he will provide thee palaces But they reject the belief of the hour of *judgment*, as a falsehood and we have prepared for him, who shall reject the belief of *that* hour, burning fire, when it shall see them from a distant place, they shall hear it furiously raging and roaring And when they shall be cast, bound together, into a strait place thereof, they shall there call for death, *but it shall be answered them*, Call not this day for one death, but call for many deaths Say, Is this better, or a garden of eternal duration which is promised unto the pious? It shall be *given* unto them for a reward, and a retreat therein shall they have whatever they please, continuing *in the same* for ever *This* is a promise to be demanded at the hands of thy Lord On a certain day he shall assemble them, and whatever they worship, besides God, and shall say *unto the worshipped*, Did ye seduce these my servants, or did they wander *of themselves* from the *right* way? They shall answer, God forbid! It was not fitting for us, that we should take any protectors besides thee but thou didst permit them and their fathers to enjoy abundance, so that they forgot *thy* admonition, and became lost people. *And God shall say unto their worshippers*, Now have these convinced you of falsehood, in that which ye say they can neither avert *your punishment*, nor *give you* any assistance And whoever of you shall be guilty of injustice, him will we cause to taste a grievous torment † We have sent no messengers before thee, but they ate food, and walked through the streets and we make some of you an occasion of trial unto others[‡] Will ye persevere with patience? since your LORD regardeth *your perseverance* * [XIX] They who hope not to meet us *at the resurrection* say, Unless the angels be sent down unto us, or we see our LORD *himself*, *we will not believe* Verily they behave themselves arrogantly, and have transgressed with an enormous transgression The day *whereon* they shall see the angels,[‡] there shall be no glad tidings on that day for the wicked, and they shall say, *Be this* removed far from us¹ and we will come unto the work which they shall have wrought, and we will make it *as* dust scattered abroad On that day shall they who are destined to paradise be more happy in an abode, and have a preferable place of repose at

* "They are in blindness They no more shall find the light —*Savary*

† "Whosoever of you hath lived in impiety shall undergo a grievous punishment —*Savary*

[‡] Giving occasion of envy repining and malice to the poor mean, and sick, for example, when they compare their own condition with that of the rich, the noble, and those who are in health and trying the people to whom prophets are sent, by those prophets²

¹ *Viz*, At their death, or at the resurrection

noon *^u On that day the heaven shall be cloven in sunder by the clouds, and the angels shall be sent down, descending *visibly therein*,^v On that day the kingdom shall of right belong wholly unto the Merciful, and that day shall be grievous for the unbelievers. On that day the unjust person^w shall bite his hands *for anguish and despair, and shall say*, Oh that I had taken the way of *truth* with the apostle! Alas for me! Oh that I had not taken such a one^x for my friend! He seduced me from the admonition of God, after it had come unto me for the devil is the betrayer of man And the apostle shall say, O LORD, verily my people esteemed this Korân to be a vain composition In like manner did we ordain unto every prophet an enemy from among the wicked but thy LORD is a sufficient director and defender The unbelievers say, Unless the Koran be sent down unto him entire at once,^y *we will not believe* But in this manner *have we revealed* it, that we might confirm thy heart thereby,^z and we have dictated it gradually, by distinct parcels They shall not come unto thee with any strange question, but we will bring thee the truth in answer, and a most excellent interpretation. They who shall be diaggd

* "The guests of paradise shall enjoy the sweets of repose and shall have a delicious place in which to slumber at noon ²—*Savary*

^u For the business of the day of judgment will be over by that time, and the blessed will pass their noon in paradise and the damned in hell⁴

^v i. e. They shall part and make way for the clouds which shall descend with the angels, bearing the books wherein every man's actions are recorded

^w It is supposed by some that these words particularly relate to Okba Ebn Abi Moat, who used to be much in Mohammed's company and having once invited him to an entertainment, the prophet refused to taste of his meat unless he would profess Islâm, which accordingly he did Soon after, Okba meeting Obba Ebn Khalf his intimate friend and being reproached by him for changing his religion, assured him that he had not but had only pronounced the profession of faith to engage Mohammed to eat with him because he could not for shame let him go out of his house without eating However, Obba protested that he would not be satisfied, unless he went to Mohammed and set his foot on his neck, and spit in his face which Okba rather than break with his friend performed in the public hall where he found Mohammed sitting whereupon the prophet told him that if ever he met him out of Mecca, he would cut off his head And he was as good as his word, for Okba being afterwards taken prisoner at the battle of Bedr, had his head struck off by Ali, at Mohammed's command As for Obba, he received a wound from the prophet's own hand at the battle of Ohod of which he died at his return to Mecca⁶

^x According to the preceding note this was Obba Ebn Khalf

^y As were the Pentateuch Psalms and Gospel, according to the Mohammedan notion, whereas it was twenty three years before the Korân was completely revealed⁶

^z Both to infuse courage and constancy into thy mind, and to strengthen thy memory and understanding For, say the commentators, the prophet's receiving the divine directions from time to time, how to behave, and to speak on any emergency and the frequent visits of the angel Gabriel, greatly encouraged and supported him under all his difficulties, and the revealing of the Korân by degrees was a great, and, to him, a necessary help for his retaining and understanding it, which it would have been impossible for him to have done with any exactness, had it been revealed at once, Mohammed's case being entirely different from that of Moses, David, and Jesus who could all read and write, whereas he was perfectly illiterate.⁷

⁴ "The orientals are accustomed to sleep at noon They get through their business in the morning make a slight meal about eleven o'clock, and pass in the arms of sleep those hours in which the heat is the most intense This relaxation from labour is rendered necessary by a burning climate Europeans at length become habituated to it A Turk, who can thus recline by a rivulet, under the shade of orange trees, believes himself to be already in possession of the garden of delights which is promised by Mohammed —*Savary*

⁶ Al Beidâwî Jallâlo ddin ⁷ Al Beidâwî. Vide Gagner, Vie de Moham vol 1, p 362. ⁶ See the Prelim. Disc. sect iii. p 46, &c ⁷ Al Beidâwî, &c.

on their faces into hell shall be in the worst condition, and shall stray most widely from the way of *salvation*. We heretofore delivered unto Moses the book of the law, and we appointed him Aaron his brother for a counsellor. And we said *unto them*, Go ye to the people who charge our signs with alsehood. And we destroyed them with a *signal* destruction. *And remember* the people of Noah, when they *accused our* apostles of imposture we diowned them, and made them a sign unto mankind. And we have prepared for the unjust a painful torment. *Remember* also Ad, and Thamud, and those who dwelt at al Rass,^a and many *other* generations within this *period*. Unto each of *them* did we propound examples for *their* admonition, and each of *them* did we destroy with an *utter* destruction. The *Koreish* have passed frequently near the city which was rained on by a fatal rain,^b have they not seen *where* it *once* stood? Yet have they not dreaded the resurrection. When they see thee, they will receive thee only with scoffing, *saying*, Is this he whom God hath sent as *his* apostle? Verily he had almost drawn us aside from *the worship* of our gods, if we had not firmly persevered in *our* devotion towards them. But they shall know hereafter, when they shall see the punishment prepared for *them*, who hath strayed more widely from the *right* path. What thinkest thou? He who taketh his lust for his god, canst thou be his guardian?^c Dost thou imagine that the greater part of them hear, or understand? They are no other than like the *brute* cattle, yea, they stray more widely from the *true* path. Dost thou not consider *the works* of thy Lord, how he stretcheth forth the shadow *before sunrise*? If he had pleased, he would have made it immovable *for ever*. Then we cause the sun to *rise*, and to show the same and afterwards we contract it by an easy and gradual contraction. It is he who hath ordained the night to *cover* you as a garment, and sleep to *give* you rest, and hath ordained the day for waking. It is he who sendeth the winds, driving abroad the pregnant clouds, as the forerunners of his mercy.^d and we send down pure water^e from heaven, that we may

* The commentators are at a loss where to place al Rass. According to one opinion it was the name of a well (as the word signifies) near Midian, about which some idolaters having fixed their habitations the prophet Shoab was sent to preach to them but they not believing on him the well fell in, and they and their houses were all swallowed up. Another supposes it to have been a town in Yamama, where a remnant of the Thamudites settled to whom a prophet was also sent, but they slaying him were utterly destroyed. Another thinks it was a well near Antioch, where Habib al Najjar (whose tomb is still to be seen there being frequently visited by the Mohammedans⁶) was martyred.⁷ And a fourth takes al Rass to be a well in Hadramaut by which dwelt some idolatrous Ihamudites whose prophet was Handha, or Khantala (for I find the name written both ways) Ebn Safwan.¹ These people were first annoyed by certain monstrous birds, called Anka, which lodged in the mountain above them and used to snatch away their children when they wanted other prey but this calamity was so far from humbling them, that on their prophet's calling down a judgment upon them, they killed him and were all destroyed.²

^b *Viz*, Sodom for the *Koreish* often passed by the place where it once stood, in the journeys they took to Syria for the sake of trade.

^c *e* Dost thou expect to reclaim such a one from idolatry and infidelity?

^d See chap 7, p 121. There is the same various reading here as is mentioned in the notes to that passage.

Properly, *purifying* water, which epithet may probably refer to the cleansing quality of that element, of so great use both on religious and on common occasions.

⁶ See chap 36

⁷ Abulf Geog Vide Vit Saladini, p 86

¹ See chap 22,

p 8, note *

² Al Beidawi, Jallalo ddn

thereby revive a dead country, and give to drink thereof unto what we have created, both of cattle and men, in great numbers,^f and we distribute the same among them at various times, that they may consider but the greater part of men refuse to consider, only out of ingratitude ^g If we had pleased, we had sent a preacher unto every city ^h wherefore, do not thou obey the unbelievers, but oppose them herewith, with a strong opposition It is he who hath let loose the two seas, this fresh *and* sweet, and that salt *and* bitter, and hath placed between them a bar,ⁱ and a bound which cannot be passed. It is he who hath created man of water,^k and hath made him to bear the double relation of consanguinity and affinity, for thy LORD is powerful They worship, besides GOD, that which can neither profit them nor hurt them and the unbeliever is an assistant of the devil against his LORD ^l We have sent thee to be no other than a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer of threats Say, I ask not of you any reward for this *my preaching*, besides the conversion of him who shall desire to take the way unto his LORD ^m And do thou trust in him who liveth, and dieth not, and celebrate his praise (he is sufficiently acquainted with the faults of his servants) who hath created the heavens and the earth, and whatever is between them, in six days, and then ascended his throne the Merciful Ask now the knowing concerning him When it is said unto the unbelievers, Adore the Merciful, they reply, And who is the Merciful? ⁿ Shall we adore that which thou commandest us? And this precept causeth them to fly the faster from the faith. Blessed be he who hath placed the twelve signs in the heavens, and hath placed therein a lamp ^o by day, and the moon which shineth by night! It is he who hath ordained the night and the day to succeed each other, for the observation of him who will consider, or desireth to show his gratitude The servants of the Merciful are those who walk meekly on the earth, and when the ignorant speak unto them, answer, Peace ^p and who pass the night adoring their LORD, and standing up to pray unto him, and who say, O LORD, avert from us the torment of hell,

^f That is, to such as live in the dry deserts and are obliged to drink rain water which the inhabitants of towns and places well watered have no occasion to do

^g Or, out of infidelity for the old Arabs used to think themselves indebted for their rains not to God, but to the influence of some particular stars ^h

^h And had not given thee, O Mohammed the honour and trouble of being a preacher to the whole world in general

ⁱ To keep them asunder, and prevent their mixing with each other The original word is *barzakh* which has been already explained ^k

^k With which Adam's primitive clay was mixed, or, of seed See chap 24 p 293

^l Joining with him in his rebellion and infidelity Some think Abu Jahl is particularly struck at in this passage The words may also be translated, *The unbeliever is contemptible in the sight of his Lord*

^m Seeking to draw near unto him, by embracing the religion taught by me his apostle, which is the best return I expect from you for my labours ⁿ The passage however, is capable of another meaning viz, That Mohammed desires none to give, but him who shall contribute freely and voluntarily towards the advancement of God's true religion

^o See chap 17, p 237

^p i.e. The sun

^p This is intended here, not as a salutation, but as a waiving all farther discourse and communication with the idolaters.

for the torment thereof *is* perpetual, verily the same *is* a miserable abode and a *wretched* station and who, when they bestow, are neither profuse nor niggardly, but *observe* a just medium between these, ^q and who invoke not another god together with *the true* God, neither slay the soul which God hath forbidden to *be slain* unless for a just cause and who are not guilty of fornication. But he who shall do this shall meet the reward of *his* wickedness *his* punishment shall be doubled unto him on the day of resurrection, and he shall remain therein, covered with ignominy, *for ever* except him who shall repent and believe, and shall work a righteous work, unto them will God change their *former* evils into good, ^r for God *is* ready to forgive and merciful. And whoever repenteth, and doth that which is right, verily he turneth unto God with an *acceptable* conversion. And they who do not bear false witness, and when they pass by vain discourse, pass by the same with decency, ^s and who, when they are admonished by the signs of their LORD, fall not down *as if they were* deaf and blind, but *stand up and are attentive* thereto and who say, O LORD grant us of our wives and our offspring such as may be the satisfaction of *our* eyes, and make us patterns unto those who fear *thee* These shall be rewarded with the highest apartments *in paradise*, because they have persevered with constancy, and they shall meet therein with greeting and salutation, they shall remain in the same for ever it shall be an excellent abode, and a *delightful* station † Say, My LORD is not solicitous on your account, if ye do not invoke him ye have already charged *his* apostle with imposture, but hereafter shall there be a lasting punishment *inflicted on*

CHAPTER XXVI

INTITLED, THE POETS, REVEALED AT MECCA *

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

T S M ^x THESE *are* the signs of the perspicuous book Peradventure thou afflictest thyself unto death, lest *the Mecans* become not believers. If we pleased, we could send down unto them a *convincing* sign from heaven

^q See chap 17, p 229

^r Blotting out their former rebellion, on their repentance, and confirming and increasing their faith and obedience *

^s "Those who preserve their purity amidst obscene discourse —*Savary*

† "They shall dwell eternally in the abode of delight, which is equally pleasant for rest or for motion"—*Savary*

* The chapter bears this inscription because, at the conclusion of it, the Arabian poets are severely censured

^x The last five verses beginning at these words, *And those who err follow the poets* &c., some take to have been revealed at Medina

^y See the Prelim Disc sect 3, p 42, &c

unto which their necks would humbly submit. But there cometh unto them no admonition from the Merciful, being newly revealed *as occasions require*, but they turn aside from the same, and they have charged it with falsehood but a message shall come unto them, which they shall not laugh to scorn. Do they not behold the earth, how many *vegetables* we cause to spring up therein, of every noble species? Verily herein is a sign but the greater part of them do not believe. Verily thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful *God*. Remember when thy LORD called Moses, *saying*, Go to the unjust people, the people of Pharaoh, will they not dread me? Moses answered, O LORD, verily I fear lest they accuse me of falsehood, and lest my breast become straitened, and my tongue be not ready *in speaking* ⁷ send therefore unto Aaron, to be *my assistant*. Also they have a crime to object against me,⁸ and I fear they will put me to death. God said, *They shall* by no means *put thee to death* wherefore go ye with our signs, for we *will* be with you, *and will hear what passes between you and them*. Go ye therefore unto Pharaoh, and say, Verily we are the apostle⁹ of the LORD of all creatures send away with us the children of Israel. *And when they had delivered their message*, Pharaoh answered, Have we not brought thee up among us, *when a child*, and hast thou not dwelt among us for *several* years of thy life?¹⁰ Yet hast thou done thy deed which thou hast done,¹¹ and thou art an ungrateful person. Moses replied, I did it indeed, and I was *one* of those who erred,¹² wherefore I fled from you, because I feared you but my LORD hath bestowed on me wisdom, and hath appointed me *one* of his apostles. And this is the favour which thou hast bestowed on me, that thou hast enslaved the children of Israel. Pharaoh said, And who is the LORD of all creatures? Moses answered, The LORD of heaven and earth, and whatever is between them if ye are men of sagacity [†] Pharaoh said unto those who were about him, Do ye not hear? Moses said, Your LORD, and the LORD of your forefathers. Pharaoh said *unto those who were present*, Your apostle, who is sent unto you, is certainly distracted ^d Moses said, the LORD of the east, and of the west, and of whatever is between them if ye are men of understanding. Pharaoh

⁷ See chap 20 p 256

⁸ *Viz* the having killed an Egyptian ⁷

⁹ The word is in the singular number in the original for which the commentators give several reasons

¹⁰ It is said that Moses dwelt among the Egyptians thirty years, and then went to Midian, where he stayed ten years, after which he returned to Egypt and spent thirty years in endeavouring to convert them and that he lived after the drowning of Pharaoh fifty years.⁸

¹¹ "Hast thou not committed a murder Verily thou art an ingrate"—*Savary*

¹² Having killed the Egyptian undesignedly

[†] "It is" replied Moses, he who governeth the heavens and the earth. He ruleth in the immensity of space Will ye believe these truths?"—*Savary*

^d Pharaoh it seems, thought Moses had given but wild answers to his question, for he wanted to know the person and true nature of the God whose messenger Moses pretended to be, whereas he spoke of his works only And because this answer gave so little satisfaction to the king he is therefore supposed by some to have been a Dahrite, or one who believed the eternity of the world.⁹

said unto him, Verily if thou take any god besides me,* I will make thee one of those who are imprisoned.^f Moses answered, What, although I come unto you with a convincing miracle? Pharaoh replied, Produce it, therefore, if thou speakest truth And he cast down his rod, and behold it became a visible serpent and he drew forth his hand out of his bosom, and behold it appeared white unto the spectators. Pharaoh said unto the princes who were about him, Verily, this man is a skilful magician: he seeketh to dispossess you of your land by his sorcery, what therefore do ye direct? They answered, Delay him and his brother by good words for a time, and send through the cities men to assemble and bring unto thee every skilful magician So the magicians were assembled at an appointed time on a solemn day And it was said unto the people, Are ye assembled together? Perhaps we may follow the magicians, if they do get the victory * And when the magicians were come, they said unto Pharaoh, Shall we certainly receive a reward if we do get the victory? He answered Yea, and ye shall surely be of those who approach my person Moses said unto them, Cast down what ye are about to cast down Wherefore they cast down their ropes and their rods, and said, By the might of Pharaoh, verily we shall be the conquerors And Moses cast down his rod, and behold it swallowed up that which they had caused falsely to appear changed into serpents Whereupon the magicians prostrated themselves, worshipping, and said, we believe in the LORD of all creatures, the LORD of Moses and of Aaron Pharaoh said unto them, Have ye believed on him, before I have given you permission? Verily he is your chief who hath taught you magic ^g but hereafter ye shall surely know my power I will cut off your hands and your feet, on the opposite sides, and I will crucify you all They answered, It will be no harm unto us, for we shall return unto our LORD We hope that our LORD will forgive us our sins, since we are the first who have believed ^h And we spake by revelation unto Moses, saying, March forth with my servants by night, for ye will be pursued. And Pharaoh sent officers through the cities to assemble forces, saying, Verily these are a small company, and they are enraged against us but we are a multitude well provided So we caused them to quit their gardens, and fountains, and treasures, and fair dwellings thus did we do, and we made the children of Israel to inherit the same ⁱ And they pursued them at sunrise. And when the two armies were come in sight of each other, the

* From this and a parallel expression in the 28th chapter it is inferred that Pharaoh claimed the worship of his subjects as due to his supreme power

^f These words says al Beidawi were a more terrible menace than if he had said *I will imprison thee*, and gave Moses to understand that he must expect to keep company with those wretches whom the tyrant had thrown as was his custom, into a deep dungeon where they remained till they died

^g "A herald having proclaimed, Is the assembly gathered together with due solemnity? The people replied We will espouse the victorious party"—Savary

^h But has reserved the most efficacious secrets to himself ⁱ

^h See chap 7, p 128, &c

ⁱ Hence some suppose the Israelites, after the destruction of Pharaoh and his

companions of Moses said, We shall surely be overtaken * *Moses* answered, By no means, for my LORD is with me, who will surely direct me And we commanded Moses by revelation, saying, Smite the sea with thy rod And when he had smitten it, it became divided into twelve parts, between which were as many paths, and every part was like a vast mountain. And we drew thither the others, and we delivered Moses and all those who were with him then we drowned the others Verily herein was a sign, but the greater part of them did not believe Verily thy LORD is the mighty and the merciful And rehearse unto them the story of Abraham when he said unto his father, and his people, What do ye worship? They answered, We worship idols, and we constantly serve them all the day long Abraham said, Do they hear you when ye invoke them? O! do they either profit you, or hurt you? They answered, But we found our fathers do the same He said, What think ye? The gods which ye worship and your forefathers worshipped, are my enemy except only the LORD of all creatures, who hath created me, and directeth me, and who giveth me to eat, and to drink, and when I am sick healeth me, and who will cause me to die, and will afterwards restore me to life, and who, I hope, will forgive my sins on the day of judgment. O LORD, grant me wisdom, and join me with the righteous and grant that I may be spoken of with honour^k among the latest posterity, † and make me an heir of the garden of delight and forgive my father for that he hath been one of those who go astray^l And cover me not with shame on the day of resurrection, on the day in which neither riches nor children shall avail, unless unto him who shall come unto GOD with a sincere heart when paradise shall be brought near to the view of the pious, and hell shall appear plainly to those who shall have erred and it shall be said unto them, Where are your deities which ye served besides GOD? will they deliver you from punishment, or will they deliver themselves? And they shall be cast into the same, both they,^m and those who have been seduced to their worship, and all the host of Eblis The seduced shall dispute therein with their false gods, saying, By GOD, we were in a manifest error, when we equalled you with the LORD of all creatures and none seduced us but the wicked We have now no intercessors, nor any friend who careth for us If we were

host, returned to Egypt and possessed themselves of the riches of that country² But others are of opinion that the meaning is no more than that God gave them the like possessions and dwellings in another country³

* The Hebrews said unto Moses, We are surely undone —*Sa'ary*

^k Literally *Grant me a tongue of truth* that is, a high encomium The same expression is used in chapter 19 p 252

† "Lord, give unto me wisdom and justice Cause my voice to make known the truth to posterity" —*Avary*

^l By disposing him to repentance, and the receiving of the true faith Some suppose Abraham pronounced this prayer after his father's death thinking that possibly he might have been inwardly a true believer but have concealed his conversion for fear of Nimrod and before he was forbidden to pray for him⁴

^m See chap 21, p 272

² Jallaloddin, Yahya. ³ Al Zamakh See chap 7, p 130

⁴ See chap 9, p 163, and chap 14, p 208.

allowed to return once more *into the world*, we would certainly become true believers. Verily herein was a sign, but the greater part of them believed not. Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful. The people of Noah accused *God's* messengers of imposture when their brother Noah said unto them, Will ye not fear *God*? Verily I am a faithful messenger unto you, wherefore fear *God*, and obey me. I ask no reward of you for *my preaching unto you*, I expect my reward from no other than the LORD of all creatures wherefore fear *God*, and obey me. They answered, Shall we believe on thee, when *only* the most abject *persons* have followed thee? Noah said I have no knowledge of that which they did,^{*} it *appertaineth* unto my LORD alone to bring them to account, if ye understand, wherefore I will not drive away the believers. ° I am no more than a public preacher. They replied, Assuredly, unless thou desist, O Noah, thou shalt be stoned. He said, O LORD, verily my people take me for a liar, wherefore judge publicly between me and them, and deliver me and the true believers who are with me. Wherefore we delivered him, and those who were with him, in the ark filled *with men and animals*, and afterwards we drowned the rest. Verily herein was a sign, but the greater part of them believed not. Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful. *The tribe of Ad* charged *God's* messengers with falsehood when their brother Hud said unto them, Will ye not fear *God*? Verily I am a faithful messenger unto you, wherefore fear *God* and obey me. [I demand not of you any reward for *my preaching unto you* I expect my reward from no other than the LORD of all creatures. Do ye build a landmark on every high place to divert yourselves?^p And do ye erect *magnificent* works, *hoping* that ye may continue in their possession for ever? And when ye exercise your power, do ye exercise it with cruelty and rigour?^q Fear *God*, by leaving these things, and obey me †] And fear him who hath bestowed on you that which ye know he hath bestowed on you cattle, and children, and gardens, and springs of water. Verily I fear for you the punishment of a grievous day. They answered, It is equal unto us whether thou admonish us, or dost not admonish us. *this which thou preachest* is only a device of the ancients, neither shall we be punished for *what we have done*. And they accused him of imposture wherefore we destroyed them. Verily herein was a sign but the greater part of them believed not. Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful. *The tribe of Thamud also* charged the messengers of *God* with falsehood. When their brother Saleh

^{* 7} ° Whether they have embraced the faith which I have preached, out of the sincerity of their hearts, or in prospect of some worldly advantage

^{*} "I know not, replied Noah, what they are. It belongeth to God alone to fathom the heart"—Savary

° See chap 11 p 177

^p Or to mock the passengers, who direct themselves in their journeys by the stars, and have no need of such buildings? ^b

^q Putting to death, and inflicting other corporal punishments without mercy, and rather for the satisfaction of your passion than the amendment of the sufferer ^b

† The sentences which are between brackets [] are omitted in Savary's translation.

said unto them, Will ye not fear *God*? Verily I am a faithful messenger unto you wherefore fear *God*, and obey me. I demand no reward of you for *my preaching unto you* I expect my reward from no other than the LORD of all creatures. Shall ye be left for ever secure in the possession of the things which are here, among gardens, and fountains, and corn, and palm trees, whose branches sheathe their flowers.* And will ye continue to cut habitations for yourselves out of the mountains, behaving with insolence?† Fear *God*, and obey me, and obey not the command of the transgressors, who act corruptly in the earth, and reform not the same. They answered, Verily thou art distracted thou art no other than a man like unto us produce now some sign, if thou speakest truth. Saleh said, This she-camel shall be a sign unto you she shall have her portion of water, and ye shall have your portion of water alternately, on a several day appointed for you,‡ and do her no hurt lest the punishment of a terrible day be inflicted on you.† But they slew her, and were made to repent of their impiety for the punishment which had been threatened overtook them. Verily herein was a sign, but the greater part of them did not believe. Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful. The people of Lot likewise accused *God's* messengers of imposture When then brother Lot said unto them, Will ye not fear *God*? Verily I am a faithful messenger unto you wherefore fear *God*, and obey me I demand no reward of you for *my preaching* I expect my reward from no other than the LORD of all creatures Do ye approach unto the males among mankind, and leave your wives which your LORD hath created for you Surely ye are people who transgress. They answered, Unless thou desist, O Lot, thou shalt certainly be expelled our city He said, Verily I am one of those who abhor your doings O LORD, deliver me, and my family, from that which they act. Wherefore we delivered him, and all his family, except an old woman, his wife, who perished among those who remained behind, then we destroyed the rest, and we rained on them a shower of stones, and terrible was the shower which fell on those who had been warned in vain Verily herein was a sign, but the greater part of them did not believe. Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful The inhabitants of the wood‡ also accused *God's* messengers of imposture. When Shoaib said unto him, Will ye not fear *God*? Verily I am a faithful messenger unto you wherefore fear *God*, and obey me. I ask no reward of you for *my preaching* I expect

* "Your palm trees, of which the fruit is delicious"—Savary

† Or as the original word may also be rendered, showing art and ingenuity in your work.

‡ That is, they were to have the use of the water by turns the camel drinking one day, and the Thamudites drawing the other day for when this camel drank, she emptied the wells or brooks for that day See chap 7, p 124

† And do unto her no hurt, if ye dread the punishment of the great day —Savary

‡ See chap 15, p 212 Shoaib being not called the brother of these people, which would have preserved the conformity between this passage and the preceding it has been thought they were not Midianites, but of another race however, we find the prophet taxes them with the same crimes as he did those of Midian

‡ The inhabitants of Aleica.—Savary

my reward from no other than the LORD of all creatures. Give just measure, and be not defrauders, and weigh with an equal balance, and diminish not unto men *ought* of their matters, neither commit violence in the earth, acting corruptly And fear him who hath created you, and also the former generations * They answered, Certainly thou art distracted thou art no more than a man, like unto us and we do surely esteem thee to be a liar Cause now a part of the heaven to fall upon us, if thou speakest truth *Shoaib* said, My LORD best knoweth that which ye do And they charged him with falsehood wherefore the punishment of the day of the shadowing cloud^u overtook them, and this was the punishment of a grievous day Verily herein was a sign, but the greater part of them did not believe Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful This *book* is certainly a revelation from the LORD of all creatures, which the faithful spirit^x hath caused to descend upon thy heart, that thou mightest be a preacher to *thy people*, in the perspicuous Arabic tongue † and it is *borne witness to* in the scriptures of former ages Was it not a sign unto them that the wise men among the children of Israel knew it? Had we revealed it unto any of the foreigners, and he had read the same unto them, yet they would not have believed therein Thus have we caused *obstinate infidelity* to enter the hearts of the wicked they shall not believe therein, until they see a painful punishment It shall come suddenly upon them, and they shall not foresee it and they shall say, Shall we be respited? Do they therefore desire our punishment to be hastened?^y What thinkest thou? If we suffer them to enjoy *the advantage of this life* for several years, and afterwards that with which they are threatened come upon them, what will that which they have enjoyed profit them? We have destroyed no city, but preachers *were first sent* unto it, to admonish *the inhabitants thereof*, neither did we treat *them* unjustly The devils did not descend with the *Korân*, as the infidels give out it is not for their purpose, neither are they able to produce such a book, for they are far removed from hearing *the discourse of the angels in heaven*^z Invoke no other god with the true God, lest thou become one of those who are doomed to punishment And admonish ^{thy} more near relations^a And behave thyself with meekness^b

* "Fear him who created you and who created the first man —*Savary*

^u God first plagued them with such intolerable heat for seven days that all their waters were dried up, and then brought a cloud over them under whose shade they ran, and were all destroyed by a hot wind and fire which proceeded from it.⁶

^x i. e. Gabriel, who is entrusted with the divine secrets and revelations

† 'It is written in Arabic and the style of it is pure —*Savary*

^y The infidels were continually defying Mohammed to bring some signs and miraculous destruction on them as a shower of stones &c.

^a See chap 15 p 210

^b The commentators suppose the same command to have been virtually contained in the seventy fourth chapter which is prior to this in point of time¹ It is said that Mohammed on receiving the passage before us went up immediately to Mount Safâ, and having called the several families to him, one by one, when they were all assembled, asked them, whether if he should tell them that mountain would bring forth a smaller mountain they would believe him, to which they answering in the affirmative, Verily says he *I am a warner sent unto you before a severe chastisement*²

^b Literally, Lower thy wing

⁶ Al Beidâwî

¹ See the notes thereon and the Prelim. Dis sect. II. p. 81.

² Al Beidâwî

towards the true believers who follow thee and if they be disobedient unto thee, say, Verily, I am clear of that which ye do And trust in the most mighty, the merciful *God*, who seeth thee when thou risest up, and thy behaviour among those who worship,^c for he *both* heareth and knoweth. Shall I declare unto you upon whom the devils descend? They descend upon every lying and wicked person^d they learn what is heard,^e but the greater part of them *are* liars. And those who err follow the *steps of the poets* dost thou not see that they rove *as bereft of their senses* through every valley, and that they say that which they do not?^f except those who believe, and do good works, and remember God frequently, and who defend themselves, after they have been unjustly treated^g And they who act unjustly shall know hereafter with what treatment they shall be treated

^c : *c* Who seeth thee when thou risest up to watch and spend the night in religious exercises, and observeth thy anxious care for the Moslems exact performance of their duty It is said that the night on which the precept of watching was abrogated Mohammed went privately from one house to another to see how his companions spent the time and that he found them so intent on reading the Korân and repeating their prayers, that their houses, by reason of the humming noise they made seemed to be so many nests of hornets¹ Some commentators, however suppose that by the prophet's *behaviour*, in this place is meant the various postures he used in praying at the head of his companions, as standing, bowing, prostration and sitting²

^d The prophet, having vindicated himself from the charge of having communication with the devils by the opposition between his doctrine and their designs, and their inability to compose so consistent a book as the Korân proceeds to show that the persons most likely to a correspondence with those evil spirits were liars and slandersers that is, his enemies and opposers

^e : *e* They are taught by the secret inspiration of the devils, and receive their idle and inconsistent suggestions for truth It being uncertain whether the *slandersers* or the *devils* be the nominative case to the verb, the words may also be rendered *They impart what they hear* that is The devils acquaint their correspondents on earth with such incoherent scraps of the angels discourse as they can hear by *stealth*.³

^f Their compositions being as wild as the actions of a distracted man for most of the ancient poetry was full of vain imaginations, as fabulous stories and descriptions, love verses, flattery excessive commendations of their patrons and as excessive reproaches of their enemies incitements to vicious actions vain glorious vauntings, and the like⁴

^g "Shall I tell unto you who is the mortal whom Satan inspireth? It is the liar and the impious man Deceived by his allusions, the poets follow him Hast thou not seen them wander in the valleys? They say, but they do not — *Savary*

⁵ That is, Such poets as had embraced Mohammedism whose works free from the profaneness of the former run chiefly on the praises of God and the establishing his unity and contain exhortations to obedience and other religious and moral virtues, without any satirical invectives unless against such as have given just provocations by having first attacked them, or some others of the true believers, with the same weapons In this last case, Mohammed saw it was necessary for him to borrow assistance from the poets of his party to defend himself and religion from the insults and ridicule of the others for which purpose he employed the pens of Labid Ebn Rabia,⁷ Abda llah Ebn Rawâha Hassân Ebn Thabet, and the two Caabs It is related that Mohammed once said to Caab Ebn Malec, *Ply them with satires, for by him in whose hands my soul is they wound more deeply than arrows*⁸

¹ Al Beidawi

Prelim Disc. p 44

² Idem, Jallalo ddin³ A Beidawi.⁴ Idem.⁵ Idem⁷ See the

CHAPTER XXVII.

INTITLED THE ANT,^a REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

T S. These *are* the signs of the Koran, and of the perspicuous book a direction, and good tidings unto the true believers, who regularly perform *their* prayer, and give alms, and firmly believe in the life to come. *As to* those who believe not in the life to come, we have prepared their works for them,¹ and they shall be struck with astonishment *at their disappointment, when they shall be raised again* these *are* they whom an evil punishment *awaileth in this life*, and in that which is to come they shall be the greatest losers Thou hast certainly received the Koriân from the presence of a wise, a knowing God Remember when Moses said unto his family, Verily I perceive fire I will bring you tidings thereof, or I will bring you a lighted brand, that ye may be warmed^k And when he was come near unto it, a voice cried unto him, *saying*, Blessed be he who is in the fire, and whoever is about it,¹ and praise be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures! O Moses, verily I am GOD, the mighty, the wise cast down now thy rod And when he saw it, that it moved as though it *had been* a serpent, he retreated, and fled, and returned not And God said, O Moses, fear not, for *my* messengers are not disturbed with fear in my sight except he who shall have done amiss, and shall have afterwards substituted good in lieu of evil, for I am gracious and merciful^m Moreover put thy hand into thy bosom, it shall come forth white, without hurt *this shall be one* among the nine signs^{n*} unto Pharaoh and his people for they are a wicked people And when our visible signs had come unto them, they said, This is manifest sorcery And they denied them, although their souls certainly knew them *to be from God*, out of iniquity and pride but behold what was the end of the corrupt doers We heretofore bestowed knowledge on David and Solomon, and they said, Praise be unto GOD, who hath made us more excellent than many of his faithful servants! And

^a In this chapter is related among other strange things, an odd story of the ant, which has therefore been pitched on for the title

¹ By rendering them pleasing and agreeable to their corrupt natures and inclinations.

^k See chap 20, p 256

¹ Some suppose God to be intended by the former words, and by the latter the angels who were present¹ others think Moses and the angels are here meant or all persons in general in this holy plain and the country round it²

^m This exception was designed to qualify the preceding assertion, which seemed too general for several of the prophets have been subject to sins though not great ones, before their mission for which they had reason to apprehend God's anger, though they are here assured that their subsequent merits entitle them to his pardon It is supposed that Moses's killing the Egyptian undesignedly is hinted at.³

ⁿ See chap 17, p 236

^{*} "The nine miracles — 8

¹ Yahya

² Jallalo ddin, Al Beidawi,

³ Ibidem.

Solomon was David's heir,^o and he said, O men, we have been taught the speech of birds,^p and have had all things bestowed on us, this is manifest excellence * And his armies were gathered together unto Solomon, *consisting* of genn,^q and men, and birds, and they were led in distinct bands, until they came unto the valley of ants.^r And an ant, *seeing the hosts approaching*, said, O ants, enter ye into your habitations, lest Solomon and his army tread you under foot, and perceive *it* not. And Solomon smiled, laughing at her words, and said, O LORD, excite me that I may be thankful for thy favour, wherewith thou hast favoured me, and my parents, and that I may do that which is right, *and* well pleasing unto thee and introduce me, through thy mercy, *into paradise*, among thy servants the righteous And he viewed the birds, and said, what is the reason that I see not the lapwing?^s Is she absent? Verily I will chastise her with a severe chastisement,^t or I will put her to death, unless she bring me a just excuse And she tarried not long *before she presented herself* *un*to Solomon, and said, I have viewed *a country* which thou hast not viewed, and I come

* Inheriting, not only his kingdom but also the prophetic office preferably to his other sons, who were no less than nineteen ⁴

^p That is the meaning of their several voices though not articulate of Solomon's interpretation whereof the commentators give several instances ⁵

* "Solomon was the heir of David Mortals said he I understand the song of the birds I possess every kind of knowledge, I have been raised to the sublime height"—*Savary*

^q For this fancy as well as the former Mohammed was obliged to the Talmudists ⁶ who according to their manner, have interpreted the Hebrew words of Solomon ⁷ which the English version renders *I get men singers and women singers* as if that prince had forced *demons* or *spirits* to serve him at his table, and in other capacities, and particularly in his vast and magnificent buildings which they could not conceive he could otherwise have performed

^r The valley seems to be so called from the great number of ants which are found there Some place it in Syria, and others in Iayef ⁸

^s The Arab historians tell us that Solomon having finished the temple of Jerusalem went in pilgrimage to Mecca, where having stayed as long as he pleased he proceeded towards Yaman and leaving Mecca in the morning, he arrived by noon at Sanaa and being extremely delighted with the country rested there, but wanting water to make the ablution he looked among the birds for the lapwing called by the Arabs al Hudbud whose business it was to find it, for it is pretended she was sagacious or sharp sighted enough to discover water under ground, which the devils used to draw after she had marked the place by digging with her bill they add that this bird was then taking a tour in the air whence seeing one of her companions alighting she descended also, and having had a description given her by the other of the city of Saba, whence she was just arrived, they both went together to take a view of the place and returned soon after Solomon had made the inquiry which occasioned what follows ⁹

It may be proper to mention here what the eastern writers fable of the manner of Solomon's travelling They say that he had a carpet of green silk, on which his throne was placed, being of a prodigious length and breadth and sufficient for all his forces to stand on, the men placing themselves on his right hand, and the spirits on his left, and that when all were in order, the wind, at his command took up the carpet, and transported it, with all that were upon it, wherever he pleased, ¹⁰ the army of birds at the same time flying over their heads, and forming a kind of canopy, to shade them from the sun

^t By plucking off her feathers, and setting her in the sun, to be tormented by the insects, or by shutting her up in a cage.¹

⁴ Jallalo ddin Al Beidawi ⁵ See Marracc not in loc. p 511 ⁶ Vide Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni p 11 f 29, and Millium de Mohammedismo ante Mohammed p 232 ⁷ Eccles 11 8. ⁸ Al Beidawi, Jallalo ddin. ⁹ Idem ¹⁰ See chap 21, p 270 ¹ Al Beidawi Jallalo ddin

unto thee from Saba, with a certain piece of news. I found a woman ² to reign over them, who is provided with every thing *requisite for a prince*, and hath a magnificent throne.³ I found her and her people to worship the sun, besides God, and Satan hath prepared their works for them, and hath turned them aside from the way of *truth* (wherefore they are not *rightly* directed), lest they should worship God, who bringeth to light that which is hidden in heaven and earth, and knoweth whatever they conceal, and whatever they discover. God! there is no God but he, the LORD of the magnificent throne. Solomon said, We shall see whether thou hast spoken the truth, or whether thou art a liar. Go with this, my letter, and cast it down unto them, then turn aside from them, and wait to *know* what answer they will return. And when the queen of Saba had received the letter,⁴ she said, O nobles, verily an honourable letter hath been delivered unto me, it is from Solomon, and *this is the tenor thereof*. In the name of the most merciful God, Rise not up against me but come, and surrender yourselves unto me.⁵ She said, O nobles, advise me in my business. I will not resolve on any thing, until ye be witnesses and approve thereof. The nobles answered, We are endued with strength, and are endued with great prowess in war, but the command *appertaineth* unto thee see therefore what thou wilt command.⁶† She said, Verily kings, when they enter a city *by force*, waste the same, and abase the most powerful of the inhabitants hereof and so will *these* do with us. But I will send gifts unto them, and will wait for what *further information* those who shall be sent shall bring back. And when the queen's ambassador came unto Solomon,⁷ that prince

² This queen the Arabs call Balkis some make her the daughter of al Hodhād Ebn Sharhabil ² and others of Sharahl Ebn Malec ³ but they all agree she was a descendant of Yarab Ebn Kahtan. She is placed the twenty second in Dr Pocock's list of the kings of Yaman ⁴

³ Which the commentators say was made of gold and silver, and crowned with precious stones. But they differ as to the size of it, one making it fourscore cubits long forty broad, and thirty high, while some say it was fourscore and others, thirty cubits every way.

Jallalo ddin says that the queen was surrounded by her army, when the lapwing threw the letter into her bosom, but al Beidawi supposes she was in an apartment of her palace, the doors of which were shut and that the bird flew in at the window. The former commentator gives a copy of the epistle somewhat more full than that in the text, viz *From the servant of God, Solomon, the son of David unto Balkis queen of Saba. In the name of the most merciful God. Peace be on him who followeth the true direction. Rise not up against me but come and surrender yourselves unto me.* He adds that Solomon perfumed this letter with musk, and sealed it with his signet.

⁴ Or, *Come unto me, and resign yourselves* unto the divine direction and profess the true religion which I preach.

⁵ 'Rise not up against me, but come unto me, and believe. —Savary

⁶ b: c Whether thou wilt obey the summons of Solomon, or give us orders to make head against him.

† 'We have courage and troops replied the nobles, but thou art our queen; princess what dost thou command? —Savary

⁷ Bearing the presents, which they say were five hundred young slaves of each sex all habited in the same manner, five hundred bricks of gold, a crown enriched with precious stones besides a large quantity of musk, amber, and other things of value ⁸. Some add, that Balkis, to try whether Solomon was a prophet or no dressed the boys like girls, and the girls like boys, and sent him in a casket, a pearl not drilled and an onyx drilled with a crooked hole, and that Solomon dis-

² Vide Pocock. Spec p 59 ³ Al Beidawi, &c Vide D Herbel Bibl. Orient. p 182 ⁴ Ubi sup ⁵ Jallalo ddin.

said, Will ye present me with riches? Verily that which God hath given me is better than what he hath given you but ye do glory in your gifts.^a Return unto *the people of Saba*. We will surely come unto them with forces, which they shall not be able to withstand, and we will drive them out from *their city*, humbled, and they *shall become* contemptible. And Solomon said, O nobles, which of you will bring unto me her throne, before they come and surrender themselves unto me? A terrible genius^d answered, I will bring it unto thee, before thou arise from thy place^e for I am able to *perform* it, and may be trusted. And one with whom was the knowledge of the scriptures^f said, I will bring it unto thee in the twinkling of an eye.^g And when Solomon saw *the throne* placed before him, he said, This is a favour of my LORD, that he may make trial of me, whether I will be grateful, or whether I will be ungrateful, and he who is grateful is grateful to his own *advantage*, but if any shall be ungrateful, verily my LORD *is* self sufficient and munificent. And Solomon said unto his servants, Alter her throne, that she may not know it, to the end we may see whether she be *rightly* directed, or whether she be *one* of those who are not *rightly* directed. And when she was come unto Solomon,^h it was said unto her Is thy throne like this? She answered, As though it were the same. And we have had knowledge bestowed on us before this, and have been resigned unto God.ⁱ But that which she worshipped, besides God, had turned her aside from *the truth* for she was of an unbeliev—g people. It was said unto her, Enter the palace. And when she saw it, she imagined it to be a great water, and she discovered her legs, *by lifting up her robe to pass* distinguished the boys from the girls by the different manner of their taking water, and ordered one worm to bore the pearl and another to pass a thread through the onyx.^o They also tell us that Solomon having notice of this embassy by means of the lapwin, even before they set out ordered a large square to be enclosed with a wall built of gold and silver bricks, wherein he ranged his forces and attendants to receive them.^p

^a 'Keep your gifts'—*Savary*

^d This was an Ifrit, or one of the wicked and rebellious genii, and his name, says al Beidawi, was Dhacwan or Sakhr

^e From thy seat of justice. For Solomon used to sit in judgment every day till noon.^q

^f This person as is generally supposed was Asaf, the son of Barachia, Solomon's wazir (or vizir) who knew the great or ineffable name of God, by pronouncing of which he performed this wonderful exploit.^r Others however suppose it was al Khedr or else Gabriel, or some other angel, and some imagine it to have been Solomon himself.^s

^g The original is *Before thou canst look at any object and take thy eye off it*. It is said that Solomon at Asaf's desire, looked up to heaven and before he cast his eye downwards, the throne made its way under ground, and appeared before him.

^h For, on the return of her ambassador she determined to go and submit herself to that prince, but before her departure she secured her throne as she thought by locking it up in a strong castle, and setting a guard to defend it, after which she set out attended by a vast army.^t

ⁱ It is uncertain whether these be the words of Balkis acknowledging her conviction by the wonders she had already seen, or of Solomon and his people, acknowledging the favour of God in calling them to the true faith before her.

^k Or as some understand the word, *the court* before the palace which Solomon had commanded to be built against the arrival of Balkis, the floor or pavement being of transparent glass laid over running water, in which fish were swimming. Fronting this pavement was placed the royal throne, on which Solomon sat to receive the queen.^u

^a Al Beidawi

^f Jallalo ddin

^g Al Beidawi, Jallalo ddin, interp

^o Jallalo ddin

^p Al Beidawi.

^q Jallalo ddin.

^r Idem, Al Beidawi.

through it¹ Whereupon Solomon said unto her, Verily this is a palace evenly floored with glass.* Then said the queen, O LORD, verily I have dealt unjustly with my own soul, and I resign myself, together with Solomon, unto God, the LORD of all creatures.^m Also we heretofore sent unto the tribe of Thamud their brother Saleh, who said unto them, Serve ye God And behold, they were divided into two parties, who disputed among themselves.ⁿ Saleh said, O my people, why do ye hasten evil rather than good?^o Unless ye ask pardon of God, that ye may obtain mercy, ye are lost They answered, We presage evil from thee, and from those who are with thee. Saleh replied, the evil which ye presage is with God ^p but ye are a people who are proved by a vicissitude of prosperity and adversity And there were nine men in the city, who acted corruptly in the earth, and behaved not with integrity And they said unto one another, Swear ye reciprocally by God, that we will fall upon Saleh and his family by night and afterwards we will say unto him who hath right to avenge his blood, We were not so much as present at the destruction of his family, and we certainly speak the truth And they devised a plot against him but we devised a plot against them, [†] and they perceived it not. And see what was the issue of their plot,^q we utterly destroyed them and their whole people, and these then habitations remain empty, because of the injustice which they committed Verily herein is a sign unto people who understand And we delivered those who believed and feared God And remember Lot, when he said unto his people Do ye commit a wickedness, though ye see the heinousness thereof? Do ye approach lustfully unto men, leaving the women? Ye are surely an ignorant people [*XX] But the answer of his people was no other than that they said, Cast the family of Lot out of your city for they are men who preserve themselves pure from the crimes of which ye are guilty

¹ Some Arab writers tell us Solomon had been informed that Balkis's legs and feet were covered with hair like those of an ass, of the truth of which he had hereby an opportunity of being satisfied by ocular demonstration

* 'It is a solid edifice built of glass, said Solomon unto her'—Savary

^m The queen of Saba having by these words professed Islâm, and renounced idolatry Solomon had thoughts of making her his wife but could not resolve to do it till the devils had by a depilatory taken off the hair from her legs⁴ Some however will have it that she did not marry Solomon but a prince of the tribe of Hamdân

ⁿ Concerning the doctrine preached by Saleh, one party believing on him, and the other treating him as an impostor

^o 'Why do ye urge and defy the divine vengeance with which ye are threatened, instead of averting it by repentance?

^p See chap 7, p 129 where the Egyptians in the same manner accuse Moses as the cause of their calamities

[†] "While they were devising their plot, we decreed the moment of their ruin and they knew it not. —Savary

^q It is related that Saleh and those who believed on him usually meeting to pray in a certain narrow place between the mountains, the infidels said *He thinks to make an end of us after three days*⁶ but we will be beforehand with him and that a party of them went directly to the straits above mentioned, thinking to execute their design, but were terribly disappointed for, instead of catching the prophet, they were caught themselves, their retreat being cut off by a large piece of rock, which fell down at the mouth of the straits, so that they perished there in a miserable manner

Wherefore we delivered him and his family, except his wife, whom we decreed *to be one* of those who remained behind *to be destroyed*. And we rained on them a shower of *stones* and dreadful was the shower which fell on those who had been warned *in vain* !^r Say, Praise *be* unto God, and peace *be* upon his servants whom he hath chosen ! Is God more worthy, or the *false gods* which they associate *with him* ? *Is not he to be preferred*, who hath created the heavens and the earth, and sendeth down rain for you from heaven, whereby we cause delicious groves to spring up ? It is not in your power to cause the trees thereof to shoot forth. Is there *any other god partner with the true God* ? Verily these are a people who deviate *from the truth* * *Is not he more worthy to be adored*, who hath established the earth, and hath caused rivers *to flow* through the midst thereof, and placed thereon immoveable *mountains*, and set a bar between the two seas ?^q Is there *any other god equal with the true God* ? Yet the greater part of them know *it* not. *Is not he more worthy* who heareth the afflicted,^t when he calleth upon him, and taketh off the evil *which distressed him* and who hath made you the successors of *your forefathers* in the earth ? Is there *any other god who can be equalled with the true God* ? How few consider *these things* ! *Is not he more worthy* who directeth you in the dark *paths* of the land and of the sea, and who sendeth the winds driving abroad the clouds, as the forerunners of his mercy !^u Is there *any other god who can be equalled with the true God* ? Far be God from *having* those *partners in his power*, which ye associate *with him*. *Is not he more worthy*, who produceth a creature, and after *it hath been dead* restoreth it *to life*, and who giveth you food from heaven and earth ? Is there *any other god with the true God, who doth this* ? Say, Produce your proof *thereof*, if ye speak truth. Say, None either in heaven or earth knoweth that which is hidden, besides God. neither do they understand when they shall be raised. However, their knowledge attaineth *some notion* of the life to come^v yet they are in an uncertainty concerning the same, yea, they are blind as to *the real circumstances* thereof. And the unbelievers say, When we and our fathers shall have been *reduced to dust*, shall we be taken forth *from the grave* ? Verily we have been threatened with this, *both we* and our fathers, heretofore. This is no other than fables of the ancients[†] Say *unto them*, Pass through the earth, and see what hath been the end of the wicked. And be not thou grieved for them, neither be thou in any concern on account of *the plots* which they are contriving *against thee*. And they say, When *will* this threat *be accomplished*, if ye speak

^r See chap 7 p 125, and chap 11 p 183

* 'Hath God an equal ! Nevertheless, they associate divinities in his worship'—*Savary*

^q See chap. 25, p 300 The word *barzakh* is not used here, but another of equivalent import.

^t Literally, *Him who is driven by distress to implore God's assistance*

^u See chap 7 p 121 and chap 25, p 300

^v Or the words may be translated thus *Yea, their knowledge faileth as to the life to come yea, &c.*

[†] This promise with which we are flattered, and with which our fathers were deluded, is but one of the fables of antiquity—*Savary*

true? * Answer, Peradventure some part of that *punishment*, which ye desire to be hastened, may follow close behind you verily thy LORD is endued with indulgence towards mankind, but the greater part of them are not thankful Verily thy LORD knoweth what their breasts conceal, and what they discover and there is nothing hidden in heaven or on earth, but it is *written* in a clear book. Verily this Korân declareth unto the children of Israel most of those *points* concerning which they disagree † and it is certainly a direction, and a mercy unto the true believers. Thy LORD will decide the controversy between them, by his definitive sentence and he is the mighty, the wise. Therefore, put thy trust in God, for thou art in the manifest truth Verily thou shalt not make the dead to hear, neither shalt thou make the deaf to hear *thy call to the true faith*, when they retire and turn their backs neither shalt thou direct the blind to *extricate themselves* out of their error Thou shalt make none to hear *thee*, except him who shall believe in our signs and they are *wholly* resigned unto us When the sentence shall be *ready* to fall upon them, we will cause a beast ‡ to come forth unto them from out of the earth, which shall speak unto them * verily men do not firmly believe in our signs † On the day of *resurrection* we will assemble, out of every nation, a company of those who shall have charged our signs with falsehood, and they shall be prevented from mixing together, until they shall arrive at the *place of judgment* And God shall say unto them, Have ye charged my signs with falsehood, although ye comprehended them not with *your knowledge*? Or what is it that ye were doing? And the sentence of *damnation* shall fall on them, for that they have acted unjustly and they shall not speak in their own *excuse* Do they not see that we have ordained the night, that they may rest therein, and the day giving open light? ‡ Verily herein are signs unto people who believe. On *that day* the trumpet shall be sounded, and whoever are in heaven and on earth shall be struck with terror, except those whom God shall please to *exempt therefrom* * and all shall come before him in humble

* 'When will thy promises be accomplished? Tell us if the truth enlighteneth thee —*Savary*

† Such as the comparing of God to sensible things or to created beings, the removing all imperfections from the description of the divine Being, the state of paradise and hell the stories of Ezra and Jesus Christ &c.¹

‡ The Mohammedans call this beast, whose appearance will be one sign of the approach of the day of judgment, al Jassâsa, or the Spy I have given the description of her elsewhere § to which should be added that she is to have two wings

* Or, according to a different reading (viz *tachmohom* instead of *tocallmohom*) who shall wound them §

† "When the sentence of their perdition shall be pronounced we will cause to arise from the earth a monster, who shall exclaim, *Men have not believed in Islamism*" —*Savary*

‡ 'See they not, that we have established the night for rest, and the day for action?' —*Savary*

* See the Prelim Disc sect iv p 59, &c Some say the persons exempted from this general consternation will be the angels Gabriel Michael, Israfil and Israel,¹ others suppose them to be the virgins of paradise and the angels who guard that place, and carry God's throne,² and others will have them to be the martyrs³

¹ Al Beidâwi
Jallalo ddin Al Beidâwi.

² Prelim Disc sect iv p 57, &c
³ Idem.

⁴ Vide ibid p. 57

gunso.* And thou shalt see the mountains, and shalt think them firmly fixed, but they shall pass away, even as the clouds pass away † *This will be the work of God, who hath rightly disposed all things and he is well acquainted with that which ye do* Whoever shall have wrought righteousness, shall receive a reward beyond the desert thereof, and they shall be secure from the terror of that day^b but whoever shall have wrought evil, shall be thrown on their faces into hell fire Shall ye receive the reward of any other than of that which ye shall have wrought? Verily I am commanded to worship the LORD of this territory of Mecca, who hath sanctified the same unto him belong all things. And I am commanded to be a Moslem, and to rehearse the Koran he who shall be directed thereby will be directed to his own advantage, and to him who shall go astray, say, Verily I am a warner only And say, Praise, be unto God! he will show you his signs,^c and ye shall know them and thy LORD is not regardless of that which they do

CHAPTER XXVIII

INTITLED THE STORY,^d REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

T S M^e These are the signs of the perspicuous book. We will dictate unto thee, O Mohammed, some parts of the history of Moses and Pharaoh, with truth, for the sake of people who believe. Now Pharaoh lifted himself up in the land of Egypt, and he caused his subjects to be divided into parties^a he weakened one party of them,^b by slaying their male children, and preserving their females alive, for he was an oppressor And we were minded to be gracious unto those who were weakened in the land, and to

* "When the blast of the trumpet shall resound, all that is in heaven and on the earth shall be smitten with terror except the chosen of the Lord. All men shall appear before him humbly prostrate —Savary

† "Thou shalt see the mountains like unto congealed water, disappear as a cloud at the voice of God, who hath wisely disposed all things and who knoweth the actions of mortals —Savary

^b That is from the fear of damnation, and the other terrors which will disturb the wicked, not from the general terror or consternation before mentioned

^c Viz, the successes of the true believers against the infidels, and particularly the victory of Bedr

^d The title is taken from the twenty sixth verse, where Moses is said to have related the story of his adventures to Shoaib

Some except a verse towards the latter end, beginning with these words, *He who hath given the Koran for a rule of faith and practice, &c*

^e See the Prelim Disc sect iii p 42

^a i e Either into companies, that they might the better attend his order and perform the services he exacted of them, or into opposite factions, to prevent their attempting any thing against him, to deliver themselves from his tyranny⁴

^b i e, the Israelites

make them models of religion, and to make them the heirs of the wealth of Pharaoh and his people,¹ and to establish a place for them in the earth, and to show Pharaoh, and Haman,² and their forces, that destruction of their kingdom and nation by them, which they sought to avoid.^{1*} And we directed the mother of Moses by revelation, saying, Give him suck and if thou fearest for him, cast him into the river, and fear not, neither be afflicted, for we will restore him unto thee, and will appoint him one of our apostles.³ And when she had put the child in the ark, and had cast it into the river, the family of Pharaoh took him up, providence designing that he should become an enemy, and a sorrow unto them. Verily Pharaoh and Haman, and their forces were sinners.[†] And the wife of Pharaoh said, This child is a delight of the eye to me, and to thee * kill him not, peradventure it may happen that he may be serviceable unto us, or we may adopt him for our son And they perceived not the consequence of what they were doing And the heart of the mother of Moses became oppressed with fear, and she had almost discovered him, had we not armed her heart with constancy, that she might be one of those who believe the promises of God And she said unto his sister, Follow him And she watched him at a distance, and they perceived it not And we suffered him not to take the breasts of the nurses who were provided before his sister came up * and she said, Shall I direct you unto some of his nation, who may nurse him for you, and will be careful of him? And, at their desire, she brought his mother to them So we restored him to his mother, that her mind might be set at ease, and that she might not be afflicted, and that

¹ See chap 26 p 303

² This name is given to Pharaoh's chief minister, from whence it is generally inferred that Mohammed has here made Haman the favourite of Ahasuerus king of Persia, and who indisputably lived many ages after Moses, to be that prophet's contemporary But how probable soever this mistake may seem to us it will be very hard if not impossible, to convince a Mohammedan of it for, as has been observed in a parallel case ⁵ two very different persons may bear the same name ⁶

¹ For Pharaoh had either dreamed or been told by some diviners that one of the Hebrew nation should be the ruin of his kingdom which prophecy is supposed to have been the occasion of his cruelty to them ⁷ This circumstance is owing to the invention of the Jews ⁸

* 'We were minded to secure unto them a habitation upon the earth and to display before the eyes of Pharaoh, of Haman, and of their armies, the miracles which they dreaded —Savary

³ It is related that the midwife appointed to attend the Hebrew woman terrified by a light which appeared between the eyes of Moses at his birth and touched with an extraordinary affection for the child, did not discover him to the officers so that his mother kept him in her house and nursed him three months after which it was impossible for her to conceal him any longer the king then giving orders to make the searches more strictly ⁹

† "The family of Pharaoh received him who was one day to become their enemy, and a bitter cause of sorrow unto them, because that Pharaoh, Haman, and their soldiers were transgressors."—Savary

⁵ This sudden affection or admiration was raised in them either by his uncommon beauty, or by the light which shone on his forehead, or because, when they opened the ark, they found him sucking his thumb which supplied him with milk ¹⁰

* See chap 20, p 257

⁶ See p 38 note * ⁷ Vide Reland de Rel. Moham p 217 ⁸ See chap 7, p 129 ⁹ Vide Shalshel hakkab p 11, and R Eliez Pirke, c. 48 ¹⁰ Al Beidawi See the notes to chap 20, p 257 ¹¹ Idem Jallalo ddn

she might know that the promise of GOD *was* true but the greater part of *mankind* know not *the truth*. And when *Moses* had attained his age of full strength, and was become a perfect man, we bestowed on him wisdom and knowledge and thus do we reward the upright. And he went into the city, at a time when the inhabitants thereof observed not *what passed in the street* ^p and he found therein two men fighting, the one *being* of his own party, and the other of his enemies.^q And he who *was* of his party begged his assistance against him who *was* of the contrary party, and Moses struck him with his fist, and slew him *but being sorry for what had happened*, he said, This is of the work of the devil,^r for he is a seducing and an open enemy And he said, O LORD, verily I have injured my own soul wherefore forgive me So God forgave him, for he *is* ready to forgive, and merciful. He said, O LORD, by the *favours* with which thou hast favoured me, I will not be an assistant to the wicked *for the future* And the next morning he was afraid in the city, and looked about him, *as one apprehensive of danger* and behold, he whom he had assisted the day before cried out unto him *for help a second time* But Moses said unto him, Thou art plainly a quarrelsome fellow And when he sought to lay hold on him who was an enemy unto them both, he said, O Moses, Dost thou intend to kill me, as thou killedst a man yesterday?^s Thou seekest only to be an oppressor in the earth, and seekest not to be a reconciler of *quarrels* * And a *certain* man,^t came from the farther part of the city, running hastily, and said, O Moses, verily the magistrates are deliberating concerning thee, to put thee to death depart, therefore, I certainly advise thee well Wherefore he departed out of the *city* in great fear, looking this way and that, *lest he should be pursued* And he said, O LORD, deliver me from the unjust people. And when he was journeying towards Madian, he said, Peradventure my LORD will direct me in the right way ^x And when he arrived at the water of Madian, he found about the *well* a company of men, who were watering *their flocks* And he found, besides them, two women,[†]

^p Viz at noon, at which time it is usual in those countries, for people to retire to sleep, or as others rather suppose, a little within night

^q i. e The one being an Israelite of his own religion and nation, and the other an idolatrous Egyptian

^r Mohammed allows that Moses killed the Egyptian wrongfully, but, to excuse it, supposes that he struck him without designing to kill him

^s Some suppose these words to have been spoken by the Israelite, who because Moses had reprimanded him, imagined he was going to strike him and others, by the Egyptian, who either knew or suspected that Moses had killed his countryman the day before

^t Wilt thou hearken only to thy violence? Hast thou then, renounced virtue?"

^x This person, says the tradition, was an Egyptian and Pharaoh's uncle's son, but a true believer, who finding that the king had been informed of what Moses had done, and designed to put him to death, gave him immediate notice to provide for his safety by flight.

[†] For Moses knew not the way and coming to a place where three roads met, committed himself to the guidance of God, and took the middle road, which was the right, providence likewise so ordering it, that his pursuers took the other two roads and missed him.¹ Some say that he was led by an angel in the appearance of a traveller²

[†] 'Two sisters.'—*Savary*

who kept off *their sheep at a distance*. And he said *unto them*, What is the matter with you? They answered, We shall not water *our flock*, until the shepherds shall have driven away *theirs*, for our father is an old man, stricken in years. So *Moses watered their sheep* for them,⁷ and afterwards retired to the shade, saying, O LORD, verily I stand in need of the good which thou shalt send down unto me. And one of the *damsels*^a came unto him,^{*} walking bashfully, and said, My father calleth thee, that he may recompense thee for the *trouble which thou hast taken in watering our sheep* for us. And when he was come unto *Shoarb*, and had told him the story of *his adventures*,† he said *unto him*, Fear not thou hast escaped from unjust people. And one of the *damsels* said, My father, hire him for *certain wages* the best *servant* thou canst hire is an able and trusty person.^{*} And *Shoarb* said *unto Moses*, Verily I will give thee one of these my two daughters in marriage, on condition that thou serve me for hire eight years and if thou fulfil ten years, it is in thine own breast, for I seek not to impose a hardship on thee and thou shalt find me, if God please, a man of probity.‡ *Moses* answered, *Let this be the covenant between me and thee* whichever of the two terms I shall fulfil let it be no crime in me *if I then quit thy service*, and GOD is witness of that which we say. And when *Moses* had fulfilled the term^b and was journeying with his family *towards Egypt*, he saw fire on the side of mount *Sinai*. And he said unto his family, Tarry ye *here*, for I see fire peradventure I may bring you thence some tidings of the way,^c or at least a brand out of the fire, that ye may

⁷ By rolling away a stone of a prodigious weight which had been laid over the mouth of the well by the shepherds and required no less than seven men (though some name a much larger number) to remove it.⁸

This was Sefūra (or Zipporah) the elder or as others suppose the younger daughter of Shoarb whom Moses afterwards married.

^{*} "One of the sisters came unto him"—*Savary*

† (When *Moses* arrived at the residence of *Shoarb* says *Jallaloddin* he found dinner ready "Be seated and eat with us" said the old man. I will not accept thy offer replied *Moses*, "as a reward for the service which I have rendered to thy daughters. To do good without receiving a recompence for it is an inviolable law in my family." And it is my custom" answered *Shoarb* "and was that of my ancestors to give a kind reception to shy guests, and to supply them with food.—Hospitality is still held in respect by the *Turks*. If a stranger introduces himself at meal times, he is made to sit down and is treated like the rest. No one asks whence he comes, whither he is going or what he is, questions which are so painful to the unfortunate. He is a man who is come at the hour of repast, he is received as if he were one of the family, and is treated with the same kindness. The consequence of this is that no Mohammedan is ever seen degrading humanity by exposing his misery to his fellow creatures in the streets and highways).—*Savary*

^a The girl being asked by her father how she knew *Moses* deserved this character told him that he had removed the vast stone above mentioned without any assistance, and that he looked not in her face but held down his head till he had heard her message and desired her to walk behind him because the wind ruffled her garments a little, and discovered some part of her legs.⁴

‡ "If God please, thou shalt experience on my part only humanity and justice"—*Savary*

^b *Viz.*, the longest term of ten years. The Mohammedans say after the Jews,⁵ that *Moses* received from *Shoarb* the rod of the prophets, (which was a branch of a myrtle of paradise, and had descended to him from Adam,) to keep off the wild beasts from his sheep, and that this was the rod with which he performed all those wonders in Egypt.

^c See chap 20, p 256.

³ *Al Beidawni* *Jallaloddin*, *Interp Yahya*. ⁴ *Idem* ⁵ *Vide Shala hakkab* p 12, R. *Eluez. Firke*, c 40, &c.

be warmed And when he was come thereto, a voice cried unto him from the right side of the valley, in the sacred bottom, from the tree, *saying*, O Moses, verily I am God, the LORD of all creatures cast down now thy rod. And when he saw it that it moved, as though it *had been* a serpent, he retreated and fled, and returned not. *And God said unto him*, O Moses, draw near, and fear not, for thou art safe Put thy hand into thy bosom, and it shall come forth white, without any hurt draw back thy hand^e unto thee *which thou stretchest forth* for fear These shall be two evident signs from thy LORD, unto Pharaoh and his princes, for they are a wicked people. *Moses said*, O LORD, verily I have slain one of them, and I fear they will put me to death but my brother Aaron is of a more eloquent tongue than I am, wherefore send him with me for an assistant, that he may gain me credit, for I fear lest they accuse me of imposture *God said*, We will strengthen thine arm by thy brother, and we will give each of you *extraordinary* power, so that they shall not come up to you, in our signs. Ye two, and whoever shall follow you, *shall be* the conquerors. And when Moses came unto them with our evident signs, they said, This is no other than a deceitful piece of sorcery neither have we heard of *any thing like* this among our forefathers And Moses said, My LORD best knoweth who cometh with a direction from him, and who shall have success in this life, *as well as the next* but the unjust shall not prosper And Pharaoh said, O princes, I did not know that ye had any *other* god besides me^e Wherefore do thou O Haman, burn me clay *into bricks*, and build me a high tower,^f that I may ascend unto the God of Moses for I verily believe him to be a liar And both he and his forces behaved themselves insolently and unjustly in the earth, and imagined that they should not be brought before us *to be judged*. Wherefore we took him and his forces, and cast them into the sea Behold, therefore, what was the end of the unjust And we made them *deceitful* guides, inviting *their followers* to hell fire, and on the day of resurrection they shall not be screened *from punishment* We pursued them with a curse in this *life*, and on the day of resurrection they *shall be* shamefully rejected And we gave the book of the *Law* unto Moses, after he had destroyed t^h former generations, to enlighten *the minds* of men, and for a direction, and a mercy, that peradventure they might consider Thou, *O prophet*, wast not on the west side of *mount Sinai*, when we delivered Moses *his* commission neither wast thou one of

^e Literally *thy wing* the expression alludes to the action of birds which stretch forth their wings to fly away when they are frightened, and fold them together again when they think themselves secure^e

^e See chap 26, p 303

^f It is said that Haman, having prepared bricks and other materials employed no less than fifty thousand men, besides labourers, in the building which they carried to so immense a height that the workmen could no longer stand on it that Pharaoh, ascending this tower threw a javelin towards heaven which fell back again stained with blood, whereupon he impiously boasted that he had killed the God of Moses, but at sunset God sent the angel Gabriel who with one stroke of his wing demolished the tower, a part whereof, falling on the king's army, destroyed a million of men^f

those who were present *at his receiving it* but we raised up *several* generations *after Moses*, and life was prolonged unto them Neither didst thou dwell among the inhabitants of Madian, rehearsing unto them our signs, but we have sent *thee fully instructed in every particular* Nor wast thou *present* on the side of the mount, when we called unto *Moses*, but *thou art sent as a mercy from thy LORD*, that thou mightest preach unto a people to whom no preacher hath come before thee,[§] that peradventure they may be warned, and lest, if a calamity had befallen them, for that which their hands had previously committed, they should have said, O LORD, since thou hast not sent an apostle unto us, that we might follow thy signs, and become true believers, *are we not excusable?* Yet when the truth is come unto them from before us, they say, Unless he receive the same *power to work miracles* as Moses received, *we will not believe* Have they not likewise rejected the *revelation* which was heretofore given unto Moses? They say, two cunning impostures^h have mutually assisted one another and they say, Verily we reject them both Say, Produce therefore a book from God, which is more right than these two, that I may follow it, if ye speak truth But if they return thee no answer, know that they only follow their own desires and who erreth more widely *from the truth* than he who followeth his own desire, without a direction from God? Verily God directeth not the unjust people And now have we caused our word to come unto them, that they may be admonished They unto whom we have given the scriptures *which were revealed* before it, believe in the same, and when it is read unto them say, We believe therein, it is certainly the truth from our LORD verily we were Moslems before this.ⁱ These shall receive their reward twice,^k because they have persevered, and repel evil by good, and distribute *alms* out of that which we have bestowed on them, and when they hear vain discourse, avoid the same, saying, We have our works, and ye have your works, peace be on you,^l we covet not the acquaintance of the ignorant Verily thou canst not direct whom thou wilt but God directeth whom he pleaseth, and he best knoweth those who will submit to be directed *The Meccans* say, If we follow the *same* direction with thee, we shall be forcibly expelled our land^m Have we not established for them a secure asylum,ⁿ to which

§ I hat is, to the Arabians to whom no prophet had been sent, at least since Ismael

^h Viz., the Pentateuch and the Koran Some copies read, *Two impostors*, meaning Moses and Mohammed

ⁱ Holding the same faith in fundamentals, before the revelation of the Koran, which we receive because it is consonant to the scriptures and attested to by them. The passage intends those Jews and Christians who had embraced Mohammedism.

^k Because they have believed both in their own scriptures, and in the Koran

^l See chap 25, p 300 note ^p

^m This objection was made by Al Hareth Ebn Othman Ebn Nawfal Ebn Abd Menaf, who came to Mohammed and told him that the Koreish believed he preached the truth, but were apprehensive that, if they made the Arabs their enemies by quitting their religion, they would be obliged likewise to quit Mecca, being but a handful of men, in comparison to the whole nation ⁿ

ⁿ By giving them for their habitation the sacred territory of Mecca, a place protected by God, and revered by man

fruits of every sort are brought, as a provision for our bounty? but the greater part of them do not understand How many cities have we destroyed, *whose inhabitants* lived in ease and plenty? and these their dwellings are not inhabited after them, unless for a little while,* and we were the inheritors of *their wealth* P* But thy LORD did not destroy *those* cities, until he had sent unto their capital an apostle, to rehearse our signs unto them neither did we destroy *those* cities, unless their inhabitants *were* injurious to *their apostle* † The things which are given you are the provisions of this present life, and the pomp thereof, but that which is with GOD is better and more durable will ye not therefore understand? Shall he then, unto whom we have promised an excellent promise of *future happiness*, and *who* shall attain the same, *be* as he on whom we have bestowed the provision of this present life, and who, on the day of resurrection, *shall be one* of those who are delivered up to *eternal punishment*? On *that* day GOD shall call unto them, and shall say, Where are my partners, which ye imagined to be so? And they upon whom the sentence of *damnation* shall be justly pronounced shall answer, These, O LORD, are those whom we seduced, we seduced them as we *also* had been seduced *but now* we clearly quit them, and turn unto thee They did not worship us, *but their own lusts* † And it shall be said *unto the idolaters*, Call *now* upon those whom ye associated with GOD and they shall call upon them, but they shall not answer them, and they shall see the punishment *prepared for them*, and shall wish that they had submitted to be directed. On *that* day, GOD shall call unto them, and shall say, What answer did ye return to *our* messengers? But they shall not be able to give an account *thereof* on that day, † neither shall they ask one another *for information*. Howbeit whoso shall repent and believe, and shall do that which is right, may expect to be happy Thy LORD createth what he pleaseth, and chooseth freely *but* they have no free choice Praise be unto GOD, and far be he removed from *the idols* which they associate with him! Thy LORD knoweth *both the secret malice* which their breasts conceal, and *the open hatred* which they discover He is GOD, there is no GOD but he Unto him is the praise *due*, both in this life and in that which is to come unto him *doth* judgment belong, and before him shall ye be assembled *at the last day* Say, what think ye? If GOD should cover you with perpetual night, until the day of resurrection, what god, besides GOD, would bring you light? Will ye not therefore hearken? Say, What think ye?

* That is, for a day, or a few hours only while travellers stay there to rest and refresh themselves, or as the original may also signify, *unless by a few inhabitants* some of those ancient cities and dwellings being utterly desolate, and others thinly inhabited.

† There being none left to enjoy it after them

* “How many cities have we destroyed, which were devoted to lust and debauchery? The greatest number of these cities have not again been inhabited and we retain the inheritance of them”—*Savary*

† ‘God overthrew no empire before he sent unto the capital of it a prophet to preach his commandments and the cities of which the inhabitants were impious are those alone which were destroyed.’—*Savary*

† See chap 10 p 169

† Literally, *The account thereof shall be dark unto them*, for the consternation they shall then be under will render them stupid, and unable to return an answer

If GOD should give you continual day, until the day of resurrection, what god, besides GOD, would bring you night, that ye might rest therein? Will ye not therefore consider? Of his mercy he hath made for you the night and the day, that ye may rest in the one, and may seek to obtain provision for yourselves of his abundance, by your industry in the other, and that ye may give thanks. On a certain day God shall call unto them, and shall say, Where are my partners, which ye imagined to share the divine power with me? And we will produce a witness out of every nation,* and will say, Bring hither your proof of what ye have asserted. And they shall know that the right is God's alone, and the deities which they have devised shall abandon them. Karun was of the people of Moses,¹ but he behaved insolently towards them for we had given him so much treasure, that his keys would have loaded several strong men.² When his people said unto him, Rejoice not immoderately, for God loveth not those who rejoice in their riches immoderately but seek to attain, by means of the wealth which God hath given thee the future mansion of paradise.³ And forget not thy portion in this world, but be thou bounteous unto others, as God hath been bounteous unto thee, and seek not to act corruptly in the earth, for God loveth not the corrupt doers. He answered, I have received these riches, only because of the knowledge which is with me.⁴

* *Viz* the prophet who shall have been sent to each nation

¹ The commentators say, Karûn was the son of Yeshar (or Izhar), the uncle of Moses, and consequently make him the same with the Korah of the scriptures. This person is represented by them as the most beautiful of the Israelites, and so far surpassing them all in opulency, that the riches of Karûn have become a proverb. The Mohammedans are indebted to the Jews for this last circumstance, to which they have added several other fables for they tell us that he built a large palace overlaid with gold the doors whereof were of massy gold that he became so insolent, because of his immense riches as to raise a sedition against Moses though some pretend the occasion of his rebellion to have been his unwillingness to give alms, as Moses had commanded that one day when that prophet was preaching to the people, and among other laws which he published declared that adulterers should be stoned, Karûn asked him, what if he should be found guilty of the same crime? to which Moses answered that in such case he would suffer the same punishment, and thereupon Karûn produced a harlot, whom he had hired to swear that Moses had lain with her and charged him publicly with it, but on Moses's adjuring the woman to speak the truth her resolution failed her and she confessed that she was suborned by Karûn to accuse him wrongfully, that then God directed Moses, who had complained to him of this usage to command the earth what he pleased, and it should obey him, whereupon he said *O earth, swallow them up!* and that immediately the earth opened under Karûn and his confederates, and swallowed them up, with his palace and all his riches.¹ There goes a tradition, that as Karûn sunk gradually into the ground, first to his knees, then to his waist, then to his neck he cried out four several times *O Moses, have mercy on me!* but that Moses continued to say *O earth swallow them up* till at last he wholly disappeared upon which God said to Moses, *Thou hadst no mercy on Karûn, though he asked pardon of thee four times, but I would have had compassion on him, if he had asked pardon of me but once.*²

² The original word properly signifies any number of persons from ten to forty. Some pretend these keys were a sufficient load for seventy men, and Abulfeda says forty mules used to be employed to carry them.

³ This passage is parallel to that in the New Testament, *Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when ye fail they may receive you into everlasting habitations.*³

⁴ For some say he was the most learned of all the Israelites, and the best versed

¹ Abu Ifeda, Jallaloddin Al Beidâwi, &c
Bibl Orient. Art. Carun

² Luke xvi. 9

³ Al Beidâwi. Vide D Harbei

Did he not know that God had already destroyed, before him, several generations, who were mightier than he in strength, and had amassed more abundance of riches? And the wicked shall not be asked to *discover* their crimes. And *Karun* went forth unto his people, in his pomp.* And they who loved this present life said, Oh that we had the like *wealth*, as hath been given unto *Karun*! verily he is master of a great fortune. But those on whom knowledge had been bestowed answered, Alas for you! the reward of God *in the next life* will be better unto him who shall believe and do good works but none shall attain the same, except those who persevere with constancy. And we caused the ground to cleave in sunder, and to swallow up him and his palace and he had no forces to defend him, besides God, neither was he rescued *from punishment*†. And the next morning, those who had coveted his condition the day before said, Aha! verily God bestoweth abundant provision on such of his servants as he pleaseth, and he is sparing *unto whom he pleaseth*. Unless God had been gracious unto us, certainly *the earth* had swallowed us up also. Aha! the unbelievers shall not prosper. As to this future mansion of *paradise*, we will give it unto them who seek not to exalt themselves in the earth, or to do wrong, for the *happy* issue shall attend the pious. Whoso doth good shall receive a reward which shall exceed the merit thereof but as to him who doth evil, they who work evil shall be rewarded *according to the merit* only of that which they shall have wrought. Verily, he who hath given thee the *Korân* for a rule of *faith and practice*, will certainly bring thee back home unto *Mecca*.* Say, My LORD best knoweth who cometh with a *true* direction, and who is in a manifest error. Thou didst not expect that the book of the *Korân* should be delivered unto thee but *thou hast received it* through the mercy of thy LORD. Be not therefore assisting to the unbelievers, neither let them turn thee aside from the signs of God, after they have been sent down unto thee and invite *men* unto thy LORD. And be not thou an idolater, neither invoke any other god, together with the *true* God there is no god but he. Every thing shall perish, except himself unto him *belongeth* judgment, and before him shall ye be assembled at the last day.

In the law after Moses and Aaron, others pretend he was skilled in chemistry or in merchandizing or other arts of gain, and others suppose (as the Jews also fable†) that he found out the treasures of Joseph in Egypt‡.

* It is said he rode on a white mule adorned with trappings of gold and that he was clothed in purple, and attended by four thousand men, all well mounted and richly dressed.

† "The multitude of his slaves could not defend him against the arm of the Almighty, and he had no avenger — *Savary*

‡ This verse, some say, was revealed to Mohammed when he arrived at Johfa, in his flight from Mecca to Medina, to comfort him, and still his complaints.

* Vide R. Ghedâl Shalsh hakkab p 13.

† Jallâloddin Al Beidâwî.

CHAPTER XXIX

INTITLED, THE SPIDER,^b REVEALED AT MECCA •

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

A. L. M^d Do men imagine that it shall be sufficient for them^e to say, We believe, while they be not proved !^f We heretofore proved those who were before them, for GOD will surely know them who are sincere, and he will surely know the liars. Do they who work evil think that they shall prevent us *from taking vengeance on them* ? An ill judgment do they make. Whoso hopeth to meet GOD, verily GOD's appointed time will certainly come, and he *both* heareth and knoweth. Whoever striveth to *promote the true religion* striveth for the advantage of his own soul, for GOD needeth not any of *his* creatures and *as to those* who believe and work righteousness, we will expiate their evil deeds from them, and we will give them a reward according to the utmost merit of their actions. We have commanded man to *show* kindness towards his parents but if they endeavour to prevail with thee to associate with me that concerning which thou hast no knowledge, obey them not^g. Unto me shall ye return, and I will declare unto you what ye have done. Those who shall believe, and shall work righteousness, we will surely introduce *into paradise*, among the upright. There are some men who say, We believe in GOD but when *such a one* is afflicted for GOD's sake, he esteemeth the persecution of men to be as grievous as the punishment of GOD. Yet if success cometh from thy LORD, they say, Verily we are with you. Doth not GOD well know that which is in the breast of *his* creatures ? Verily GOD well knoweth the true believers, and he well knoweth the hypocrites. The unbelievers say unto those who believe, Follow our way, and we will bear your sins. Howbeit, they shall not bear any part of their sins, for they are liars but they shall surely bear their own burdens, and *other* burdens besides their own burdens,^h and they shall be examined, on the day of resurrection, con-

^b Transient mention is made of this insect towards the middle of the chapter

^c Some think the first ten verses ending with these words *And he well knoweth the hypocrites* were revealed at Medina, and the rest at Mecca, and others believe the reverse

^d See the Prelim Disc sect iii p 42, &c.

^e Literally, *That they shall be let alone* &c

^f This passage reprehends the impatience of some of the prophet's companions, under the hardships which they sustained in defence of their religion, and the losses which they suffered from the infidels, representing to them that such trials and afflictions were necessary to distinguish the sincere person from the hypocrite, and the steady from the wavering. Some suppose it to have been occasioned by the death of Mahja, Omar's slave killed by an arrow at the battle of Bedr, which was deeply lamented and laid to heart by his wife and parents.

^g That is if they endeavour to pervert thee to idolatry. The passage is said to have been revealed on account of Saad Ebn Abi Wakkas, and his mother Hamna, who, when she heard that her son had embraced Mohammedism swore that she would neither eat nor drink till he returned to his old religion, and kept her oath for three days.

^h *Viz*, the guilt of seducing others, which shall be added to the guilt of their own obstinacy, without diminishing the guilt of such as shall be seduced by them.

cerning that which they have falsely devised.* We heretofore sent Noah unto his people, and he tarried among them one thousand years, save fifty years¹ and the deluge took them away, while they *were* acting unjustly, but we delivered him and those who were in the ark, and we made the same² a sign unto *all* creatures We also sent Abraham, when he said unto his people, Serve God, and fear him, this *will be* better for you, if ye understand Ye only worship idols besides God, and forge a lie. Verily those which ye worship, besides God, are not able to make any provision for you seek therefore *your* provision from God, and serve him, and give thanks unto him, unto him shall ye return If ye charge *me* with imposture,³ verily *sundry* nations before you *likewise* charged *their* prophets with imposture but public preaching only *is incumbent* on an apostle Do they not see how God produceth creatures, and afterwards restoreth them?⁴ Verily this *is* easy with God† Say, go through the earth, and see how he originally produceth creatures afterwards will God reproduce another production, for God *is* almighty He will punish whom he pleaseth, and he will have mercy on whom he pleaseth Before him shall ye be brought *at the day of judgment* and ye shall not escape *his reach*, either in earth, or in heaven⁵ neither shall ye have any patron or defender besides God *As for* those who believe not in the signs of God, or that they shall meet him *at the resurrection*, they shall despair of my mercy, and for them *is* a painful punishment *prepared* And the answer of his people was no other than that they said, Slay him, or burn him But God saved him from the fire⁶ Verily herein were signs unto people who believed And Abraham said,

* "They shall bear only the burden of their own iniquities, and at the day of resurrection they shall be called on to answer for their falsehood" — *Savary*

¹ This is true if the whole life of Noah be reckoned and accordingly Abu l-feda says he was sent to preach in his two hundred and fiftieth year and that he lived in all nine hundred and fifty but the text seeming to speak of those years only which he spent in preaching to the wicked antediluvians, the commentators suppose him to have lived much longer Some say the whole length of his life was a thousand and fifty years, that his mission happened in the fortieth year of his age and that he lived after the flood sixty years⁸ and others give different numbers, one in particular, pretending that Noah lived near sixteen hundred years⁹

This circumstance, says al Beidâwî, was mentioned to encourage Mohammed, and to assure him that God who supported Noah so many years against the opposition and plots of the antediluvian infidels who would not fail to defend him against all attempts of the idolatrous Meccans and their partisans

² : e The ark.

³ This seems to be part of Abraham's speech to his people but some suppose that God here speaks by way of apostrophe, first to the Koreish and afterwards to Mohammed, and that the parenthesis is continued to these words, *And the answer of his people was no other, &c.* In which case we should have said, *If ye charge Mohammed your apostle with imposture &c.*

⁴ The infidels are bid to consider how God causeth the fruits of the earth to spring forth, and reneweth them every year, as in the preceding, which is an argument of his power to raise man, whom he created at first, to life again after death, at his own appointed time.

† Have they not seen how God produceth a creature? It is thus that he will call it to life again This miracle is easy unto his power — *Savary*

⁵ See Psalm cxxxix 7 &c

⁶ See chap 21, p 260

Ye have taken idols, besides GOD, *to cement*, affection between you in this life but on the day of resurrection, the one of you shall deny the other, and the one of you shall curse the other, and your abode shall be *hell* fire, and there shall be none to deliver you * And Lot believed on him. And *Abraham* said, Verily I fly from my people, unto the place which my LORD hath commanded me, for he is the mighty, the wise. And we gave him Isaac and Jacob, and we placed among his descendants the gift of prophecy and the scriptures and we gave him his reward in this world, and in the next he shall be *one* of the righteous. We also sent Lot, when he said unto his people, Do ye commit filthiness which no creature hath committed before you? Do ye approach *lustfully* unto men, and lay wait in the highways,^p and commit wickedness in your assembly?^q And the answer of his people was no other than that they said, Bring down the vengeance of GOD upon us, if thou speakest truth Lot said, O LORD, defend me against the corrupt people. And when our messengers came unto Abraham with good tidings,^r they said, we will surely destroy the inhabitants of this city, for the inhabitants thereof are unjust doers. Abraham answered, Verily Lot dwelleth there They replied, We well know who dwelleth therein, we will surely deliver him and his family, except his wife, she shall be *one* of those who remain behind And when our messengers came unto Lot, he was troubled for them, and his arm was straitened concerning them * But they said, Fear not, neither be grieved, for we will deliver thee and thy family, except thy wife, for she shall be *one* of those who remain behind We will surely bring down upon the inhabitants of this city vengeance from heaven, for that they have been wicked doers, and we have left thereof a manifest sign^t unto people who understand And unto the inhabitants of Madian we sent their brother Shoaib, and he said unto them, O my people, serve GOD, and expect the last day, and transgress not, acting corruptly in the earth But they accused him of imposture, wherefore a storm from heaven^u assailed them,[†] and in the morning they were found in their dwellings dead and prostrate And we also destroyed the tribes of Ad, and Thamud, and this is well known unto you from what yet remains of their dwellings And Satan prepared their works for them,[‡] and turned them aside from the way of truth, although they were sagacious people. And we likewise destroyed Kainan,

* "You have lavished, said he, your incense and your love on impotent deities at the day of resurrection one part of you shall disown the other and shall load it with curses Your abode shall be hell and ye shall not find a defender —Savary

^p Some suppose the Sodomites robbed and murdered the passengers, others that they unnaturally abused their bodies.

^q Their meetings being scenes of obscenity and riot

^r See chap 11 p 182.

^s See ibid p 183

^t *Viz*, The story of its destruction handed down by common tradition, or else its ruins, or some other footsteps of this signal judgment it being pretended that several of the stones, which fell from heaven on those cities are still to be seen, and that the ground where they stood appears burnt and blackish.

^u See chap 7 p 126.

[†] "An earthquake caused them to perish."—Savary

"The tempter hid vice for them under flowers —Savary

and Pharaoh, and Haman. Moses came unto them with evident *miracles*, and they behaved themselves insolently in the earth but they could not escape *our vengeance*. Every of them did we destroy in his sin. Against some of them we sent a violent wind [†] some of them did a terrible noise from heaven destroy [‡] some of them did we cause the earth to swallow up [§] and some of them we drowned.[¶] Neither was God *disposed* to treat them unjustly, but they dealt unjustly with their own souls. The likeness of those who take *other* patrons besides God is as the likeness of the spider, which maketh herself a house but the weakest of *all* houses surely is the house of the spider, if they knew *this*. Moreover God knoweth what things they invoke, besides him, and he *is* the mighty, the wise. These similitudes do we propound unto men but none understand them, except the wise. God hath created the heavens and the earth in truth, verily herein *is* a sign unto the true believers. [*XXI] Rehearse that which hath been revealed unto thee of the book of the *Korân* and be constant at prayer, for prayer preserveth *a man* from filthy crimes, and *from* that which is blameable, and the remembering of God is surely a most important *duty*. God knoweth that which ye do. Dispute not against those who have received the scriptures, unless in the mildest manner [¶] except against such of them as behave injuriously *towards you*, and say, We believe in the *revelation* which hath been sent down unto us, and *also in that which* hath been sent down unto you, our God and your God is one, and unto him are we resigned. Thus have we sent down the book of the *Korân* unto thee and they unto whom we have given the *former* scriptures believe therein and of these *Arabians also there is* who believeth therein and none reject our signs except the *obstinate* infidels. Thou couldst not read any book before this neither couldst thou write it with thy right hand then had the gainsayers *justly* doubted of the *divine original thereof*. But the same *is* evident signs in the breasts of those who have received understanding for none reject our signs except the unjust. They say, Unless a sign be sent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe*. Answer, Signs are in the power of God alone, and I am *no more than* a public preacher. Is it not sufficient for them that we have sent down unto thee the book of the *Korân*, to be read unto them? Verily herein *is* a mercy, and an admonition unto people who believe. Say, God is a sufficient witness between me and you he knoweth whatever is in heaven and earth, and those who believe in vain *idols*, and deny God, they shall perish. They will urge thee to hasten the punishment *which they defy thee to bring down upon them* ^b if there had not been a determined time for

[†] The original word properly signifies a wind that drives the gravel and small stones before it, by which the storm or shower of stones, which destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, seems to be intended.

[‡] Which was the end of Ad and Thamud.

[§] As it did Karûn.

[¶] As the unbelievers in Noah's time, and Pharaoh and his army.

^a i. e. Without ill language or passion. This verse is generally supposed to have been abrogated by that of the *sword*, though some think it relates only to those who are in alliance with the Moslems.

^b See chap 6 p 103.

their respite, the punishment had come upon them *before this*, but it shall surely overtake them suddenly, and they shall not foresee it. They urge thee to bring down vengeance swiftly upon them but hell shall surely encompass the unbelievers. On a *certain day* *their* punishment shall suddenly assail them, *both* from above them, and from under their feet, and God shall say, Taste ye *the reward* of that which ye have wrought. O my servants who have believed, verily my earth is spacious, wherefore serve me.* Every soul shall taste death afterwards shall ye return unto us, and as for those who shall have believed, and wrought righteousness, we will surely lodge them in the higher apartments of paradise, * rivers shall flow beneath them, and they shall continue therein for ever How excellent *will be* the reward of the workers of *righteousness*, who persevere with patience, and put their trust in the LORD! How many beasts *are there*, which provide not their food? *It is* God who provideth for them, and for you, and he *both* heareth and knoweth Verily, if thou ask *the Meccans*, who hath created the heavens and the earth, and hath obliged the sun and the moon to serve *in their courses*? they will answer, God How therefore do they lie, *in acknowledging of other gods*? God maketh abundant provision for such of his servants as he pleaseth, and is sparing unto him, *if he pleaseth* for God knoweth all things^d Verily if thou ask them, who sendeth rain from heaven, and thereby quickeneth the earth, after it hath been dead? they will answer, God Say, God be praised! But the greater part of them do not understand. This present life is no other than a toy, and a plaything, but the future mansion of *paradise* is life indeed if they knew *this they would not prefer the former to the latter* When they sail in a ship, they call upon God, sincerely exhibiting unto him the *true religion* but when he bringeth them safe to land, behold, they return to their idolatry, to show themselves ungrateful for that which we have bestowed on them, and that they may enjoy *the delights of this life*, but they shall hereafter know *the issue* Do they not see that we have made *the territory of Mecca* an inviolable and secure *asylum*, when men are spoiled *in the countries* round about them?† Do they therefore believe in that which is vain, and acknowledge not the goodness of God? But who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie against God, or denieth the truth, when it hath come unto him? Is there not in hell an abode for the unbelievers? Whoever do their utmost endeavour to promote our true religion, we will direct them into our ways, for God is with the righteous.

* That is If ye cannot serve me in one city or country fly into another, where ye may profess the true religion in safety, for the earth is wide enough and ye may easily find places of refuge Mohammed is said to have declared, That whoever flies for the sake of his religion, though he stir but the distance of a span merits paradise, and shall be the companion of Abraham and of himself¹⁰

* "Those who shall have professed Islamism and practised charity shall dwell eternally in the garden of delights through which rivers flow —Savary

^d And particularly who will make a good, and who will make a bad, use of their riches

† "See they not that we have given unto them a secure asylum, while the men who dwell around them are led away captive? —Savary

CHAPTER XXX.

INTITLED, THE GREEKS,* REVEALED AT MECCA†

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

A L M[§] The Greeks have been overcome *by the Persians*^h in the

The original word is al Rum, by which the later Greeks or subjects of the Constantinopolitan empire are here meant, though the Arabs give the same name also to the Romans, and other Europeans

† Some except the verse beginning at these words, *Praise be unto God.*

§ See the Prelim Disc sect in p 42, &c

^h The accomplishment of the prophecy contained in this passage which is very famous among the Mohammedans, being insisted on by their doctors as a convincing proof that the Koran really came down from heaven, it may be excusable to be a little particular

The passage is said to have been revealed on occasion of a great victory obtained by the Persians over the Greeks, the news whereof coming to Mecca, the infidels became strangely elated and began to abuse Mohammed and his followers imagining that this success of the Persians who like themselves were idolaters and supposed to have no scriptures, against the Christians who pretended, as well as Mohammed to worship one God and to have divine scriptures was an earnest of their own future successes against the prophet and those of his religion to check which vain hopes, it was foretold in the words of the text that how improbable soever it might seem yet the scale should be turned in a few years, and the vanquished Greeks prevail as remarkably against the Persians

That this prophecy was exactly fulfilled the commentators fail not to observe, though they do not exactly agree in the accounts they give of its accomplishment the number of years between the two actions being not precisely determined Some place the victory gained by the Persians in the fifth year before the Hejra and their defeat by the Greeks in the second year after it, when the battle of Bedr was fought others place the former in the third or fourth year before the Hejra and the latter in the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh year after it, when the expedition of al Hodeibrah was undertaken †

The date of the victory gained by the Greeks in the first of these accounts, interferes with a story which the commentators tell of a wager laid by Abu Becr with Obba Ebn Khalf, who turned this prophecy into ridicule Abu Becr at first laid ten young camels that the Persians should receive an overthrow within three years but on his acquainting Mohammed with what he had done that prophet told him that the word *bed*, made use of in this passage signified no determinate number of years but any number from three to nine (though some suppose the tenth year is included) and therefore advised him to prolong the time and to raise the wager, which he accordingly proposed to Obba and they agreed that the time assigned should be nine years and the wager a hundred camels Before the time was elapsed Obba died of a wound received at Ohod in the third year of the Hejra † but the event afterwards showing that Abu Becr had won, he received the camels of Obba's heirs, and brought them in triumph to Mohammed †

History informs us that the successes of Khosru Parviz, king of Persia, who carried on a terrible war against the Greek empire to revenge the death of Maurice his father in law, slain by Phocas were very great, and continued in an uninterrupted course for two and twenty years Particularly in the year of Christ 615 about the beginning of the sixth year before the Hejra, the Persians, having the preceding year conquered Syria, made themselves masters of Palestine and took Jerusalem which seems to be that signal advantage gained over the Greeks mentioned in this passage, as agreeing best with the terms here used and most likely to alarm the Arabs by reason of their vicinity to the scene of action, and there was so little probability at that time of the Greeks being able to retrieve their losses, much less to distress the Persians that in the following years the arms of the latter made still farther and more considerable progresses, and at length they laid siege to Constantinople itself But in the year 625, in which the fourth year of the Hejra began, about ten years after the taking of Jerusalem, the Greeks when it was least expected, gained a remarkable victory over the Persians, and not only obliged them

† Jallalo ddin &c † Al Zamakh al Beidawi. † See page 296, note † Al Beidawi Jallalo ddin, &c.

nearest part of the land , *¹ but after their defeat, they shall overcome *the others in their turn*, within a few years. Unto GOD *belongeth* the disposal of *this matter*, both for what is past, and for what is to come and on that day shall the believers rejoice in the success granted by GOD , for he granteth success unto whom he pleaseth, and he *is* the mighty, the merciful. *This is* the promise of GOD GOD will not act contrary to his promise , but the greater part of men know not *the veracity of God* They know the outward appearance of this present life , but they are careless as to the life to come † Do they not consider within themselves that GOD hath not created the heavens and the earth, and whatever *is* between them, otherwise than in truth, and *hath set them* a determined period ? Verily a great number of men reject the belief of *their future* meeting their LORD *at the resurrection*. Do they not pass through the earth and see what hath been the end of those who *were* before them ? They excelled *the Meccas* in strength, and broke up the earth, ‡² and inhabited it in greater affluence and prosperity than they inhabit the same and their apostles came unto them with evident *miracles*, and GOD was not *disposed* to treat them unjustly, but they injured their own souls *by their obstinate infidelity*, and the end of those who had done evil, was evil, because they charged the signs of GOD with falsehood, and laughed the same to scorn GOD produceth creatures, and will hereafter restore them *to life* then shall ye return unto him And on the day whereon the hour shall come, the wicked shall be stuck dumb for despair and they shall have no intercessors from among the *idols* which they associated *with God* And they shall deny *the false gods* which they associated with *him* On the day whereon the hour shall come, on that day shall *the true believers and the infidels* be separated and they who shall have believed, and wrought righteousness, shall take their pleasure in a delightful meadow , but *as for* those who shall have disbelieved, and rejected our signs and the meeting of the next life, they shall be delivered up to punishment Wherefore glorify GOD, when the evening overtaketh you, and when ye rise in

to quit the territories of the empire, by carrying the war into their own country, but drove them to the last extremity and spoiled the capital city al Madâyen Heraclius enjoying thenceforward a continued series of good fortune to the deposition and death of Khosru For more exact information on these matters and more nicely fixing the dates, either so as to correspond with, or to overturn this pretended prophecy (neither of which is my business here) the reader may have recourse to the historians and chronologers †

* ' They have been defeated on the frontier — *Savary*

† Some interpreters, supposing that the land here meant is the land of Arabia, or else that of the Greeks, place the scene of action in the confines of Arabia and Syria, near Bostra and Adhraât, † others imagine the land of Persia is intended and lay the scene in Mesopotamia on the frontiers of that kingdom † but Ebn Abbas with more probability, thinks it was in Palestine

‡ Intoxicated with earthly pleasures, men forget the life which is to come "— *Savary*

† ' Have they not traversed the earth? Have they not seen what hath been the fate of the ancient nations? More powerful than they are those nations have left there monuments of their greatness. They have dwelt there for a longer period.'— *Savary*

‡ To dig for water and minerals, and to till the ground for seed, &c †

¹ Vide etiam Asseman Bibl Orient t 3, part 1, p 411 &c. et Boulainv Vie de Moham p 333, &c ² Yahya, al Beidâwi. † Mojahed, apud Zamakh. ‡ Al Beidâwi.

the morning and unto him be praise in heaven and earth, and at sunset, and when ye rest at noon¹ He bringeth forth the living out of the dead, and he bringeth forth the dead out of the living,² and he quickeneth the earth after it hath been dead and in like manner shall ye be brought forth from your graves Of his signs *one is*, that he hath created you of dust, and behold, ye *are become* men, spread *over the face of the earth*. And of his signs, *another is*, that he hath created you, out of yourselves, wives, that ye may cohabit with them, and hath put love and compassion between you verily herein are signs unto people who consider And of his signs *are also* the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the variety of your languages, and of your complexions³ verily herein are signs unto men of understanding And of his signs *are* your sleeping by night and by day, and your seeking to *provide for yourselves* of his abundance verily herein *are* signs unto people who hearken. Of his signs *others are*, that he showeth you the lightning, to *strike* terror, and to *give* hope of rain, and that he sendeth down water from heaven, and quickeneth thereby the earth, after it hath been dead verily herein *are* signs unto people who understand And of his signs *this also is one, namely*, that the heaven and the earth stand firm at command hereafter, when he shall call you out of the earth at one summons, behold ye shall come forth Unto him *are subject* who-soever are in the heavens and on earth all are obedient unto him. It is he who originally produceth a creature, and afterwards restoreth the same to life and this is most easy with him He justly challengeth the most exalted comparison, in heaven and earth,⁴ and he *is* the mighty, the wise He propoundeth unto a comparison *taken* from yourselves Have ye, among the *slaves* whom your right hands possess, any partner in the *substance* which we have bestowed on you, so that ye become equal *sharers* therein *with them*, or that ye fear them as ye fear one another?⁵ Thus we distinctly explain *our* signs unto people who understand But those who act unjustly, *by attributing companions unto God*, follow their own lusts, without knowledge and who shall direct him whom God shall cause to err? They shall have none to help them Wherefore be thou orthodox, and set thy face towards the *true* religion, the institution of God, to which he hath created mankind disposed⁶ there is no change in what God hath created⁷ This

¹ Some are of opinion that the five times of prayer are intended in this passage the evening including the time both of the prayer of sunset, and of the evening prayer properly so called and the word I have rendered at *sunset* marking the hour of afternoon prayer, since it may be applied also to the time a little before sunset.

² See chap. 3, p. 38

³ Which are certainly most wonderful and, as I conceive very hard to be accounted for if we allow the several nations in the world to be all the offspring of one man, as we are assured by scripture they are, without having recourse to the immediate omnipotency of God

⁴ That is, in speaking of him we ought to make use of the most noble and magnificent expressions we can possibly devise

⁵ See chap. 16, p. 220

⁶ Open thy heart to Islamism it is the work of God, who hath created men to embrace it it is the holy and eternal faith, but the greatest part of mankind are plunged into ignorance —Savary

⁷ The immutable law or rule, to which man is naturally disposed to conform, and which every one would embrace, as most fit for a rational creature, if it were

as the right religion, but the greater part of men know it not. *And be ye turned unto him, and fear him, and be constant at prayer, and be not idolaters.* Of those who have made a schism in their religion, and are *divided into various* sects, every sect rejoice in their own *opinion*. When adversity befalleth men, they call upon their LORD, turning unto him afterwards, when he hath caused them to taste of his mercy, behold, a part of them associate *other deities* with their LORD to show themselves ungrateful for the *favours* which we have bestowed on them. Enjoy therefore the *vain pleasures of this life*, but hereafter shall ye know the *consequence*. Have we sent down unto them any authority, which speaketh of the *false gods* which they associate with him? When we cause men to taste mercy they rejoice therein, but if evil befalleth them, for that which their hands have before committed, behold, they despair. Do they not see that God bestoweth provision abundantly on whom he pleaseth, and is sparing unto whom he pleaseth? Verily herein are signs unto people who believe. Give unto him who is of kin to thee his reasonable due, and also to the poor, and the stranger this is better for those who seek the face of God, and they shall prosper. Whatever ye shall give in usury,^t to be an increase of men's substance, shall not be increased by the *blessing of God*, but whatever ye shall give in alms, for God's sake they shall receive a two fold reward.* *It is God* who hath created you, and hath provided food for you hereafter will he cause you to die, and after that will he raise you again to life. *Is there* any of your false gods, who is able to do the least of these things? Praise be unto him, and far be he removed from what they associate with him! Corruption^u hath appeared by land and by sea, for the *crimes* which men's hands have committed, that it might make them to taste^x a part of the *fruits of that* which they have wrought, that peradventure they might turn from their evil ways. Say, Go through the earth, and see what hath been the end of those who have been before you the greater part of them were idolaters. Set thy face therefore towards the right religion, before the day cometh, which none can put back from God. On that day shall they be separated into two companies whoever shall have been an unbeliever, on him shall his unbelief be charged and whoever shall have done that which is right, shall spread themselves *couches of repose in paradise*, that he may reward those who shall believe and work righteousness, of his abundant liberality, for he loveth not the unbelievers. Of his signs *one is*, that he sendeth the winds, bearing welcome tidings of

not for the prejudices of education. The Mohammedans have a tradition that their prophet used to say *That every person is born naturally disposed to become a Moslem, but that a man's parents make him a Jew a Christian or a Magian*

^r That is have we either by the mouth of any prophet, or by any written revelation commanded or encouraged the worship of more gods than one?

^s And seek not to regain the favour of God by timely repentance.

^t Or by way of bribe. The word may include any sort of extortion or illicit gain.

^u The alms which ye shall give, in the hope of deserving to view his presence, shall be multiplied a hundred fold. —*Savary*

^v Viz mischief and public calamities such as famine pestilence, droughts, shipwrecks &c, or erroneous doctrines, or a general depravity of manners.

^x Some copies read, in the first person plural, *That we might cause them to taste, &c.*

rain, that he may cause you to taste of his mercy, and that ships may sail at his command, that ye may seek to *enrich yourselves* of his abundance by *commerce*, and that ye may give thanks. We sent apostles, before thee, unto their *respective* people, and they came unto them with evident proofs and we took vengeance on those who did wickedly, and it was incumbent on us to assist the true believers. *It is* God who sendeth the winds, and raiseth the clouds, and spreadeth the same in the heaven, as he pleaseth, and *afterwards* disperseth the same and thou mayest see the rain issuing from the midst thereof, and when he poureth the same down on such of his servants as he pleaseth, behold, they are filled with joy, although before it was sent down unto them, before *such relief*, they were despairing. Consider therefore the traces of God's mercy, how he quickeneth the earth, after its *state of death* verily the same will raise the dead, for he is almighty. Yet if we should send a *blasting* wind, and they should see *their corn yellow and burnt up* they would surely become ungrateful, after *our former favours*. Thou canst not make the dead to hear, neither canst thou make the deaf to hear *thy call*, when they retire and turn their backs neither canst thou direct the blind out of their error thou shalt make none to hear, except him who shall believe in our signs, for they are resigned *unto us*. *It is* God who created you in weakness, and after weakness hath given *you strength*, and after strength, he will *again* reduce *you* to weakness and grey hairs he createth that which he pleaseth, and he *is* the wise, the powerful. On the day whereon the *last hour* shall come, the wicked will swear that they have not *tarried*⁷ above an hour in like manner did they utter lies in *their lifetime*. But those on whom knowledge hath been bestowed, and faith, will say, Ye have tarried according to the book of God⁸ until the day of resurrection, for this *is* the day of resurrection, but ye knew it not. On that day their excuse shall not avail those who have acted unjustly, neither shall they be invited *any more* to make themselves acceptable *unto God*. And now have we propounded unto *mer*, in this Korân, parables of every kind yet if thou bring them a verse *thereof*,⁹ the unbelievers will surely say, Ye are no other than publishers of vain falsehoods. Thus hath God sealed up the hearts of those who believe not[†] But do thou, O Mohammed, persevere with constancy, for God is true, and let not those induce thee to waver, who have no certain knowledge.

⁷ *Viz*, In the world or in their graves. See chap 23 p 286

⁸ That is, according to his foreknowledge and decree in the preserved Table or according to what is said in the Korân where the state of the dead is expressed by these words,⁹ *Behind them there shall be a bar until the day of resurrection*.¹⁰

⁹ "The Koran offers multiplied examples unto men but when a miracle is displayed, the unbeliever will exclaim it is an imposture! — *Savary*

[†] 'It is thus that God sealeth the hearts of those who are blinded by ignorance — *Savary*

CHAPTER XXXI

INTITLED LOKMAN,* REVEALED AT MECCA †

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

A. L. M.‡ These are the signs of the wise book, a direction, and a mercy unto the righteous, who observe the appointed times of prayer, and give alms, and have firm assurance in the life to come these are directed by their LORD, and they shall prosper There is a man who purchaseth a ludicrous story,§ that he may seduce *men* from the way of GOD, without knowledge, and may laugh the same to scorn these shall suffer a shameful punishment * And when our signs are rehearsed unto him he disdainfully turneth his back as though he heard them not, as though there were a deafness in his ears wherefore denounce unto him a grievous punishment But they who shall believe and work righteousness shall enjoy gardens of pleasure they shall continue therein for ever *this is* the certain promise of GOD, and he is the mighty, the wise He hath created the heavens without visible pillars *to sustain them*, and thrown on the earth *mountains* firmly rooted, lest it should move with you,¶ and he hath replenished the same with all kinds of beasts and we send down rain from heaven, and cause every kind of noble *vegetable* to spring forth therein This is the creation of GOD show me now what they have created, who are worshipped besides him? verily the ungodly are in a manifest error † We heretofore bestowed wisdom on Lokman in ‡ and commanded him, saying

* The chapter is so entitled from a person of this name mentioned therein of whom more immediately

† Some except the fourth verse, beginning at these words *Who observe the appointed times of prayer and give alms* &c And others three verses, beginning at these words, *If all the trees in the earth were pens* &c

See the Lichm Disc sect iii p 42 &c

‡ i. e. Vain and silly fables The passage was revealed it is said on occasion of al Nodar Ibn al Hareth who having brought from Persia the romance of Rostam and Isfandiyar, the two heroes of that country recited it in the assemblies of the Koreish highly extolling the power and splendour of the ancient Persian kings, and preferring their stories to those of Ad and Ihamud David and Solomon and the rest which are told in the Koran Some say that al Nodar bought singing girls and carried them to those who were inclined to become Moslems, to divert them from their purpose by songs and tales †

* There are men who making a mock of religion purchase frivolous stories, calculated to seduce their fellow creatures and to turn them aside from the right path. A shameful punishment shall be their reward —Savary

† See chap 16 p 215 A learned writer in his notes on this passage, says the original word *rawāṣya* which the commentators in general will have to signify, *stable mountains*, seems properly to express the Hebrew word *mechonim* i. e. *bases* or *foundations* and therefore he thinks the Koran has here translated that passage of the Psalms *He laid the foundations of the earth, that it should not be moved for ever* ‡ This is not the only instance which might be given that the Mohammedan doctors are not always the best interpreters of their own scriptures

‡ “Behold his creation Show me that which your idols have called forth from nothing The wicked are involved in darkness —Savary

§ The Arab writers say, that Lokman was the son of Baṭra, who was the son of

‡ Al Beidāwi.

‡ Gol. in Append. ad Erpenii Gram p 187

‡ Psal civ 5

Be thou thankful unto GOD for whoever is thankful, shall be thankful to *the advantage of* his own soul, and if any shall be unthankful, verily GOD is self sufficient, and worthy to be praised And *remember* when Lokmân said unto his son,^g as he admonished him, Oh my son, give not a partner unto GOD, for polytheism *is* a great impiety We have commanded man concerning his parents^h (his mother carrieth him *in her womb* with weakness and faintness,^{*} and he is weaned in two years), *saying*, Be grateful unto me, and to thy parents Unto me shall all come *to be judged* But if *thy parents* endeavour to prevail on thee to associate with me that concerning which thou hast no knowledge, obey them not bear them company in this world in what shall be reasonable,ⁱ but follow the way of him who sincerely turneth unto me^k Hereafter unto me shall ye return, and then will I declare unto you that which ye have done O my son, verily *every matter, whether good or bad*, though it be of the weight of a grain of mustard seed, and be *hidden* in a rock, or in the heavens, or in the earth,

grandson of a sister or aunt of Job and that he lived several centuries and to the time of David with whom he was conversant in Palestine According to the description they give of his person he must have been deformed enough for they say he was of a black complexion (whence some call him an Ethiopian), with thick lips and splay feet but in return he received from GOD wisdom and eloquence in a great degree which some pretend were given him in a vision on his making choice of wisdom preferably to the gift of prophecy either of which were offered him The generality of the Mohammedans therefore hold him to have been no prophet but only a wise man As to his condition they say he was a slave but obtained his liberty on the following occasion His master having one day given him a bitter melon to eat he paid him such exact obedience as to eat it all at which his master being surprised asked how he could eat so nauseous a fruit? To which he replied it was no wonder that he should for once accept a bitter fruit from the same hand from which he had received so many favours^l The commentators mention several quick repartees of Lokmân which together with the circumstances above mentioned agree so well with what Maximus Planudes has written of Esop that from thence and from the fables attributed to Lokman by the orientals the latter has been generally thought to be no other than the Esop of the Greeks However that be (for I think the matter will bear a dispute) I am of opinion that Planudes borrowed great part of his life of Esop from the traditions he met with in the East concerning Lokmân, concluding them to have been the same person because they were both slaves and supposed to be the writers of those fables which go under their respective names, and bear a great resemblance to one another for it has long since been observed by learned men that the greater part of that monk's performance is an absurd romance and supported by no evidence of the ancient writers^m

^g Whom some name Anam (which comes pretty near the Ennus of Planudes), some Ashcan and others Mathan

^h The two verses which begin at these words and end with the following *viz And then will I declare unto you that which ye have done* are no part of Lokman's advice to his son but are inserted by way of parenthesis as very pertinent and proper to be repeated here to show the heinousness of idolatry they are to be read (excepting some additions) in the twenty ninth chapter and were originally revealed on account of Saad Ebn Abi Wakkas as has been already observedⁿ

ⁱ We have prescribed sacred duties unto man for him to perform towards the authors of his existence He has been borne with numerous pains, in the womb of his mother He has been suckled for two years Mortals be grateful for our benefits, be beneficent unto your parents I am the end of all things —*Savary*

^j That is, show them all deference and obedience, so far as may be consistent with thy duty towards GOD

^k The person particularly meant here was Abu Beer, at whose persuasion Saad had become a Moslem.

^l Al Zamakh al Bidawî &c Vide D Herbel Bibl Orient p 516, et Marracci in Ale p 547 ^m Vide la Vie d'Esopo par M de Meziriac, et Bayle, Dict Hist Art Esopo. Rem B. ⁿ See chap 29 p 320, and the notes thereon

GOD will bring the same *to light*, for GOD *is* clear sighted *and* knowing. Oh my son, be constant at prayer, and command that which is just, and forbid that which is evil and be patient under the *afflictions* which shall befall thee, for this *is* a duty absolutely incumbent *on all men*.^{*} Distort not thy face *out of contempt* to men, neither walk in the earth with insolence, for GOD loveth no arrogant, vain glorious person. And be moderate in thy pace, and lower thy voice, for the most ungrateful of *all* voices surely *is* the voice of asses.¹ Do ye not see that GOD hath subjected whatever is in heaven and on earth to your service, and hath abundantly poured on you his favours, *both* outwardly and inwardly?^m *There are* some who dispute concerning GOD without knowledge, and without a direction, and without an enlightening book. And when it is said unto them, Follow that which GOD hath revealed, they answer, Nay, we will follow that which we found our fathers to practise. What, though the devil invite them to the torment of hell? Whosoever resigneth himself unto GOD, being a worker of righteousness, taketh hold on a strong handle,[†] and unto GOD *belongeth* the issue of *all* things. But whoever shall be an unbeliever, let not his unbelief grieve thee: unto us shall they return, then will we declare unto them that which they have done, for GOD knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts *of men*. We will suffer them to enjoy *this world* for a little while: afterwards we will drive them to a severe punishment. If thou ask them who hath created the heavens and the earth, they will surely answer, GOD. Say, GOD be praised! but the greater part of them do not understand. Unto GOD *belongeth* whatever *is* in heaven and earth: for GOD *is* the self sufficient, the praiseworthy. If whatever trees *are* in the earth *were* pens, and he should after that swell the sea into seven seas *of ink*, the words of GOD would not be exhausted,ⁿ for GOD *is* mighty *and* wise. Your creation and your resurrection are but *as the creation and resurrection of one soul*.^o verily GOD *both* heareth *and* seeth. Dost thou not see that GOD causeth the night to succeed the day, and causeth the day to succeed the night, and compelleth the sun and the moon to serve *you*? Each *of those luminaries* hasteneth *in its course* to a determined period: and GOD *is* well acquainted with that which ye do. This *is declared concerning the divine knowledge and power*, for that GOD *is* the true Being, and for that whatever ye invoke, besides him, *is* vanity, and for that GOD *is* the high, the great GOD. Dost thou not see that the ships run in the sea, through the favour of GOD, that he may show you of

* "Bear patiently the calamities which befall thee. They are a consequence of the eternal decrees. —Savary

¹ To the braying of which animal the Arabs liken a loud and disagreeable voice.

^m i. e. All kinds of blessings regarding as well the mind as the body.

[†] 'He who hath devoted his heart unto Islamism and unto virtue hath seized hold of an immovable pillar. He is supported upon GOD, the end of all things' —Savary

ⁿ This passage is said to have been revealed in answer to the Jews, who insisted that all knowledge was contained in the law.⁷

^o GOD being able to produce a million of worlds by the single word *Kun*, i. e. *Be*, and to raise the dead in general by the single word *Kum*, i. e. *Arise*.

his signs? Verily herein *are* signs unto every patient, grateful person. When waves cover them, like overshadowing *clouds*, they call upon God, exhibiting the pure religion unto him, * but when he bringeth them safe to land, *there* is of them who halteth *between the true faith and idolatry*. Howbeit, none rejecteth our signs, except every perfidious, ungrateful person. O men, fear your LORD, and dread the day whereon a father shall not make satisfaction for his son, neither shall a son make satisfaction for his father at all the promise of God is assuredly true Let not this present life, therefore deceive you, neither let the deceiver^p deceive you concerning God Verily the knowledge of the hour of judgment is with God, and he causeth the rain to descend *at his own appointed time*, and he knoweth what *is* in the wombs of females No soul knoweth what it shall gain on the morrow, neither doth any soul know in what land it shall die ^q but God *is* knowing *and* fully acquainted *with all things*

CHAPTER XXXII

INTITLED, ADORATION, ^r REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

A L M^s The revelation of *this* book, *there is* no doubt thereof, *we* from the LORD of all creatures.† Will they say, Mohammed hath forged it? Nay it is the truth from thy LORD, that thou mayest preach to a people, unto whom no preacher hath come before thee, ^t peradventure they will be directed. *It is* GOD who hath created the heavens and the earth, and whatever *is* between them, in six days, and then ascended *his* throne Ye have no patron, or intercessor besides him. Will ye not therefore con

* "When the billows cover the ship like gloomy mountains the mariners call upon the name of God, they manifest unto him a sincere faith —*Savary*

^p *Yis* the devil

^q In this passage five things are enumerated which are known to God alone *viz*, the time of the day of judgment the time of rain, what is forming in the womb as whether it be male or female &c what shall happen on the morrow and where any person shall die These the Arabs according to a tradition of their prophet, call *the five keys of secret knowledge* The passage, it is said was occasioned by al Hareth Ebn Amru, who propounded questions of this nature to Mohammed

As to the last particular, al Beidawi relates the following story —The angel of death passing once by Solomon in a visible shape, and looking at one who was sitting with him the man asked who he was, and upon Solomon's acquainting him that it was the angel of death, said He seems to want me wherefore order the wind to carry me from hence into India which being accordingly done the angel said to Solomon I looked so earnestly at the man out of wonder because I was commanded to take his soul in India, and found him with thee in Palestine

This title is taken from the middle of the chapter where the believers are said to fall down adoring

^r See the Prelim Disc. sect iii p 42, &c.

† The Sovereign of the universe hath caused the Koran to descend from heaven This book ought to leave no doubt."—*Savary*

sider? He governeth *all* things from heaven even to the earth hereafter shall they return unto him, on the day whose length shall be a thousand years,^u of those which ye compute This is he who knoweth the future, and the present, the mighty, the merciful *It is he* who hath made every thing which he hath created exceeding good, and first created man of clay, and afterwards made his posterity of an extract of despicable water,^v and then formed him *into proper shape*, and breathed of his spirit into him, and hath given you *the senses of hearing and seeing, and hearts to understand* How small thanks do ye return! And they say, when we shall lie hidden in the earth, shall we be *raised thence* a new creature? Yea, they deny the meeting of their LORD *at the resurrection* Say, The angel of death,^w who is set over you, shall cause you to die then shall ye be brought back unto your LORD If thou couldest see, when the wicked shall bow down their heads before their LORD, *saying, O LORD, we have seen and have heard* suffer us therefore to return *into the world*, and we will work that which is right, since we are now certain of *the truth of what hath been preached to us* thou wouldest see an amazing sight If we had pleased we had certainly given unto every soul its direction but the word *which hath proceeded* from me must necessarily be fulfilled, *when I said, Verily I will fill hell with genii and men, altogether*^x Taste therefore *the torment prepared for you*, because ye have forgotten the coming of this your day we also have for gotten you, taste therefore the punishment of eternal duration, for that which ye have wrought Verily they only believe in our signs, who, when they are warned thereby, fall down adoring, and celebrate the praise of their LORD, and are not elated with pride their sides are raised from *their beds* calling on their LORD with fear and with hope, and they distribute alms out of what we have bestowed on them No soul^y knoweth the complete satisfaction^z which is secretly prepared for them, as a reward for that which they have wrought Shall he, therefore, who is a true believer, be as he

^u As to the reconciliation of this passage with another,^s which seems contradictory see the Prelim Disc sect iv p 60

Some, however, do not interpret the passage before us of the resurrection, but suppose that the words here describe the making and executing of the decrees of God, which are sent down from heaven to earth, and are returned (or *ascend* as the verb properly signifies,) back to him after they have been put in execution, and present themselves as it were so executed to his knowledge, in the space of a day with God but with man, of a thousand years. Others imagine this space to be the time which the angels who carry the divine decrees and bring them back executed take in descending and re ascending because the distance from heaven to earth is a journey of five hundred years and others fancy that the angels bring down at once decrees for a thousand years to come, which being expired, they return back for fresh orders &c⁹

^v i e Seed

^w See the Prelim Disc sect iv p 51

^x See chap 7 p 119 and chap 11 p 186.

^y Not even an angel of those who approach nearest Gods throne nor any prophet who hath been sent by him¹

Literally *The joy of the eyes* The commentators fail not on occasion of this passage, to produce that saying of their prophet which was originally none of his own *God saith, I have prepared for my righteous servants what eye hath not seen, nor hath ear heard nor hath entered into the heart of man to conceive*

who is an impious transgressor? They shall not be held equal. As to those who believe and do that which is right, they shall have gardens of perpetual abode, an ample recompence for that which they shall have wrought but as for those who impiously transgress, their abode *shall be hell fire*, so often as they shall endeavour to get thereout, they shall be dragged back into the same, and it shall be said unto them, Taste ye the torment of *hell fire*, which ye rejected as a falsehood. And we will cause them to taste the nearer punishment of *this world*, beside the more grievous punishment of *the next*, peradventure they will repent. Who is more unjust than he who is warned by the signs of his LORD, and then turneth aside from the same? We will surely take vengeance on the wicked. We heretofore delivered the book of *the law* unto Moses, wherefore be not thou in doubt as to the revelation thereof ^a and we ordained the same to be a direction unto the children of Israel, and we appointed teachers from among them, who should direct *the people* at our command, when they had persevered with patience, and had firmly believed in our signs. Verily thy LORD will judge between them, on the day of resurrection, concerning that wherein they have disagreed. Is it not known unto them how many generations we have destroyed before them, through whose dwellings they walk? ^b Verily herein are signs will they not therefore hearken? Do they not see that we drive rain unto a land bare of grass and parched up, and thereby produce corn, of which their cattle eat, and themselves *also*? Will they not therefore regard? The *infidels* say to the true believers, When will this decision be made between us, if ye speak truth? Answer, On the day of *that decision*, ^c the faith of those who shall have disbelieved shall not avail them, neither shall they be respited *any longer*. Wherefore avoid them, and expect *the issue* verily they expect to obtain some advantage over thee.

^a Or, as some interpret it of the revelation of the Korân to thyself since the delivery of the law to Moses proves that the revelation of the Korân to thee is not the first instance of the kind. Others think the words should be translated thus, *Be not thou in doubt as to thy meeting of that prophet*, supposing that the interview between Moses and Mohammed in the sixth heaven when the latter took his night journey thither is here intended ²

^b The Meccans frequently passing by the places where the Adites Thamudites Midianites, Sodomites, &c. once dwelt.

^c That is on the day of judgment though some suppose the day here intended to be that of the victory at Bedr or else that of the taking of Mecca. when several of those who had been proscribed, were put to death without remission ³

² Al Beidâwî

³ See the Prelim Disc. sect. II. p. 39.

CHAPTER XXXIII

INTITLED, THE CONFEDERATES,^d REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

O PROPHET, fear God, and obey not the unbelievers and the hypocrites * verily God is knowing *and* wise. But follow that which is revealed unto thee from thy LORD, for God is well acquainted with that which ye do and put thy trust in God, for God is a sufficient protector * God hath not given a man two hearts within him, neither hath he made your wives (some of whom ye divorce, regarding them thereafter as your mothers) your *true* mothers, nor hath he made your adopted sons your *true* sons.^f This *is* your saying in your mouths but God speaketh the truth, and he directed the *right* way Call *such as are adopted*, the sons of their *natural* fathers this *will be* more just in the sight of God And if ye know not their fathers, *let them be as* your brethren in religion, and your companions and it shall be no crime in you, that ye err^b *in this matter*, † but that *shall be criminal* which your hearts purposely design, for God is gracious *and* merciful. The prophet *is* nigher unto the true believers than their own

^d Part of this chapter was revealed on occasion of the war of the Ditch, which happened in the fifth year of the Hejra, when Medina was besieged for above twenty days, by the joint and *confederate* forces of several Jewish tribe and of the inhabitants of Mecca Najd and Tihama at the instigation of the Jews of the tribe of Nadhir, who had been driven out of their settlement near Medina by Mohammed, the year before ⁴

It is related that Abu Sofian Acrema Ibn Abi Jahl and Abul Awaral Salami, having an amicable interview with Mohammed at which were present also Abdallah Ebn Obba Moatteb Ibn Kosehir and Jadd Ibn Kais they proposed to the prophet that if he would leave off preaching *against* the worship of their gods and acknowledge them to be mediators they would give him and his Lord no farther disturbance, upon which these words were revealed ⁵

* Put thy confidence in him His protection is a powerful shield —*Savary*

^f This passage was revealed to abolish two customs among the old Arabs This first was their manner of divorcing their wives when they had no mind to let them go out of their house or to marry again and this the husband did by saying to the woman, *Thou art henceforward to me as the back of my mother* after which words pronounced he abstained from her bed, and regarded her in all respects as his mother, and she became related to all his kindred in the same degree as if she had been really so The other custom was the holding their adopted sons to be as nearly related to them as their natural sons so that the same impediments of marriage arose from that supposed relation, in the prohibited degrees as it would have done in the case of a genuine son The latter Mohammed had a peculiar reason to abolish, *viz* his marrying the divorced wife of his freedman Zeid who was also his adopted son of which more will be said by and by By the declaration which introduces this passage, that God *has not given a man two hearts* is meant, that a man cannot have the same affection for supposed parents and adopted children, as for those who are really so They tell us the Arabs used to say, of a prudent and acute person that he had two hearts, whence one Abu Mamer or, as others write Jemil Ebn Asad al Fihri, was surnamed Dhul kalbein or *the man with two hearts* ⁶

^e Through ignorance or mistake, or, that ye have erred for the time past

† "Restore your adopted sons unto their fathers This action is equitable in the sight of God If ye know not the authors of their existence let religion impel you to cherish them as your brothers, as your kindred If by an involuntary error ye deviate from the precept it shall not render you culpable —*Savary*

⁴ Vide Abul fedæ Vit Moh p 73, et Gagnier, Vie de Mohammed, lib 4 c 1

⁵ Al Beidawi ⁶ Jem, Jallalo ddn, &c.

souls,^h * and his wives are their mothers.¹ Those who are related by consanguinity are nigher of kin the one of them unto the others, according to the book of God, than the other true believers, and the Mohâjerûn^k unless that ye do what is fitting and reasonable to your relations in general. This is written in the book of God¹ Remember when we accepted their covenant from the prophets,^m and from thee, O Mohammed, and from Noah, and Abraham, and Moses, and Jesus the son of Mary, and received from them a firm covenant,ⁿ that God may examine the speakers of truth concerning their veracity^o and he hath prepared a painful torment for the unbelievers. O true believers, remember the favour of God towards you when armies of infidels came against you,^p and we sent against them a wind, and hosts of angels which ye saw not^q and God beheld that

^h Commanding them nothing but what is for their interest and advantage and being more solicitous for their present and future happiness even than themselves for which reason he ought to be dear to them, and deserves their utmost love and respect In some copies these words are added *And he is a father unto them*, every prophet being the spiritual father of his people who are therefore brethren It is said that this passage was revealed on some of Mohammed's followers telling him when he summoned them to attend him in the expedition of Tabûc,⁷ that they would ask leave of their fathers and mothers⁸

* "The prophet loveth the true believers more than they love themselves — *Savay*

¹ Though the spiritual relation between Mohammed and his people declared in the preceding words, created no impediment to prevent his taking to wife such women among them as he thought fit yet the commentators are of opinion that they are here forbidden to marry any of his wives⁹

^k These words, which also occur excepting the latter part of the sentence in the eighth chapter abrogate that law concerning inheritances published in the same chapter, whereby the Mohâjerûn and Ansars were to be the heirs of one another, exclusive of their nearer relations who were infidels¹

¹ *e* In the preserved Tâblc, or the Korân or, as others suppose in the Penta-
teuch

^m Jallaloddin supposes this covenant was made when Adams posterity were drawn forth from his loins and appeared before God like sma'll ants² but Marracci conjectures that the covenant here meant was the same which the Talmudists pretend all the prophets entered into with God on Mount Sinai where they were all assembled in person with Moses³

ⁿ Whereby they undertook to execute their several commissions, and promised to preach the religion commanded them by God

^o *e* That he may at the day of judgment demand of the prophets in what manner they executed their several commissions and how they were received by their people or, as the words may also import, that he may examine those who believed on them concerning their belief and reward them accordingly

^p These were the forces of the Koreish and the tribe of Ghatfân confederated with the Jews of al Nadhir and Koreidha who besieged Medina to the number of twelve thousand men in the expedition called the *war of the ditch*

^q On the enemies approach Mohammed, by the advice of Salmân the Persian ordered a deep ditch or entrenchment to be dug round Medina for the security of the city and went out to defend it with three thousand men Both sides remained in their camps near a month, without any other acts of hostility than shooting of arrows and slinging of stones till, in a winter's night God sent a piercing cold east wind which numbened the limbs of the confederates, blew the dust in their faces, extinguished their fires overturned their tents, and put their horses in disorder, the angels at the same time crying *Allah acbar* round about their camp, whereupon Foleiha Ebn Khowailel the Asadite, said aloud, *Mohammed is going to attack you with enchantments wherefore provide for your safety by flight* and accordingly the Koreish first, and afterwards the Ghatfânites, broke up the siege, and returned home which retreat was also not a little owing to the dissensions among the confederate forces, the raising and fomenting whereof the Mohammedans also ascribe

⁷ See chap 9 p 104

⁸ Al Beidawî

⁹ See the Prelim Disc sect vi p 98

¹ See chap 8, p 147

² See chap 7 p 135

³ See chap 3 p 46

which ye did. When they came against you from above you, and from below you,^r and when *your* sight became troubled, and *your* hearts came even to *your* throats for fear, and ye imagined of God various imaginations^s There were the faithful tried, and made to tremble with a violent trembling And when the hypocrites, and those in whose heart was an infirmity, said, God and his apostles have made you no other than a fallacious promise^t And when a party of them^u said, O inhabitants of Yathreb,^v *there is no place of security for you here*, wherefore return home And a part of them asked leave of the prophet to depart, saying, Verily our houses are defenceless and exposed to the enemy but they were not defenceless, and their intention was no other than to fly If the city had been entered upon them by the enemy from the parts adjacent and they had been asked to desert the true believers and to fight against them, they had surely consented thereto but they had not, in such case, remained in the same,^x but a little while They had before made a covenant with God that they would not turn their backs^y and the performance of their covenant with God shall be examined into hereafter Say, Flight shall not profit you, if ye fly from death or from slaughter and if it would, yet shall ye not enjoy *this world* but a little^{*} Say, who is he who shall defend you against God, if he is pleased to bring evil on you, or is pleased to show mercy towards you? They shall find none to patronize or protect them, besides God God already knoweth those among you who hinder others from following his apostle, and who say unto their brethren, Come hither unto us, and who come not to battle, except a little^z being

to God It is related that when Mohammed heard that his enemies were retired, he said, *I have obtained success by means of the east wind, and Ad perished by the west wind*⁴

The Ghatfāmites pitched on the east side of the town on the higher part of the valley and the Koreish on the west side on the lower part of the valley⁵

^s The sincere and those who were more firm of heart fearing they should not be able to stand the trial and the weaker hearted and hypocrites thinking, themselves delivered up to slaughter and destruction

^t The person who uttered these words it is said, was Moatteb Ebn Kosheir, who told his fellows that Mohammed had promised them the spoils of the Persians and the Greeks whereas now not one of them dared to stir out of their intrenchment⁶

^u Viz Aws Ibn Keidh and his adherents

^v This was the ancient and proper name of Medina, or of the territory wherein it stands Some suppose the town was so named from its founder Yathreb the son of Kabiya the son of Mahlayel the son of Aram the son of Sem the son of Noah though others tell us it was built by the Amalekites⁷

^x i.e. In the city, or in their apostasy and rebellion, because the Moslems would surely succeed at last

^y The persons meant here were Banu, Hareth, &c., who having behaved very ill and run away on a certain occasion, promised they would do so no more⁸

^z "Say unto them Flight will be useless unto you You have believed that you could avoid death, by shunning the battle, but little shall ye benefit by your cowardice — Savary

^{*} Either coming to the army in small numbers, or staying with them but a little while and then returning on some feigned excuse or behaving ill in time of action Some expositors take these words to be part of the speech of the hypocrites reflecting on Mohammed's companions for lying idle in the trenches and not attacking the enemy

⁴ Al Beidāwī, Abulf Vit Moh p 77 & ⁵ Idem ⁶ Al Beidāwī Vide Abulf ubi sup p 76 ⁷ Ahmed Ebn Yusuf See the Prelim Disc p 3 ⁸ Al Beidāwī.

covetous towards you * but when fear cometh *on them*, thou seest them look unto thee *for assistance*, their eyes rolling about like *the eyes* of him who fainteth by reason of *the agonies* of death yet when *their* fear is past, they inveigh against you with sharp tongues, being covetous of the best *and most valuable part of the spoils* These believe not *sincerely*, wherefore God hath rendered their works of no avail, and this is easy with God They imagined that the confederates would not depart *and raise the siege* and if the confederates should come *another time*, they would wish to live in the deserts among the Arabs who dwell in tents,^b *and there* to inquire after news concerning you, and although they were with you *this time*, yet they fought not, except a little * Ye have in the apostle of God an excellent example,^c unto him who hopeth in God, and the last day, and remembereth God frequently When the true believers saw the confederates,^d they said, This *is* what God and his apostle have foretold us, ^d and God and his apostle have spoken the truth, and it only increased their faith and resignation Of the true believers *some* men justly performed what they had promised unto God, ^e and some of them have finished their course,^f and some of them wut *the same advantage*, ^g and they changed not *their promise* by deviating *therefrom in the least* that God may reward the just performers *of their covenant* for their fidelity, and may punish the hypocritical, if he pleaseth, or may be turned unto them, for God *is* ready to forgive, *and* merciful God hath driven back the infidels in their wrath they obtained no advantage, and God *was* a sufficient *protector* unto the faithful in battle, for God *is* strong *and* mighty And he hath caused such of those who have received the scriptures, as assisted *the confederates*, to

^a *c* Spurning of their assistance either in person or with their purse or being greedy after the booty

^b That they might be absent and not obliged to go to war

* God knoweth those who stop the believers and who engage them to follow their party Few are there who march under the banner of the faith They are jealous of your happiness In the midst of alarms thou seest them turn their looks toward the prophet and roll their eyes like unto him who is environed by the shadow of death Scarcely are their fears dispelled before, inspired by envy they rend thee with their keen edged tongues They have no faith God will annihilate their works This is easy unto God The conspirators imagined themselves to be invincible If they return they will join with the Arabs of the desert They watch your doings Were they to be of your party few among them would march under your banner —*Savary*

^c *Viz* of firmness in time of danger of confidence in the divine assistance and of piety by fervent prayer for the same

^d At the sight of the conspirators, the believers exclaimed "—*Savary*

^e Namely that we must not expect to enter paradise without undergoing some trials and tribulations ^f There is a tradition that Mohammed actually foretold this expedition of the confederates some time before, and the success of it.¹

^g By standing firm with the prophet and strenuously opposing the enemies of the true religion according to their engagement

¹ Or, as the words may be translated, *have fulfilled their vow* or *paid their debt* to nature, by falling martyrs in battle, as did Hamza, Mohammed's uncle Masab Ebn Omair, and Ans Ebn al Nadr,² who were slain at the battle of Ohod The martyrs at the war of the ditch were six, including Saad Ebn Moadh, who died of his wound about a month after ³

² As Othman and Telha ⁴

¹ See chap 2 p 24, chap 3. p 52, chap 29, p 325, &c.
² Idem ³ Abulf Vit Moh. p 79 ⁴ Al Beidawi.

¹ Al Beidawi.

come down out of their fortresses,^b and he cast into their hearts terror and dismay^c a part of them ye slew, and a part ye made captives, and God hath caused you to inherit their land, and their houses, and their wealth,^k and a land on which ye have not trodden,^l for God is almighty O prophet, say unto thy wives, If ye seek this present life, and the pomp thereof, come, I will make a handsome provision for you, and I will dismiss you with an honourable dismissal,^m but if ye seek God and his apostle, and the life to come, verily God hath prepared for such of you as work righteousness a great reward O wives of the prophet, whosoever of you shall commit a manifest wickedness, the punishment thereof shall be doubled unto her

^b These were the Jews of the tribe of Koreidha, who though they were in league with Mohammed had at the incessant persuasion of Caab Fbn Asad a principal man among them, perfidiously gone over to his enemies in this war of the ditch and were severely punished for it. For the next morning, after the confederate forces had decamped, Mohammed and his men returned to Medina and laying down their arms began to refresh themselves after their fatigue upon which Gabriel came to the prophet and asked him whether he had suffered his people to lay down their arms when the angels had not laid down theirs and ordered him to go immediately against the Koradhites, assuring him that himself would lead the way Mohammed in obedience to the divine command having caused public proclamation to be made that every one should pray that afternoon for success against the sons of Koreidha, set forward on the expedition without loss of time and being arrived at the fortress of the Koradhites besieged them for twenty five days at the end of which those people being in great terror and distress capitulated and at length, not daring to trust to Mohammed's mercy, surrendered at the discretion of Saad Ebn Moadh,^g hoping that he being the prince of the tribe of Aws their old friends and confederates would have some regard for them but they were deceived for Saad, being greatly incensed at their breach of faith had begged of God that he might not die of the wound he had received at the ditch till he saw vengeance taken on the Koradhites, and therefore adjudged that the men should be put to the sword the women and children made slaves and their goods be divided among the Moslems which sentence Mohammed had no sooner heard than he cried out *That Saad had pronounced the sentence of God* and the same was accordingly executed, the number of the men who were slain amounting to six hundred or so others say to seven hundred or very near among whom where Hoyai Fbn Akhtab a great enemy of Mohammed's and Caab Ebn Asad who had been the chief occasion of the revolt of their tribe and soon after Saad who had given judgment against them died his wound which had been skinned over, opening again^h

^l This was the work of Gabriel who according to his promise went before the army of Moslems It is said that Mohammed a little before he came to the settlement of the Koradhites asking some of his men whether any body had passed them they answered that Dolya Ebn Khokifa the Calbite had just passed by them mounted on a white mule with housings of satin to which he replied *That person was the angel Gabriel, who is sent to the sons of Koreidha, to shake their castles, and to strike their hearts with fear and consternation*⁷

^k Their immovable possessions Mohammed gave to the Mohâjerin, saying that the Ansars were in their own houses but that the others were destitute of habitations The moveables were divided among his followers but he remitted the fifth part which was usual to be taken in other cases⁸

^l By which some suppose Persia and Greece are meant others Khaibar and others, whatever lands the Moslems may conquer till the day of judgment⁹

^m This passage was revealed on Mohammed's wives asking for more sumptuous clothes, and an additional allowance for their expenses and he had no sooner received it, than he gave them their option either to continue with him, or to be divorced beginning, with Ayesha who chose *God and his apostle* and the rest followed her example upon which the prophet thanked them and the following words were revealed viz, *It shall not be lawful for thee to take other women to wife here after, &c* From hence some have concluded that a wife who has her option given her, and chooses to stay with her husband, shall not be divorced, though others are of a contrary opinion

⁶ See chap 8 p 142 ⁷ Al Beidawi, Abulf Vit Moh p 77 &c ⁸ Vide Gagner, Vie de Moh lib 4 c 2 ⁹ Ebn Ishak ¹⁰ Al Beidawi ¹¹ Idem ¹² See after, in this chap p 349 ¹³ Al Beidawi.

twofold, ^a and this is easy with GOD [* XXII] but whosoever of you shall be obedient unto GOD and his apostle, and shall do that which is right, we will give her her reward twice, ^o and we have prepared for her an honourable provision *in paradise*. O wives of the prophet, ye are not as other women if ye fear GOD, be not too complaisant in speech, lest he should covet, in whose heart is a disease of *incontinence*, but speak the speech which is convenient * And sit still in your houses, and set not out yourselves with the ostentation of the former *time of ignorance* ^p and observe the appointed times of prayer, and give alms, and obey GOD, and his apostle, for GOD desireth only to remove from you the abomination of *vanity since ye are the household of the prophet* and to purify you by a *perfect purification* ^q And remember that which is read in your houses of the signs of GOD, and of the wisdom *revealed in the Koran*, for GOD is clear sighted and well acquainted with your actions. Verily the Moslems of either sex, and the true believers of either sex, and the devout men, and the devout women, and the men of veracity, and the women of veracity, and the patient *men*, and the patient *women*, and the humble *men*, and the humble *women*, and the alms givers of either sex, and the *men* who fast, and the *women* who fast, and the chaste *men*, and the chaste *women*, and those of either sex who remember GOD frequently, for them hath GOD prepared forgiveness and a great reward. It is not fit for a true believer of either sex, when GOD and his apostle have decreed a thing that they should have the liberty of choosing a *different matter* of their own ^r and whoever is disobedient unto GOD and his apostle surely eneth with a manifest error. And remember when thou saidst to him unto whom GOD had been gracious, ^s and on whom thou also hadst conferred favours, ^t Keep

^a For the crime would be more enormous and unpardonable in them because of their superior condition and the grace which they have received from GOD whence it is that the punishment of a free person is ordained to be double to that of a slave ^b and prophets are more severely reprimanded for their misdeeds than other men ^c

Once for her obedience and a second time for her conjugal affection to the prophet and handsome behaviour to him

* Wives of the prophet ye are distinguished above other women. If ye have the fear of the Lord banish from your speech the softness of love. Let the man whose heart is smitten dare not to hope. Reply with a noble firmness — *Savary*

^p That is in the old time of idolatry. Some suppose the times before the flood or the time of Abraham to be here intended when women adorned themselves with all their finery and went abroad into the streets to show themselves to the men ^q

^r The pronouns of the second person in this part of the passage being, of the masculine gender the Shites pretend the sentence has no connexion with the fore going, or the following words and will have it that by *the household of the prophet* are particularly meant Fatima and Ali and their two sons Hasan and Hosein, to whom these words are directed ^s

This verse was revealed on account of Zennab (or Zenobia) the daughter of Jahash, and wife of Zeid Mohammeds freedman whom the prophet sought in marriage but received a repulse from the lady and her brother Abdullah they being at first averse to the match for which they are here reprehended. The mother of Zennab it was said, was Amima, the daughter of Abdalmotalleb, and aunt to Mohammed

Viz Zeid Ebn Haretha, on whom GOD had bestowed the grace early to become a Moslem

^t By giving him his liberty and adopting him for thy son &c.

^u Zennab was of the tribe of Calb a branch of the Khodantes, descended from Hamyar the son of Saba and being taken in his childhood by a party of freebooters,

^b See chap 4, p 63 ^c Al Badawi ^d Idem ^e Idem. ^f Idem, Jallalo ddin.

thy wife to thyself, and fear God and thou didst conceal that in thy mind which God had *determined* to discover," and didst fear men, whereas it *was* more just that thou shouldst fear God But when Zeid² had determined the matter concerning her, *and had resolved to divorce her*, we joined her in marriage unto thee,³ lest a crime should be *charged* on the true believers, in *marrying* the wives of their adopted sons, when they have determined the matter concerning them,⁴ and the command of God is to be performed. No crime is *to be charged* on the prophet, as to what God hath allowed him, *conformable* to the ordinance of God with regard to those who preceded him (for the command of God is a determinate decree), who brought the messages of God, and feared him, and feared none besides God and God is a sufficient accountant. Mohammed is not the father of any man among you, but the apostle of God, and the seal of the prophets * and God knoweth all things. O true believers, remember God with a frequent remembrance, and celebrate his praise morning and evening. It is he who is gracious unto you, and his angels *intercede* for you, that he may lead you forth from darkness into light, and he is merciful towards the true believers. Their salutation, on the day *whereon* they shall meet was bought by Mohammed or as others say by his wife Khadijah before she married him Some years after Harethia, hearing where his son was took a journey to Mecca and offered a considerable sum for his ransom, whereupon Mohammed said *I let Zeid come hither and if he chooses to go with you take him without ransom but if it be his choice to stay with me why should I not keep him?* And Zeid being come declared that he would stay with his master who treated him as if he were his only son Mohammed no sooner heard this but he took Zeid by the hand and led him to the *black stone* of the Caaba, where he publicly adopted him for his son and constituted him his heir with which the father acquiesced and returned home well satisfied From this time Zeid was called the son of Mohammed till the publication of Islām after which the prophet gave him to wife Zeinab⁶

² Namely, thy affection to Zeinab The whole intrigue is artfully enough unfolded in this passage the story is as follows —

Some years after his marriage Mohammed going to Zeid's house on some affair, and not finding him at home accidentally cast his eyes on Zeinab who was then in a dress which discovered her beauty to advantage, and was so smitten at the sight that he could not forbear crying out *God be praised who turneth the hearts of men as he pleaseth!* This Zeinab failed not to acquaint her husband with on his return home whereupon Zeid after mature reflection thought he could do no less than part with his wife in favour of his benefactor and therefore resolved to divorce her, and acquainted Mohammed with his resolution but he apprehending the scandal it might raise, offered to dissuade him from it and endeavoured to stifle the flames which inwardly consumed him but at length his love for her being authorized by this revelation he acquiesced and after the term of her divorce was expired, married her in the latter end of the fifth year of the Hējra⁹

³ It is observed that this is the only person of all Mohammed's companions, whose name is mentioned in the Koran

⁴ Whence Zeinab used to vaunt herself above the prophet's other wives saying, that God had made the match between Mohammed and herself whereas their matches were made by their relations¹

⁵ For this feigned relation as has been observed created an impediment of marriage among the old Arabs within the prohibited degrees in the same manner as if it had been real, and therefore Mohammed's marrying Zeinab who had been his adopted son's wife occasioned great scandal among his followers which was much heightened by the Jews and hypocrites but the custom is here declared unreasonable and abolished for the future

⁶ (The Mohammedans consider Mohammed as the *seal of the prophets*, *Khatem Elnabin* They say that he came to confirm the mission of those who preceded him, and that he has had no successor) — *Savary*

⁸ Al Jannabi Vide Gagnier, Vie de Moh. lib 4, c. 3
nabi &c. ¹ Ibidem

⁹ Al Beidāwi, al Jan

him, *shall be*, Peace' and he hath prepared for them an honourable recompence. O prophet, verily we have sent thee *to be* a witness, and a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer of threats, and an inviter unto God, through his good pleasure, and a shining light. Bear good tidings therefore unto the true believers, that they shall receive great abundance from God. And obey not the unbelievers, and the hypocrites, and mind not their evil treatment but trust in God, and God is a sufficient protector.* O true believers, when ye marry *women who are* believers, and afterwards put them away, before ye have touched them, *there is* no term prescribed you to fulfil towards them,^a *after their divorce* but make them a present,^b and dismiss them freely with an honourable dismissal. O prophet, we have allowed thee thy wives unto whom thou hast given their dower, and also the *slaves* which thy right hand possesseth, of the *booty* which God hath granted thee,^c and the daughters of thy uncle, and the daughters of thy aunts, both on thy fathers side, and on thy mothers side, who have fled with thee *from Mecca*,^d and any *other* believing woman, if she give herself unto the prophet,^e in case the prophet desireth to take her to wife. *This is* a peculiar privilege granted unto thee above the rest of the true believers.^f We know what we have ordained them concerning their wives, and the *slaves* which their right hands possess lest it should be *deemed* a crime in thee *to make use of the privilege granted thee* † for God is gracious and merciful. Thou mayest postpone the turn of such of *thy wives* as thou shalt please, *in being called to thy bed* and thou mayest take unto thee her whom thou shalt please and

* 'Obey neither the unbelievers nor the imphs Injure them not Put thy trust in God his protection is a sure refuge —*Savary*

^a That is Ye are not obliged to keep them any certain time before ye dismiss them as ye are those with whom the marriage has been consummated See chap 2

^b If no dower has been assigned them for if a dower has been assigned the husband is obliged according to the Sonna to give the woman half the dower agreed on, besides a present² This is still to be understood of such women with whom the marriage has not been consummated

It is said therefore, that the women slaves which he should buy are not included in this grant

^d But not the others It is related of Omra Ham the daughter of Abu Taleb that she should say *The apostle of God courted me for his wife but I excused myself to him and he accepted of my excuse afterwards this verse was revealed but he was not thereby allowed to marry me because I fled not with him*³

It may be observed that Dr Prideaux is much mistaken when he asserts that Mohammed in this chapter brings in God exempting him from the law in the fourth chapter⁴ whereby the Moslems are forbidden to marry within certain degrees and giving him an especial privilege to take to wife the daughter of his brother or the daughter of his sister⁵

* Without demanding any dower According to a tradition of Ebn Abbas the prophet however, married no woman without assigning her a dower The commentators are not agreed who was the woman particularly meant in this passage but they name four who are supposed to have thus *given themselves* to the prophet, viz Maimûna Bint al Hareth Zeinab Bint Khozaima, Ghazia Bint Jaber surnamed Omm Shoraim (which three he actually married) and Khawla Bint Hakim, whom as it seems, he rejected

^f For no Moslem can legally marry above four wives, whether free women or slaves, whereas Mohammed is by the preceding passage left at liberty to take as many as he pleased, though with some restrictions

† 'Fear not to be culpable in using thy rights —*Savary*

² Al Beidâwi, al Jannabi, &c
Moh p 116.

³ Idem

⁴ See p 63

⁵ See Priv. Life of

her whom thou shalt desire of those whom thou shalt have *before* rejected and *it shall be* no crime in thee.⁵ This *will be* more easy, that they may be entirely content, and may not be grieved, but may be well pleased with what thou shalt give every of them. God knoweth whatever *is* in your hearts, and God is knowing and gracious. It shall not be lawful for thee *to take other women to wife* hereafter,^h nor to exchange *any of thy* wives for them,ⁱ although their beauty please thee, except the *slaves* whom thy right hand shall possess and God observeth all things. O true believers, enter not the houses of the prophet, unless it be permitted you to *eat meat with him*, without waiting his convenient time, but when ye are invited, then enter. And when ye shall have eaten, disperse yourselves, and *stay* not to enter into familiar discourse for this incommodeth the prophet. He is ashamed *to bid* you depart but God is not ashamed of the truth. And when ye ask of *the prophet's wives* what ye may have occasion for, ask *it* of them from behind a curtain^k This will be more pure for your hearts and their hearts. Neither is it *fit* for you to give any uneasiness to the apostle of God, or to marry his wives after him for ever^l for this would be a grievous thing in the sight of God. Whether ye divulge a thing or conceal it, verily God knoweth all things. *It shall be* no crime

⁵ By this passage some farther privileges were granted unto Mohammed for whereas other men are obliged to carry themselves equally towards their wives⁶ in case they had more than one particularly as to the duties of the marriage bed to which each has a right to be called in her turn (which right was acknowledged in the most early ages⁷) and cannot take again a wife whom they have divorced the third time till she has been married to another and divorced by him⁸ the prophet was left absolutely at liberty to deal with them in these and other respects as he thought fit

^h The commentators differ as to the express meaning of these words. Some think Mohammed was thereby forbidden to take any more wives than nine which number he then had and is supposed to have been his stint as four was that of other men some imagine that after this prohibition though any of the wives he then had should die or be divorced yet he could not marry another in her room, some think he was only forbidden from this time forward to marry any other woman than one of the four sorts mentioned in the preceding passage and others¹ are of opinion that this verse is abrogated by the two preceding verses or one of them and was revealed before them though it be read after them²

ⁱ By divorcing her and marrying another. Al Zamakhshari tells us that some are of opinion this prohibition is to be understood of a particular kind of exchange used among the idolatrous Arabs whereby two men made a mutual exchange of their wives without any other formality

^k That is let there be a curtain drawn between you or let them be veiled, while ye talk with them. As the design of the former precept was to prevent the impertinence of troublesome visitors the design of this was to guard against too near an intercourse or familiarity between his wives and his followers and was occasioned it is said, by the hand of one of his companions accidentally touching that of Ayesha, which gave the prophet some uneasiness³

^l ^e Either such as he shall divorce in his lifetime or his widows after his death. This was another privilege peculiar to the prophet

It is related, that in the Khalifat of Omar Ashath Fbn Kais married the woman whom Mohammed had dismissed without consummating his marriage with her,⁴ upon which the Khalif at first was thinking to stone her but afterwards changed his mind, on its being represented to him that this prohibition related only to such women to whom the prophet had gone in⁵

⁶ See Kor chap 4, v 59 &c. ⁷ See Gen xxx 14, &c. ⁸ See chap 2, p 26.
¹ As Abu l Kasem Hebatallah. ² Al Zamakh al Beidawi, Jallalo ddin &c. ³ Al Beidawi. ⁴ See before, p 348 note. ⁵ Al Beidawi.

in them, as to their fathers, or their sons, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or the *slaves* which their right hands possess, *if they speak to them unveiled* ^m and fear ye God, ⁿ for God is witness of all things. Verily God and his angels bless the prophet O true believers, do ye *also* bless him, and salute *him* with a *respectful* salutation ^o As to those who offend God and his apostle, God shall curse *them* in this world and in the next, and he hath prepared for them a shameful punishment. And they who shall injure the true believers of either sex, without their deserving it, shall surely bear *the guilt of calumny* and a manifest injustice ^p O prophet speak unto thy wives, and thy daughters, and the wives of the true believers, that they cast their outer garments ^q over them *when they walk abroad*, this will be more proper that they may be known *to be matrons of reputation*, and may not be affronted *by unseemly words or actions* God is gracious and merciful. Verily if the hypocrites, and those in whose hearts is an infirmity, and they who raise disturbances in Medina, do not desist, we will surely stir thee up against them, *to chastise them* henceforth they shall not *be suffered to dwell* near thee therein, except for a little *time*, and being accursed, wherever they are found they shall be taken, and killed with a *general slaughter*, according to the sentence of God concerning those who have been before, and thou shalt not find any change in the sentence of God Men will ask thee concerning the *approach of the last hour*, answer, Verily the knowledge thereof is with God alone, and he will not inform thee, peradventure the hour is nigh *at hand* Verily God hath cursed the infidels, and hath prepared for them a fierce fire, wherein they shall remain for ever they shall find no patron or defender On the day *whereon* their faces shall be rolled in *hell* fire, they shall say, O that we had obeyed God, and had obeyed *his* apostle! And they shall say, O LORD, verily we have obeyed our lords, and our great men, and they have seduced us from the *right* way O LORD, give them the double of *our* punishment, and curse them with a heavy curse! O true believers, be not as those who injured Moses, but God cleared him from *the scandal* which they had spoken *concerning him* ^r

^m See chap 24 p 290

ⁿ The words are directed to the prophet's wives

^o Hence the Mohammedans seldom mention his name without adding, *On whom be the blessing of God, and peace!* or the like words

^p This verse was revealed according to some on occasion of certain hypocrites who had slandered Ali, or according to others, on occasion of those who falsely accused Ayesha, ^q &c

^q The original word properly signifies the large wrappers, usually of white linen, with which the women in the East cover themselves from head to foot when they go abroad

^r The commentators are not agreed what this injury was Some say that Moses using to wash himself apart, certain malicious people gave out that he had a rupture, (or, say others, that he was a leper, or an hermaphrodite,) and for that reason was ashamed to wash with them but God cleared him from this aspersion, by causing the stone on which he had laid his clothes while he washed to run away with them unto the camp whither Moses followed it naked and by that means the Israelites, in the midst of whom he was gotten ere he was aware plainly perceived the falsehood of the report Others suppose Karûn's accusation of Moses is here intended, ⁷ or else the suspicion of Aaron's murder, which was cast on Moses because he was

^o See chap 24

⁷ See chap 28, p 323

and he was of great consideration in the sight of God * O true believers, fear God, and speak words well directed, * that God may correct your works for you, and may forgive you your sins and whoever shall obey God and his apostle shall enjoy great felicity We proposed the faith unto the heavens, and the earth, and the mountains and they refused to undertake the same, and were afraid thereof, but man undertook it † verily he was unjust to himself, and foolish, †^u that God may punish the hypocritical men, and the hypocritical women, and the idolaters, and the idolatresses, and that God may be turned unto the true believers. both men and women, for God is gracious and merciful

CHAPTER XXXIV

INTITLED, SABA * REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

PRaise be unto GOD unto whom *belongeth* whatever is in the heavens and on earth and unto him be praise in the world to come, for he is wise and intelligent He knoweth whatsoever entereth into the earth,^w and

with him when he died on mount Hor of which latter he was justified by the angels bringing his body and exposing it to the public view or say some by the testimony of Aaron himself who was raised to life for that purpose⁸

The passage is said to have been occasioned by some reflections which were cast on Mohammed, on his dividing certain spoils and that when they came to his ear, he said, *God be merciful unto my brother Moses he was wronged more than this and bore it with patience*

* Some copies for *inda* read *abda* according to which the words should be translated and he was an illustrious servant of God

* O believers fear the Lord Let truth govern your speech — *Savary*

† By faith is here understood entire obedience to the law of God which is represented to be of so high concern (no less than eternal happiness or misery depending on the observance or neglect thereof) and so difficult in the performance that if God should propose the same on the conditions annexed to the vaster parts of the creation and they had understanding to comprehend the offer, they would decline it and not dare to take on them a duty the failing wherein must be attended with so terrible a consequence and yet man is said to have undertaken it, notwithstanding his weakness and the infirmities of his nature Some imagine this proposal is not hypothetical but was actually made to the heavens earth and mountains which at their first creation were endued with reason and that God told them he had made a law and had created paradise for the recompence of such as were obedient to it, and hell for the punishment of the disobedient, to which they answered they were content to be obliged to perform the services for which they were created but would not undertake to fulfil the divine law on those conditions and therefore desired neither reward nor punishment they add, that when Adam was created the same offer was made him and he accepted it¹ The commentators have other explanations of this passage, which it would be too prolix to transcribe

† They dared not to receive it They trembled to bear this holy burden Man received it, and he hath become unjust and foolish — *Savary*

* Unjust to himself in not fulfilling his engagements and obeying the law he had accepted, and foolish, in not considering the consequence of his disobedience and neglect.

Mention is made of the people of Saba in the fifteenth verse

^w As the rain hidden treasures the dead &c

⁸ Jallalo ddin, al Beidawi.

^{*} Al Bokhari.

¹ Jallalo ddin, al Beidawi.

whatsoever cometh out of the same,^{*} and whatsoever descendeth from heaven,[†] and whatsoever ascendeth thereto " and he is merciful and ready to forgive The unbelievers say, The hour of judgment will not come unto us. Answer, Yea, by my LORD, it will surely come unto you, *it is he* who knoweth the hidden secret the weight of an ant, either in heaven or in earth is not absent from him, nor any thing lesser than this or greater, but *the same is written* in the perspicuous book of his decrees, that he may recompense those who shall have believed, and wrought righteousness they shall receive pardon, and an honourable provision But they who endeavour to render our signs of none effect shall receive a punishment of painful torment Those unto whom knowledge hath been given, see that the book which hath been revealed unto thee from thy LORD is the truth, and directeth into the glorious and laudable way The unbelievers say to one another, Shall we show you a man who shall prophesy unto you, that when ye shall have been dispersed with a total dispersion, ye shall be raised a new creature? He hath forged a lie concerning God or rather he is distracted But they who believe not in the life to come shall fall into punishment and a wide error Have they not therefore considered what is before them, and what is behind them, of the heaven and the earth? If we please, we will cause the earth to open and swallow them up, or will cause a piece of the heaven to fall upon them * verily herein is a sign unto every servant who turneth unto God We heretofore bestowed on David excellence from us and we said O mountains, sing alternate praises with him, and we obliged the birds also to join therein " And we softened the iron for him, saying, Make thereof complete coats of mail,^{b†} and rightly dispose the small plates which compose the same and work ye righteousness, O family of David for I see that which you do And we made the wind subject unto Solomon " it blew in the morning for a month, and in the evening for a month. And we made a fountain of molten brass to flow for him^d And some of the genii were obliged to work in his presence, by the will of his LORD, and whoever of them turned aside from our command, we will cause him to taste the pain of hell fire.^e They made for him whatever he pleased of palaces, and statues,^f and large dishes like fish ponds,^g and caldrons standing firm on

* As animals plants, metals spring water &c

† As the angels, scriptures decrees of God rum thunder and lightning, &c.

^a As the angels men's works vapours smoke, &c.

^b " Have they raised their looks towards the firmament? Have they cast them down upon the earth? Who can prevent us from opening an abyss under their feet, or from causing a part of heaven to fall upon their heads? — Savary

^c See chap 21 p 270

^d See Ibid p 270

^e " We taught unto him the art of softening iron, and of making coats of mail thereof " — Savary

^f See chap 21 and chap 27 p 310

^g This fountain they say was in Yaman and flowed three days in a month.

^h Or, as some expound the words We caused him to taste the pain of burning, by which they understand the correction the disobedient genii received at the hands of the angel set over them, who whipped them with a whip of fire

ⁱ Some suppose these were images of the angels and prophets, and that the making

their trevets,^h and we said, Work righteousness, O family of David, with thanksgiving, for few of my servants are thankful. And when we had decreed that Solomon should die, nothing discovered his death unto them, except the creeping thing of the earth, which gnawed his staffⁱ. And when his body fell down, the genu plainly perceived that if they had known that which is secret, they had not continued in a vile punishment^k. The descendants of Saba^l had heretofore a sign in their dwelling, namely, two gardens on the right hand and on the left,^m * and it was said unto them, Eat ye of the provision of your LORD, and give thanks unto him, ye have a good country, and a gracious LORD. But they turned aside from what we had commanded them, wherefore we sent against them the inundation of al Arem,ⁿ and we changed their two gardens for them into two gardens of them was not then forbidden or else that they were not such images as were forbidden by the law. Some say these spirits made him two lions, which were placed at the foot of his throne and two eagles which were set above it, and that when he mounted it the lions stretched out their paws and when he sat down the eagles shaded him with their wings⁴.

Being so monstrously large that a thousand men might eat out of each of them at once

^l These caldrons they say were cut out of the mountains of Yaman and were so vastly big that they could not be moved, and the people went up to them by steps⁴.

The commentators to explain this passage tell us that David having laid the foundations of the temple of Jeru alem which was to be in lieu of the tabernacle of Moses when he died left it to be finished by his son Solomon who employed the genu in the work that Solomon before the edifice was quite completed perceiving his end drew nigh begg'd of God that his death might be concealed from the genu till they had entirely finished it that God therefore so ordered it that Solomon died as he stood at his prayers leaning on his staff, which supported the body in that posture a full year and the genu supposing him to be alive continued their work during that term at the expiration whereof the temple being perfectly completed a worm which had gotten into the staff eat it through, and the corpse fell to the ground and discovered the king's death⁴.

Possibly this fable of the temples being built by genu and not by men might tell its rise from what is mentioned in scripture that *the house was built of stones made ready before it was brought thither so that there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was building*⁷ the Rabbins indeed tell us of a worm, which might assist the workmen its virtue being such as to cause the rocks and stones to fly in sunder⁸. Whether the worm which gnawed Solomon's staff were of the same breed with this other, I know not, but the story has perfectly the air of a Jewish invention.

^k e They had not continued in servile subjection to the command of Solomon nor had gone on with the work of the temple

^l Saba was the son of Yashhab the son of Yurab the son of Khatan, whose posterity dwelt in Yam n, in the city of Mareb called also Saba, about three days journey from Sanaa.

^m That is two tracts of land one on this side their city and the other on that, planted with trees and made into gardens which lay so thick and close together that each tract seemed to be one continued garden or, it may be, every house had a garden on each hand of it¹.

ⁿ The inhabitants of Saba possessed two gardens, which were traversed by a brook"—*Savary*

⁴ The commentators set down several significations of the word Al Arem which are scarce worth mentioning it most properly signifies *mounds* or *dams* for the stopping or containing of water, and is here used for that stupendous mound or building which formed the vast reservoir above the city of Saba, described in another place² and which, for the great impiety pride, and insolence of the inhabitants, was broken down in the night by a mighty flood, and occasioned a terrible destruction.³ Al Beidawi supposes this mound was the work of queen Balkis, and that the above

⁴ Al Beidawi Jallalo ddin ⁵ Jallalo ddin ⁶ Al Beidawi, Jallalo ddin ⁷ 1 Kings vi 7 ⁸ Vide Kinchi in loc Buxt Lex. Talm p 2456, et Schickardi Tarich keg Pers p 62. ¹ Al Beidawi ² See the Prelim Disc sect. 1. p 7 ³ See ibid.

producing bitter fruit, and tamarisks,^o and some little *fruit* of the lote tree. This we gave them in reward, because they were ungrateful, is any *this* rewarded except the ungrateful? And we placed between them and the cities which we have blessed,^p cities situated near each other, and we made the journey easy between them,^q saying, Travel through the same by night and by day, in security. But they said, O LORD, put a *greater* distance between our journey ^r and they were unjust unto themselves, and we made them the subject of discourse, and dispersed them with a total dispersion ^{**}. Verily, herein *are* signs unto every patient, grateful person. And Eblis found his opinion of them to be true ^t and they followed him, except a party of the true believers ^u and he had no power over them, unless to tempt them, that we might know him who believed in the life to come, from him who doubted thereof. Thy LORD observeth all things. Say unto the idolaters, Call upon those whom ye imagine to be gods, besides GOD: they are not masters of the weight of an ant in heaven or on earth, neither have they any share in the creation or government of the same, nor is any of them assistant to him therein. No intercession will be of service in his presence, except the intercession of him to whom he shall grant permission to intercede for others ^v and they shall wait in suspense until, when the terror shall be taken off from their hearts,^x they shall say to one another, What doth your LORD say? They shall answer, That which is just: and he is the high, the great God. Say, Who provideth food for you from

mentioned catastrophe happened after the time of Jesus Christ wherein he seems to be mistaken

^o A low shrub bearing no fruit, and delighting in saltish and barren ground

^p *Yez*, the cities of Syria.

^q By reason of their near distance so that during the whole journey a traveller might rest in one town during the heat of day, and in another at night: nor was he obliged to carry provisions with him ^r

^s This petition they made out of covetousness that the poor being obliged to be longer on the road they might make greater advantage in letting out their cattle, and furnishing the travellers with provision: and God was pleased to punish them by granting them their wish, and permitting most of the cities which were between Saba and Syria to be ruined and abandoned ^t

^u For the neighbouring nations justly wondered at so sudden and unforeseen revolution in the affairs of this once flourishing people: whence it became a proverbial saying, to express a total dispersion that *they were gone and scattered like Saba* ^v

Of the descendants of Saba who quitted their country and sought new settlements on this inundation the tribe of Ghassan went into Syria the tribe of Anmar to Yathreb, the tribe of Jodham to Fehamah the tribe of al Azd to Oman the tribe of Tay to Najd, the tribe of Khozâah to Batn Marr, near Mecca, Banu Amela to a mountain thence called the mountain of Amela near Damascus and others went to Hira in Irâh, ^x &c

^y They gave themselves up unto ungodliness, and we made them the laughing stock of the nations. They were scattered like the dust. — *Savary*

^z Either his opinion of the Sabæans when he saw them addicted to pride and ingratitude and the satisfying their lusts: or else the opinion he entertained of all mankind at the fall of Adam or at his creation when he heard the angels say, *Wilt thou place in the earth one who will do evil therein and shed blood* ^{aa}

^{aa} Who were saved from the common destruction

^{ab} See chap 19, p 250

^{ac} i. e. From the hearts of the intercessors, and of those for whom God shall allow them to intercede, by the permission which he shall then grant them, for no angel or prophet shall dare to speak at the last day without the divine leave

^d Jallalo ddin, al Beidawi. ^e Idem. ^f Al Beidawi. Vide Gol note in Alfrag p. 87. ^g Al Beidawi. ^h Vide Poc. Spec p 42, 45 and 66. ⁱ See chap 2 p 4, chap 7, v 117, and chap. 15, p 211 &c

heaven and earth? * Answer, God and either we, or ye, follow *the true direction*, or *are* in a manifest error Say, Ye shall not be examined concerning what we shall have committed neither shall we be examined concerning what ye shall have done. Say, Our LORD will assemble us together *at the last day* then will he judge between us with truth, and he is the judge, the knowing Say, Show me those whom ye have joined *as* partners with him? Nay, rather he is the mighty, the wise GOD We have not sent thee otherwise than unto mankind in general, a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer of threats but the greater part of men do not understand And they say, When *will* this threat *be fulfilled*, if ye speak truth? Answer, A threat *is denounced* unto you of a day which ye shall not retard one hour, neither shall ye hasten. The unbelievers say, We will by no means believe in this Korân, nor in that which *hath been revealed* before it.† But if thou couldst see when the unjust doers shall be set before their LORD! They will iterate discourse with one another those who were esteemed weak shall say unto those who behaved themselves arrogantly, * *Had it not been for you*, verily we had been true believers.‡ They who behaved themselves arrogantly shall say unto those who were esteemed weak, Did we turn you aside from the *true direction*, after it had come unto you? On the contrary, ye acted wickedly *of your own free choice* And they who were esteemed weak shall say unto those who behaved with arrogance, Nay, but the crafty plot *which ye devised* by night and by day *occasioned our ruin*, when ye commanded us that we should not believe in God, and that we should set up *other gods as equals* unto him. And they shall conceal their repentance,* after they shall have seen the punishment *prepared for them* And we will put yokes on the necks of those who shall have disbelieved shall they be rewarded any otherwise than *according to* what they shall have wrought? We have sent no warner unto *any city*, but the inhabitants thereof who lived in affluence said, Verily we believe not that with which ye are sent. And *those of Mecca also* say, We abound in riches and children more *than ye*, and we shall not be punished *hereafter* ‡ Answer, Verily my LORD will bestow provision in abundance unto whom he pleaseth, and will be sparing *unto whom he pleaseth* but the greater part of men know not *this* Neither your riches nor your children *are the things* which shall cause you to draw nigh unto us with a near approach only whoever believeth, and worketh

* "Who dispenseth unto you the treasures of heaven and of earth —Savary

† It is said that the infidels of Mecca, having inquired of the Jews and Christians concerning the mission of Mohammed were assured by them that they found him described as the prophet who should come both in the Pentateuch and in the Gospel at which they were very angry and brake out into the words here recorded.¹

* See chap 14 p 206 note †

‡ Those who had weakness as their portion shall say unto those who were rendered haughty by power Had it not been for you, we should have embraced the faith"—Savary

* See chap 10 p 170 note †

† "Proud of their riches, flattered by the number of their children, they imagine themselves to be secure from our vengeance"—Savary

righteousness, they shall receive a double reward for that which they shall have wrought, and they shall *dwell* in security, in the upper apartments of *paradise* * But they who shall endeavour to render our signs of none effect shall be delivered up to punishment. Say, Verily my LORD will bestow provision in abundance unto whom he pleaseth of his servants, and will be sparing unto *whom he pleaseth* and whatever thing ye shall give in alms, he will return it, and he is the best provider of food. On a certain day he shall gather them all together then shall he say unto the angels, Did these worship you? *And the angels* shall answer God forbid! thou art our friend, and not these but they worshipped devils, the greater part of them believed in them. On this day the one of you shall not be able either to profit or to hurt the other And we will say unto those who have acted unjustly, Taste ye the pain of *hell* fire, which ye rejected as a falsehood. When our evident signs are read unto them, they say *of thee, O Mohammed*, This is no other than a man who seeketh to turn you aside from the gods which your fathers worshipped. And they say *of the Korân*, This is no other than a lie blasphemously forged. And the unbelievers say of the truth, when it is come unto them, This is no other than manifest sorcery yet we have given them no books of *scripture* wherein to exercise themselves, nor have we sent unto them any warner before thee They who were before them *in like manner* accused *their prophets* of imposture but *these* have not arrived unto the tenth part of *the riches and strength* which we had bestowed on *the former* and they accused my apostles of imposture, and how *severe* was my vengeance!† Say, Verily I advise you unto one thing, *namely*, that ye stand before God by two and two, and singly, ‡ and then consider seriously *and you will find that* there is no madness in your companion *Mohammed* he is no other than a warner unto you, *sent* before a severe punishment. Say, I ask not of you any reward for my *preaching* * it is your own, § *either to give or not* ¶ my reward is to be expected from God alone, and he is witness over all things. Say, Verily my LORD sendeth down the truth to his *prophets* he is the knower of secrets. Say, Truth is come, and falsehood is vanished, and shall not

* "The virtuous believer shall repose in the bosom of peace in the abode of delights —*Savary*

† Those who went before them accused the messengers of faith of being impostors, and prevented them from fulfilling their mission —*Savary*

‡ c That ye set yourselves to deliberate and judge of me and my pretensions coolly and sincerely as in the sight of God without passion or prejudice The reason why they are ordered to consider either alone, or by two and two at most together is, because in larger assemblies, where noise passion and prejudice, generally prevail, men have not that freedom of judgment which they have in private ‡

§ "I exhort you to pray unto the Lord together, or separately" —*Savary*

¶ Mohammed, having in the preceding words answered the imputation of madness or vain enthusiasm, by appealing to their cooler thoughts of him and his actions, endeavours by these to clear himself of the suspicion of any worldly view or interest declaring that he desired no salary or support from them for executing his commission, but he expected his wages from God alone

§ Keep your gifts —*Savary*

¶ See chap 25, p 301

return *any more*. Say, If I err, verily I shall err only against my own soul but if I be *rightly* directed, *it will be* by that which my LORD revealeth unto me, for he is ready to hear, and nigh unto those who call upon him. If thou couldest see, when the *unbelievers* shall tremble,* and shall find no refuge, and shall be taken from a near place^f and shall say, We believe in him! But how shall they receive *the faith* from a distant place^g since they had before denied him, and reviled the mysteries of faith, from a distant place?^h And a bar shall be placed between them and that which they shall desire, as it hath been done with those who *behaved* like them heretofore because they have been in a doubt which has caused *scanda*!

CHAPTER XXXV

INTITLED THE CREATOR,^a REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

PRAISE be unto GOD, the creator of heaven and earth, who maketh the angels *his* messengers, furnished with two, and three, and four pair of wings.¹ GOD maketh what addition he pleaseth unto *his* creatures, for GOD *is* almighty. The mercy which GOD shall freely bestow on man kind, *there is* none who can withhold, and what he shall withhold, *there is* none who can bestow, besides him and he *is* the mighty, the wise. O men, remember the favour of GOD towards you is there any creator, besides GOD, who provideth food for you from heaven and earth?[†] *There is* no GOD but he how therefore are ye turned as *de from acknowledging his unity*? If they accuse thee of imposture, *apoc* les before thee have also been accused of imposture, and unto GOD shall *all* things return. O men, verily the promise of GOD is true let not therefore the present life

* *Viz* at their death, or the day of judgment, or the battle of Bedr.³

^f That is, from the outside of the earth to the inside thereof or, from before God's tribunal to hell fire, or from the plain of Bedr to the well into which the dead bodies of the slain were thrown.⁴

^g *e* When they are in the other world whereas faith is to be received in this

^h What a spectacle, when the wicked shall quit their tombs trembling and be unable to find refuge! They will say, we believe but what merit will there be in their faith? They had it not on earth. There they lived in ungodliness, and scoffed at our divine doctrine. —*Savary*

^a Some intitle this chapter *The angels* both words occur in the first verse

(This is the title which *Savary* gives to it. He, says *Zamakhshari* who shall read the chapter of Angels, shall one day see the eight gates of paradise opened before him, and shall enter by whichever he pleases — *Savary*)

¹ That is, some angels have a greater, and some a lesser number of wings, according to their different orders the words not being designed to express the particular number. Gabriel is said to have appeared to Mohammed, on the night he made his journey to heaven, with no less than six hundred wings.⁵

[†] Doth any other dispense unto you the treasures of heaven and earth? — *Savary*

³ *Al Beidawi*

⁴ *Idem.*

⁵ *Idem.*

deceive you, neither let the deceiver deceive you concerning God for Satan is an enemy unto you, wherefore hold him for an enemy he only inviteth his confederates to be the inhabitants of hell. For those who believe not *there is prepared a severe torment* but for those who shall believe and do that which is right, *is prepared mercy and a great reward*. Shall he therefore for whom his evil work hath been prepared, and who imagineth it to be good, *be as he who is rightly disposed, and discerneth the truth?* Verily God will cause to err whom he pleaseth, and will direct whom he pleaseth.* Let not thy soul therefore be spent in sighs for their sakes, *on account of their obstinacy*, for God well knoweth that which they do. *It is God* who sendeth the winds, and raiseth a cloud and we drive the same unto a dead country, and thereby quicken the earth after it hath been dead, so *shall the resurrection be*.^k Whoever desireth excellence, unto God *doth all excellence belong* unto him ascendeth the good speech, and the righteous work will he exalt. But as for them who devise wicked plots,^l they shall suffer a severe punishment, and the device of those men shall be rendered vain. God created you *first* of the dust, and afterwards of seed ^m and he hath made you man and wife [†] No female conceiveth, or bringeth forth, but with his knowledge. Nor is any thing added unto the age of him whose life is prolonged, neither is any thing diminished from his age, but *the same is written* in the book of God's decrees. Verily this is easy with God. The two seas are not to be held in comparison. *this is fresh and sweet*, pleasant to drink, but that *is salt and bitter* ⁿ yet out of each of them ye eat fish,^o and take ornaments^p for you to wear. Thou seest the ships also ploughing *the waves* thereof, that ye may seek *to enrich yourselves by commerce*, of the abundance of God peradventure ye will be thankful. He causeth the night to succeed the day, and he causeth the day to succeed the night, and he obligeth the sun and the moon to perform their services each of them runneth an appointed course. This is God, your LORD his *is the kingdom*. But the *idols* which ye invoke besides him have not the power even over the skin of a date-stone if ye invoke them, they will not hear your calling, and although they should hear, yet they would not answer you. On the day of resurrection they shall disclaim your having associated *them with God* and none shall declare unto thee *the truth*, like one who is well acquainted *therewith*. O men, ye have need of God, but God is self sufficient, and to be praised. If he pleaseth, he can take you away, and produce a new creature *in your stead* neither *will this be difficult* with God. A burdened soul shall not bear the burden of another and if a heavy burdened soul call *on another* to bear part of its burden, no part

* "He who findeth charms in ungodliness, believeth he that he is in the right way? God diffuseth error or knowledge as he pleaseth. —Savary

^k See chap 29 p 326 note ^m

^l As the Koreish did against Mohammed. See chap 8, p 293 note ⁿ

^m See chap 22, p 274

[†] God formed you of earth and of water. He gave unto you the sexes."—Savary

ⁿ That is the two collective bodies of salt water and fresh. See chap 25

^o See chap 16, p 215, note ^p

^p As pearls and coral.

thereof shall be borne *by the person who shall be called on*, although he be *ever so nearly related*. Thou shalt admonish those who fear their LORD in secret, and are constant at prayer and whoever cleanseth himself *from the guilt of disobedience*, cleanseth himself *to the advantage of his own soul*, for all shall be assembled before GOD *at the last day*. The blind and the seeing shall not be held equal, neither darkness and light, nor the cool shade and the scorching wind neither shall the living and the dead be held equal.^a GOD shall cause him to hear whom he pleaseth but thou shalt not make those to hear who are in *their graves*.^b Thou *art* no other than a preacher, verily we have sent thee with truth, a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer of threats. *There hath been* no nation, but a preacher hath in past times been *conversant* among them if they charge thee with imposture, they who were before them likewise charged *their apostles* with imposture. Their apostles came unto them with evident *miracles*, and with *divine* writings,^c and with the enlightening book ^d afterwards I chastised those who were unbelievers, and how *severe* was my vengeance! Dost thou not see that GOD sendeth down rain from heaven, and that we thereby produce fruits of various colours?^e ^f In the mountains also *there* are some tracts white and red, of various colours,^g and *others* are of a deep black ^h and of men, and beasts, and cattle *there* are whose colours are in like manner various. Such only of his servants fear GOD as are endued with understanding verily GOD is mighty and ready to forgive. Verily they who read the book of GOD, and are constant at prayer, and give alms out of what we have bestowed on them, *both* in secret and openly, hope for a merchandise which shall not perish that GOD may fulⁱ pay them their wages, and make them a *superabundant* addition of his liberality, for he is ready to forgive *the faults of his servants*, and to requite *their endeavours*. That which we have revealed unto thee of the book of the Korân is the truth, confirming the *scriptures which were revealed* before it for GOD knoweth and regardeth his servants. And we have given the book of the *Koran* in heritage unto such of our servants as we have chosen of them *there is one* who injureth his own soul,^j and *there is another* of them who keepeth the middle way,^k and *there is another* of them who outstrippeth *others* in good works, by the permission of GOD. This is the great excellence. They shall be introduced into gardens of perpetual abode, they shall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold and

^a This passage expresses the great difference between a true believer and an infidel, truth and vanity and their future reward and punishment.

^b *c.*, Those who obstinately persist in their unbelief who are compared to the dead.

^c As the volumes delivered to Abraham, and to other prophets before Moses.

^d *Viz*, the Law or the Gospel.

^e That is, Of different kinds. See chap 16, p 215.

^f Being more or less intense.

^g "The paths of the mountains are red, white or of various colours. The raven is black."—*Savary*.

^h By not practising what he is taught and commanded in the Korân.

ⁱ That is, Who meaneth well, and performeth his duty for the most part, but not perfectly.

pearls, and their clothing therein *shall be of silk* and they shall say, Praise be unto God, who hath taken away sorrow from us ! verily our LORD is ready to forgive *the sinners, and to reward the obedient* who hath caused us to take up our rest in a dwelling of *eternal stability*, through his bounty, wherein no labour shall touch us, neither shall any weariness affect us. But for the unbelievers is *prepared* the fire of hell it shall not be decreed them to die *a second time*, neither shall *any part* of the punishment thereof be made lighter unto them. Thus shall every infidel be rewarded And they shall cry out aloud in *hell, saying*, LORD, take us hence, and we will work righteousness, and not what we have *formerly* wrought. *But it shall be answered them*, Did we not grant you lives of length sufficient, that whoever would be warned might be warned therein, and did not the preacher^{*} come unto you ? Taste therefore *the pains of hell* And the unjust shall have no protector Verily God knoweth the secrets *both* of heaven and earth, for he knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts *of men*. It is he who hath made you to succeed in the earth^{*} Whoever shall disbelieve, on him be his unbelief, and their unbelief shall only gain the unbelievers greater indignation in the sight of their LORD, and their unbelief shall only increase the perdition of the unbelievers. Say, What think ye of your deities which ye invoke besides God ? Show me what *part* of the earth they have created Or had they any share in *the creation of* the heavens ? Have we given unto *the idolaters* any book of *revelations*, so that they may rely on any proof therefrom to *authorize their practice* ? Nay, but the ungodly make unto one another only deceitful promises. Verily God sustaineth the heavens and the earth, lest they fail and if they should fail, none could support the same besides him, he is gracious and merciful. *The Koreish* swore by God, with a most solemn oath, that if a preacher had come unto them, they would surely have been more *willing* directed than any nation but now a preacher is come unto them, it hath only increased in them *their aversion from the truth, their arrogance in the earth, and their contriving of evil*, but the contrivance of evil shall only encompass the authors thereof Do they expect any other than the punishment awarded against the *unbelievers* of former times ? For thou shalt not find any change in the ordinance of God, neither shalt thou find any variation in the ordinance of God Have they not gone through the earth, and seen what hath been the end of those who were before them, although they were more mighty in strength than they ? God is not to be frustrated by any thing either in heaven or on earth, for he is wise and powerful. If God should punish men according to what they deserve, he would not leave on the back of *the earth* so much as a beast, but he respiteth them to a determined time, and when their time shall come, verily God will regard his servants.

* *Viz.*, Mohammed

* ' He hath established you on the ruins of the past generations '—*Savary*



CHAPTER XXXVI

INTITLED, Y S REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

Y S^a *I swear by the instructive Koran, that thou art one of the messengers of God, sent to show the right way This is a revelation of the most mighty, the merciful God that thou mayest warn a people whose fathers were not warned, and who live in negligence Our sentence^b hath justly been pronounced against the greater part of them, wherefore they shall not believe We have put yokes^c on their necks, which come up to their chins and they are forced to hold up their heads^d and we have set a bar before them, and a bar behind them,^e and we have covered them with darkness, wherefore they shall not see^f It shall be equal unto them whether thou preach unto them, or do not preach unto them, they shall not believe But thou shalt preach with effect unto him only who followeth the admonition of the Koran, and feareth the Merciful in secret Wherefore bear good tidings unto him, of mercy, and an honourable reward. Verily we will restore the dead to life, and will write down their works which they shall have sent before them, and their footsteps which they shall have left behind them,^g and every thing do we set down in a plain register Propound unto them as an example the inhabitants of the city of Antioch when the apostles of Jesus came thereto^h when we sent unto*

^a The meaning of these letters is unknownⁱ some however from a tradition of Ebn Abbas pretend they stand for *Ya usân, i e, O man* This chapter it is said, had several other titles given it by Mohammed himself and particularly that of *The heart of the Koran* The Mohammedans read it to dying persons in their last agony^j

^b *Viz* the sentence of damnation, which God pronounced against the greater part of genti and men at the fall of Adam^k

^c Or collars such as are described p 200 note^l

^d The most part of them will verify our predictions, because that they are unbelievers We have loaded their necks with long and heavy chains In vain would they raise up their heads — *Savary*

^e That is, we have placed obstacles to prevent their looking either forwards or backwards The whole passage represents the blindness and invincible obstinacy with which God justly curses perverse and reprobate men

^f It is said that when the Koreish, in pursuance of a resolution they had taken, had sent a select number to beset Mohammed's house and to kill him¹ the prophet, having caused Ali to lie down on his bed to deceive the assassins, went out and threw a handful of dust at them repeating the nine first verses of this chapter, which end here, and that they were thereupon stricken with blindness, so that they could not see him²

^g As their good or evil example, doctrine &c

^h To explain this passage the commentators tell the following story —

The people of Antioch being idolaters, Jesus sent two of his disciples thither to preach to them and when they drew near the city, they found Habib surnamed al Najar or the *carpenter*, feeding sheep and acquainted him with their errand whereupon he asked them what proof they had of their veracity, and they told him they could cure the sick, and the blind and the lepers and to demonstrate the truth of what they said they laid their hands on a child of his who was sick, and immediately restored him to health Habib was convinced by this miracle, and believed after which they went into the city and preached the worship of one true

ⁱ See the Prelim Disc sect 3, p 42, &c.

^j Vide Bobov De visit ægrot, p 17

^k See chap 7, p 117 chap 11, p 186, &c.

^l See the Prelim Disc p 35 ^m Vide

them two of the said apostles,^h but they charged them with imposture Wherefore we strengthened them with a third.ⁱ And they said, Verily we are sent unto you by God. The inhabitants answered, Ye are no other than men, as we are, neither hath the Merciful revealed any thing unto you ye only publish a lie. The apostles replied, Our LORD knoweth that we are really sent unto you and our duty is only public preaching, Those of Antioch said, Verily we presage evil from you if ye desist not from preaching, we will surely stone you, and a painful punishment shall be inflicted on you by us. The apostles answered, Your evil presage is with yourselves^k although ye be warned, will ye persist in your errors? Verily ye are a people who transgress exceedingly And a certain man^l came hastily from the farther parts of the city, and said, O my people, follow the messengers of God, follow him who demandeth not any reward of you for these are rightly directed [*XXIII] What reason have I that I should not worship him who hath created me? for unto him shall ye return. Shall I take other gods beside him? If the Merciful be pleased to afflict me, their intercession will not avail me at all, neither can they deliver me then should I be in a manifest error Verily I believe in your LORD, wherefore hearken unto me But they stoned him and as he died, it was said unto him, Enter thou into paradise And he said, O that my people knew how merciful GOD hath been unto me^m for he hath highly honoured me And we sent not down against his people, after they had slain him, an army from heaven, nor the other instruments of destruction which we sent down on unbelievers in former daysⁿ there was only one

God curing a great number of people of several infirmities but at length the affair coming to the prince's ear he ordered them to be imprisoned, for endeavouring to seduce the people When Jesus heard of this he sent another of his disciples generally supposed to have been Simon Peter who coming to Antioch and appearing a zealous idolater soon insinuated himself into the favour of the inhabitants and of their prince and at length took an opportunity to desire the prince would order the two persons who a he was informed had been put in prison for broaching new opinions to be brought before him to be examined and accordingly they were brought when Peter having previously warned them to take no notice that they knew him asked them who sent them to which they answered, God who had created all things, and had no companion he then required some convincing proof of their mission, upon which they restored a blind person to his sight and performed some other miracles, with which Peter seemed not to be satisfied, for that according to some he did the very same miracles himself but declared that, if their God could enable them to raise the dead he would believe them, which condition the apostles accepting a lad was brought who had been dead seven days and at their prayers he was raised to life and thereupon Peter acknowledged himself convinced and ran and demolished the idols, a great many of the people following him, and embracing the true faith, but those who believed not were destroyed by the cry of the angel Gabriel^o

^h Some say these two were John and Paul, but others name different persons

ⁱ Viz Simon Peter

^k i. e. If any evil befall you it will be the consequence of your own obstinacy and unbelief See chap 27, p 313, note^p

^l "Suspend your presage, when ye shall have listened to our doctrine, perchance ye will renounce your evil doings —Savary

^m This was Habbib al Najjar, whose martyrdom is here described his tomb is still shown near Antioch and is much visited by the Mohammedans⁴

ⁿ As a deluge or a shower of stones, or a suffocating wind &c The words may also be translated Nor did we determine to send down such executioners of our justice

^o Al Zamakh, al Beidawi &c Vide etiam Marracc in Alc. p 580 ⁴ Vide Schultens, Indic. Geogr ad calcem Vitæ Saladini, voce Antiochia.

cry of Gabriel from heaven, and behold, they became utterly extinct O the misery of men! No apostle cometh unto them, but they laugh him to scorn Do they not consider how many generations we have destroyed before them? Verily they shall not return unto them but all of them in general shall be assembled before us One sign of the resurrection unto them is the dead earth ^a we quicken the same by the rain, and produce thereout various sorts of grain, of which they eat And we make therein gardens of palm trees, and vines and we cause springs to gush forth in the same that they may eat of the fruits thereof, and of the labour of their hands Will they not therefore give thanks? Praise be unto him who hath created all the different kinds, both of vegetables, which the earth bringeth forth, and of their own species, by forming the two sexes, and also the various sorts of things which they know not The night also is a sign unto them we withdraw the day from the same, and behold, they are covered with darkness and the sun hasteneth to his place of rest ^o This is the disposition of the mighty, the wise God And for the moon have we appointed certain mansions,^p until she change and return to be like the old branch of a palm tree ^q It is not expedient that the sun should overtake the moon in her course neither doth the night outstrip the day but each of these luminaries moveth in a peculiar orbit It is a sign also unto them, that they carry their offspring in the ship filled with merchandise, ^r and that we have made for them other conveniences like unto it,^s whereon they ride If we please, we drown them, and there is none to help them, neither are they delivered, unless through our mercy, and that they may enjoy life for a season When it is said unto them, Fear that which is before you, and that which is behind you,^t that ye may obtain mercy, they withdraw from thee and thou dost not bring them one sign, of the signs of their LORD, but they turn aside from the same And when it is said unto them, Give alms of that which God hath bestowed on you, the unbelievers say unto those who believe, by way of mockery Shall we feed him whom God can feed, if he pleaseth?^u Verily ye are in no other than a manifest

^a See chap 29, p 326 note ^m

^o That is he hasteneth to run his daily course the setting of the sun resembling a traveller's going to rest Some copies vary in this place and instead of *imostakarrin laha* read *la mostakarra laha*, according to which the sentence should be rendered, *The sun runneth his course without ceasing and hath not a place of rest*

^p Viz, these are twenty-eight constellations through one of which the moon passes every night, thence called the mansions or houses of the moon ^b

^q We have appointed the phases of the moon and the moment at which she appeareth suspended like the clusters of the date tree ^c—*Savary*

^r For when a palm branch grows old it shrinks and becomes crooked and yellow, not ill representing the appearance of the new moon

^s Some suppose that the deliverance of Noah and his companions in the ark is here intended and then the words should be translated, *That we carried their progeny in the ark filled with living creatures* (*Savary* adopts this reading)

^t As camels which are the land ships, of lesser vessels and boats

^u i. e. The punishment of this world and of the next

^b When the poor Moslems asked alms of the richer Koreish, they told them that

^a See the Prelim Disc. sect 1 p 22

^c "The date tree produces two or three large clusters, which spring from its summit, and are suspended."—*Savary*

error And they say, When will this promise of the resurrection be fulfilled, if ye speak truth? They only wait for one sounding of the trumpet,² which shall overtake them while they are disputing together, and they shall not have time to make any disposition of their effects, neither shall they return to their family And the trumpet shall be sounded again,³ and behold they shall come forth from their graves, and hasten unto their LORD They shall say, Alas for us! who hath awakened us from our bed?⁴ This is what the Merciful promised us, and his apostles spoke the truth It shall be but one sound of the trumpet, and behold, they shall be all assembled before us On this day no soul shall be unjustly treated in the least, neither shall ye be rewarded, but according to what ye shall have wrought. On this day the inhabitants of paradise shall be wholly taken up with joy they and their wives shall rest in shady groves, leaning on magnificent couches There shall they have fruit, and they shall obtain whatever they shall desire Peace shall be the word spoken unto the righteous, by a merciful LORD but he shall say unto the wicked, Be ye separated this day, O ye wicked, from the righteous Did I not command you, O sons of Adam, that ye should not worship Satan, because he was an open enemy unto you? And did I not say, Worship me, this is the right way? But now hath he seduced a great multitude of you did ye not therefore understand? This is hell, with which ye were threatened be ye cast into the same this day to be burned, for that ye have been unbelievers On this day we will seal up their mouths, that they shall not open them in their own defence, and their hands shall speak unto us, and their feet shall bear witness of that which they have committed⁵ If we pleased we could put out their eyes, and they might run with emulation in the way they use to take,⁶ and how should they see their error? And if we pleased we could transform them into other shapes, in their places when they should be found, and they should not be able to depart neither should they repent⁷ Unto whomsoever we grant a long life, him do we cause to bow down his body through age⁸ Will they not therefore understand? We have not taught Mohammed the art of poetry,⁹ nor is it expedient for him to be a poet This book is no other than an admonition from God, and a perspicuous Korân, that he may

if God could provide for them as they imagined and did not, it was an argument that they deserved not his favour so well as themselves whereas God permits some to be in want to try the rich and exercise their charity

² See the Prelim Disc sect iv p 59, and the notes to chap 39

³ See ibid

⁴ For they shall sleep during the interval between these two blasts of the trumpet, and shall feel no pain⁷

⁵ See the Prelim Disc. sect iv p 63

⁶ "We could deprive them of sight, and they would wander hither and thither in the midst of darkness. —Savary

⁷ That is, They deserve to be thus treated for their infidelity and disobedience but we bear with them out of mercy, and grant them respite

⁸ He whose old age we lengthen approaches unto childhood. —Savary

⁹ This is, in answer to the infidels, who pretended the Korân was only a poetical composition.

warn him who is living ^a and the sentence of *condemnation* will be justly executed on the unbelievers. Do they not consider that we have created for them, among the things which our hand have wrought, cattle of *several kinds*, of which they are possessors, and that we have put the same in subjection under them? Some of them *are* for their riding, and on some of them do they feed and they receive *other* advantages therefrom, and of *their milk* do they drink. Will they not, therefore, be thankful? They have taken *other* gods, besides God, *in hopes* that they may be assisted by them, but they are not able to give them any assistance yet *are* they a party of troops ready to *defend* them.* Let not their speech, therefore grieve thee we know that which they privately conceal, and that which they publicly discover Doth not man know that we have created him of seed? yet, behold, he is an open disputer *against the resurrection*, and he propoundeth unto us a comparison, and forgetteth his creation. He saith, Who shall restore bones to life, when they are rotten? Answer, He shall restore them to life, who produced them the first time for he is skilled in every *kind of* creation who giveth you fire out of the green tree,[†] and behold, ye kindle *your fuel* from thence Is not he who hath created the heavens and the earth able to create *new creatures* like unto them? Yea certainly for he is the wise Creator His command, when he willeth a thing, is only that he saith unto it, Be, and it is. Wherefore praise be unto him, in whose hand is the kingdom of all things, and unto whom ye shall return *at the last day*

CHAPTER XXXVII

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD
 IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD,
 REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

By *the angels* who rank themselves in order,^a and by those who drive forward and dispel *the clouds*,^b and by those who read *the Koran* for

^a : ^c Indued with understanding the stupid and careless being like dead persons^c

* "They are incapable of giving succour The worshipper and the idol shall be the prey of the flames — *Savary*

^c See chap 16 p 214, note *

[†] The usual way of striking fire in the east is by rubbing together two pieces of wood one of which is commonly of the tree called Markh and the other of that called Afâr and it will succeed even though the wood be green and wet²

² Some understand by these words the *souls of men* who *range themselves* in obedience to God's laws, and *put away* from them all infidelity and corrupt doings, or the *souls* of those who *rank themselves* in battle array to fight for the true religion, and *push on* their horses to charge the infidels, &c¹

^b Or, who *put in motion* all bodies, in the upper and lower world, according to the divine command, or who *keep off* men from disobedience to God by inspiring them with good thoughts and inclinations, or, who drive away the devils from them, &c²

^a Al Beidawî. ^c Vide Hyde, de Rel. vet Pers c. 25, p 333, &c ¹ Al Beidawî.
² Idem.

an admonition, verily your GOD is one * the LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatever is between them, and the LORD of the east.¹ We have adorned the lower heaven with the ornament of the stars and we have placed therein a guard against every rebellious devil, that they may not listen to the discourse of the exalted princes (for they are darted at from every side, to repel them, and a lasting torment is prepared for them), except him who catcheth a word by stealth, and is pursued by a shining flame † Ask the Meccans, therefore, whether they be stronger by nature or the angels, whom we have created? We have surely created them of stiff clay Thou wonderest at God's power, and their obstinacy, but they mock at the arguments urged to convince them when they are warned, they do not take warning, and when they see any sign, they scoff thereat, and say, This is no other than manifest sorcery after we shall be dead, and become dust and bones, shall we be really raised to life, and our forefathers also? Answer, Yea and ye shall then be despicable. There shall be but one blast of the trumpet, and they shall see themselves raised and they shall say, Alas for us! this is the day of judgment, this is the day of distinction between the righteous and the wicked, which ye rejected as a falsehood. Gather together those who have acted unjustly, and their comrades, and the idols which they worshipped besides GOD, and direct them in the way to hell, and set them before God's tribunal, for they shall be called to account What aileth you that ye defend not one another? But on this day they shall submit themselves to the judgment of God and they shall draw nigh unto one another, and shall dispute among themselves. And the seduced shall say unto those who seduced them, Verily we came unto us with presages of prosperity, and the seducers shall answer, Nay, rather ye were not true believers for we had no power over you to compel you, but ye were people who voluntarily transgressed wherefore the sentence of our LORD hath been justly pronounced against us, and we shall surely taste his vengeance We seduced you, but we also erred ourselves. They shall both therefore be made partakers of the same punishment on that day Thus will we deal with the wicked because, when it is said unto them, There is no god besides the true GOD, they swell with arrogance, and say, Shall we abandon our gods for a distracted poet? Nay he cometh with the truth, and beareth witness to the former apostles. Ye

* "I swear by the bands of angels, by those who threaten by those who read, your God is the only God."—Savary

¹ The original word, being in the plural number, is supposed to signify the different points of the horizon from whence the sun rises in the course of the year, which are in number three hundred and sixty (equal to the number of days in the old civil year), and have as many corresponding points where it successively sets, during that space⁴ Marracci groundlessly imagines this interpretation to be built on the error of the plurality of worlds⁵

† "One of them approached by stealth the celestial spheres but a penetrating flame precipitated him down"—Savary

* See chap 15, p 210

¹ Literally, from the right hand. The words may also be rendered, with force, to compel us, or, with an oath, swearing that ye were in the right.

³ "The angels who read the Koran are here meant"—Savary

⁴ Al Beidawi, Yahya

⁵ Marracci in Alc p 589

shall surely taste the painful torment of hell, and ye shall not be rewarded, but according to your works. But *as for* the sincere servants of God, they shall have a certain provision in paradise, namely, delicious fruits and they shall be honoured they shall be placed in gardens of pleasure, leaning on couches, opposite to one another ^m a cup shall be carried round unto them, filled from a limpid fountain, for the delight of those who drink it shall not oppress the understanding, neither shall they be inebriated therewith And near them shall lie the virgins of paradise, refraining their looks from beholding any besides their spouses, having large black eyes, and resembling the eggs of an ostrich covered with feathers from the dust.ⁿ And they shall turn the one unto the other, and shall ask one another questions. And one of them shall say, Verily I had an intimate friend while I lived in the world, who said unto me, Art thou one of those who assertest the truth of the resurrection? After we shall be dead, and reduced to dust and bones, shall we surely be judged? Then he shall say to his companions, Will ye look down? And he shall look down, and shall see him in the midst of hell and he shall say unto him, By God, it wanted little but thou hadst drawn me into ruin and had it not been for the grace of my LORD, I had surely been one of those who have been delivered up to eternal torment Shall we die any other than our first death, or do we suffer any punishment? Verily this is great felicity for the obtaining a felicity like this let the labourers labour Is this a better entertainment, or the tree of al Zakkum? ^o Verily we have designed the same for an occasion of dispute unto the unjust ^p It is a tree which issueth from the bottom of hell the fruit thereof resembleth the heads of devils, ^q and the damned shall eat of the same, and shall fill their bellies therewith, and there shall be given them thereon a mixture of filthy and boiling water to drink afterwards shall they return into hell ^r They found their fathers going astray, and they trod hastily in their footsteps for the greater part of the ancients erred before them And we sent warners unto them heretofore and see how miserable was the end of those who were warned, except the sincere servants of God Noah called on us in former days and we heard him graciously and we delivered him and his family out of the great distress, and we caused his offspring to be those who survived to people the earth

^m See chap 15 p 212 note ^b

ⁿ This may seem an odd comparison to an European, but the orientals think nothing comes so near the colour of a fine woman's skin as that of an ostrich's egg, when kept perfectly clean

^o There is a thorny tree so called which grows in Tehama, and bears fruit like an almond, but extremely bitter, and therefore the same name is given to this infernal tree

^p The infidels not conceiving how a tree could grow in hell, where the stones themselves serve for fuel

^q How different is the tree al Zakkum from the abode of Eden! We have planted it for the torment of the wicked —Savary

^r Or of serpents ugly to behold the original word signifies both

^s Some suppose that the entertainment above mentioned will be the welcome given the damned before they enter that place, and others that they will be suffered to come out of hell from time to time, to drink their scalding liquor

and we left *the following salutation to be bestowed* on him by the latest posterity, *namely, Peace be on Noah among all creatures!* Thus do we reward the righteous, for he *was one* of our servants the true believers. Afterwards we drowned the others. Abraham also *was* of his religion * when he came unto his LORD with a perfect heart. When he said unto his father and his people, *What do ye worship?* Do ye choose false gods preferably to *the true God?* What therefore *is* your opinion of the LORD of all creatures? And he looked and observed the stars, and said, *Verily I shall be sick,¹ and shall not assist at your sacrifices* and they turned their backs and departed from him.² And Abraham went privately to their gods, and said *scoffingly unto them,* Do ye not eat of the meat which *is set before you?* What aileth you that ye speak not? And he turned upon them, and struck *them* with his right hand, *and demolished them.* And the people came hastily unto him and he said, Do ye worship the *images* which ye carve? whereas God hath created you, and also that which ye make. They said, Build a pile for him, and cast him into the glowing fire. And they devised a plot against him, but we made them the inferior, *and delivered him.*³ And Abraham said, *Verily I am going unto my LORD,*⁴ who will direct me. O LORD, grant me a righteous *issue.* Wherefore we acquainted him *that he should have a son, who should be a meek youth* * And when he had attained to *years of discretion,*⁵ *and could join in acts of religion* with him, Abraham said unto him, O my son, verily I saw in a dream that I should offer thee in sacrifice ⁶ consider therefore what thou art of opinion *I should do.* He answered, O my father, do what thou art

* For Noah and he agreed in the fundamental points both of faith and practice though the space between them was no less than 2640 years ⁶

¹ He made as if he gathered so much from the aspect of the heavens (the people being greatly addicted to the superstitions of astrology) and made it his excuse for being absent from their festival to which they had invited him

² Fearing he had some contagious distemper ⁷

³ See chap 21, p 268 &c

⁴ *e* Whither he hath commanded me

⁵ "We foretold unto him a son who should be endowed with wisdom —Savary

⁶ He was then thirteen years old ⁸

⁷ The commentators say, that Abraham was ordered in a vision which he saw on the eighth night of the month Dhu lhajja, to sacrifice his son and to assure him that this was not from the devil, as he was inclined to suspect the same vision was repeated a second time the next night when he *knew* it to be from God, and also a third time the night following when he resolved to obey it, and to *sacrifice* his son: and hence some think the 8th 9th, and 10th days of Dhu lhajja are called *Yawm alterwya, yawm arufat and yawm alnehr* that is *the day of the vision, the day of knowledge, and the day of the sacrifice*

It is the most received opinion among the Mohammedans that the son whom Abraham offered was Ismael, and not Isaac, Ismael being his only son at that time for the promise of Isaac's birth is mentioned lower as subsequent in time to this transaction. They also allege the testimony of their prophet, who is reported to have said, *I am the son of the two who were offered in sacrifice*, meaning his great ancestor, Ismael, and his own father Abdallah for Abdalmotalleb had made a vow, that if God would permit him to find out and open the well Zemzem, and should give him ten sons, he would sacrifice one of them accordingly, when he had obtained his desire in both respects, he cast lots on his sons, and the lot falling on Abdallah, he redeemed him by offering an hundred camels, which was there ordered to be the price of a man's blood in the Sonna.⁹

⁸ Al Beidawi.

⁷ Idem

⁵ Idem

⁶ Idem, Jallalo ddin, al /amakh.

commanded thou shalt find me, if God please, a patient person And when they had submitted themselves *to the divine will*, and Abraham had laid *his son* prostrate on his face,* we cried unto him, O Abraham, now hast thou verified the vision Thus do we reward the righteous. Verily this was a manifest trial And we ransomed him with a noble victim.^a And we left the *following salutation to be bestowed* on him by the latest posterity, *namely*, Peace be on Abraham! Thus do we reward the righteous for he *was one* of our faithful servants. And we rejoiced him with the promise of Isaac, a righteous prophet, and we blessed him and Isaac and of their offspring *were* some righteous doers, and *others* who manifestly injured their own souls We were also gracious unto Moses and Aaron, heretofore and we delivered them and their people from a great distress, And we assisted them *against the Egyptians*, and they became the conquerors. And we gave them the perspicuous book of the law, and we directed them into the right way, and we left the *following salutation to be bestowed* on them by the latest posterity, *namely*, Peace be on Moses and Aaron! Thus do we reward the righteous, for they *were two* of our faithful servants And Elias^b *was also one* of those who were sent *by us* When he said unto his people, Do ye not fear God? Do ye invoke Baal, and forsake the most excellent Creator? God is your LORD, and the LORD of your forefathers But they accused him of imposture wherefore they shall be delivered up to *eternal punishment*, except the sincere servants of God And we left the *following salutation to be bestowed* on him by the latest posterity, *namely*, Peace be on Ilyasin!^c Thus do we reward the righteous for he *was one* of our faithful servants

The commentators add that Abraham went so far as to draw the knife with all his strength across the lad's throat, but was miraculously hindered from hurting him¹⁰

* The epithet of *great* or *noble* is here added either because it was large and fat or because it was accepted as the ransom of a prophet Some suppose this victim was a ram and if we may believe a common tradition the very same which Abel sacrificed having been brought to Abraham out of paradise others fancy it was a wild goat, which came down from mount Thabir near Mecca for the Moham medans lay the scene of this transaction in the valley of Mina as a proof of which they tell us that the horns of the victim were hung up on the spout of the Caaba, where they remained till they were burned, together with that building, in the days of Abdallah Ebn Zobeir ¹ though others assure us that they had been before taken down by Mohammed himself, to remove all occasion of idolatry²

^b This prophet the Mohammedans generally suppose to have been the same with al Khedr and confound him with Phineas³ and sometimes with Edris or Enoch Some say he was the son of Yasin and nearly related to Aaron and others suppose him to have been a different person He was sent to the inhabitants of Baalbec in Syria the Helopolis of the Greeks to reclaim them from the worship of their idol Baal or the sun whose name makes part of that of the city, which was anciently called Becc⁴

^c The commentators do not well know what to make of this word Some think it is the plural of Elias, or as the Arabs write it, Ilyâs and that both that prophet and his followers or those who resembled him are meant thereby others divide the word and read *al Yasin*, i e., *the family of Yasin*, who was the father of Elias, according to an opinion mentioned above and others imagine it signifies Mohammed, or the Korân or some other book of scripture But the most probable conjecture is that Ilyas or Ilyâsan are the same name or design one and the same person as Sinai or Simn denote one and the same mountain the last syllable being added here, to keep up the rhyme or cadence, at the close of the verse

^a Al Beidâwi, Jallalo d dîn ¹ Idem ² Vide D Herb Bibl. Orient art. Ismail ³ See chap 18, p 244, note ⁴ Jallalo d dîn, al Beidâwi

And Lot *was also one* of those who were sent *by us*. When we delivered him and his whole family, except an old woman, *his wife, who perished* among those that remained behind afterwards we destroyed the others.^d And ye, O people of Mecca, pass by the places where they once dwell, as ye journey in the morning, and by night, will ye not therefore understand? Jonas *was also one* of those who were sent *by us*.^e When he fled^f into the loaded ship, and those who were on board cast lots among themselves,^g and he was condemned^h and the fish swallowed him,ⁱ for he was worthy of reprehension. And if he had not been *one* of those who praised God,^k verily he had remained in the belly thereof until the day of resurrection. And we cast him on the naked shore, and he *was sick*^{l*} and we caused a plant of a gourd^m to grow up over him, and we sent him to an hundred thousand persons, or they were a greater number, and they believed wherefore we granted them to enjoy *this life* for a season. Inquire of the Meccans whether thy Lord hath daughters, and they sons?ⁿ Have we created the angels of the female sex? and *were* they witnesses thereof? Do they not say of their own false invention, God hath begotten issue? and are they not really liars? Hath he chosen daughters preferably to sons? Ye have no reason to judge thus. Will ye therefore not be admonished? Or have ye a manifest proof of *what ye say*? Produce now your book of revelations, if ye speak truth. And they make him to be of kin unto the genu,^o whereas the genu know that they *who affirm such things*

^d See chap 7, p 125 &c and chap 11, p 183, &c

^e See chap 10, p 173

^f See chap 21, p 271

^g Al Beidâwi says the ship stood stock still, wherefore they concluded that they had a fugitive servant on board and cast lots to find him out

^h ⁱ He was taken by the lot

ⁱ When the lot fell on Jonas he cried out *I am the fugitive*, and immediately threw himself into the sea.^g

^k The words seem to relate particularly to Jonas's supplication while in the whale's belly^g

^l By reason of what he had suffered his body becoming like that of a new born child? It is said that the fish after it had swallowed Jonas, swam after the ship with its head above water that the prophet might breathe, who continued to praise God till the fish came to land and vomited him out

The opinions of the Mohammedan writers as to the time Jonas continued in the fish's belly, differ very much some suppose it was a part of a day others three days others seven others twenty and others forty^g

^m The fish which had swallowed him threw him upon the sand, overwhelmed with sufferings *'—Savary*

ⁿ The original word properly signifies a plant which spreads itself upon the ground, having no erect stalk or stem to support it, and particularly a *gourd* though some imagine Jonas's plant to have been a fig and others the small tree or shrub called *Mauz*,^g which bears very large leaves, and excellent fruit.^l The commentators add that this plant withered the next morning, and that Jonas being much concerned at it, God made a remonstrance to him in behalf of the Ninevites agreeable to what is recorded in scripture

^o See chap 16, p 218.

^p That is, the angels, who are also comprehended under the name of *genu*, being a species of them. Some say that the infidels went so far as to assert that God and the devil were brothers,^g which blasphemous expression may have been occasioned by the *magian* notions

^g Jallâddin al Beidâwi

^h See chap 21, p 271

ⁱ Al Beidâwi

^j Idem

^k Idem

^l Vide J Leon Descr Afric. lib 9 Gab Sionit de Urb Orient ad calcem Geogr Nub p 32, et Hottinger, Hist. Orient p 78 &c

^m Al Beidâwi.

shall be delivered up to *eternal punishment*, (far be that from God, which they affirm of him!) except the sincere servants of God.* Moreover ye and that which ye worship shall not seduce *any* concerning God, except him who is *destined* to be burned in hell. There is none of us but hath an appointed place we range ourselves in order, *attending the commands of God* and we celebrate *the divine praise*.^p The *infidels* said, If we had been favoured with a book of divine revelations, of those which were delivered to the *ancients*, we had surely been sincere servants of God yet now the *Korân* is revealed, they believe not therein, but hereafter shall they know the *consequence of their unbelief*. Our word hath formerly been given unto our servants the apostles, that they should certainly be assisted *against the infidels*, and that our armies should surely be the conquerors. Turn aside therefore from them for a season and see *the calamities which shall afflict them*, for they shall see *thy future success and prosperity*. Do they therefore seek to hasten our vengeance? Verily when it shall descend into their courts, an evil morning *shall it be* unto those who were warned *in vain*.[†] Turn aside from them therefore for a season, and see hereafter shall they see *thy success and their punishment*. Praise be unto thy LORD, the LORD who is far exalted above what they affirm of him! And peace be on his apostles! And praise be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures!

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

INTITLED, S, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

S^q By the Korân full of admonition^r Verily the unbelievers *are addicted* to pride and contention. How many generations have we destroyed before them, and they cried *for mercy*, but it was not a time to escape

* ‘The impious pretend that God hath had intercourse with the angels and the angels know that the impious shall be the prey of flames. Praise be to the Eternal! Far be their blasphemies from him. His faithful servants alone are entitled to speak of him — *Savary*

^p These words are supposed to be spoken by the angels, disclaiming the worship paid to them by the idolaters and declaring that they have each their station and office appointed them by God, whose commands they are at all times ready to execute, and whose praises they continually sing. There are some expositors however, who think they are the words of Mohammed and his followers, the meaning being that each of them has a place destined for him in paradise and that they are the men who range themselves in order before God, to worship and pray to him and who celebrate his praise, by rejecting every false notion derogatory to the divine wisdom and power

[†] ‘Shun the infidels until the time. Look on them one day their eyes shall be opened. Do they desire to hasten our vengeance? When the hour shall knock at their gate, terrible shall be their awakening. Fly them until the appointed hour’ — *Savary*

^q The meaning of this letter is unknown^s some guess it stands for *Siddh*, i. e. *Truth* or for *Sadaka*, i. e. *he* (viz Mohammed) *speakes the truth*, and others propose different conjectures, all equally uncertain.

^r Something must be understood to answer this oath, which the commentators variously supply

^s See the Prelim Disc sect iii p 42, &c.

They wonder that a warner from among themselves hath come unto them. And the unbelievers said, *This man is a sorcerer, and a liar doth he affirm the gods to be but one God Surely this is a wonderful thing And the chief men among them departed, saying to one another, Go, and persevere in the worship of your gods verily this is the thing which is designed.*¹* We have not heard *any thing like this* in the last religion ² *this is no other than a false contrivance.* Hath an admonition been sent unto him *preferably to any other* among us. Verily they are in a doubt concerning my admonition but they have not yet tasted my vengeance. Are the treasures of the mercy of thy LORD, the mighty, the munificent *God*, in their hands? Is the kingdom of the heavens, and the earth, and of whatever is between them, in their possession? *If it be so*, let them ascend by steps *unto heaven.* But any army of the confederates shall *even* here be put to flight.[†] The people of Noah, and *the tribe of Ad*, and Pharaoh the contriver of the stakes,[‡] and *the tribe of Thamud*, and the people of Lot, and the inhabitants of the wood *near Madian*,[§] accused *the prophets*, of imposture before them, these were the confederates *against the messengers of God.* All of them did no other than accuse *their apostles* of falsehood wherefore my vengeance hath been justly executed *upon them.* And these wait only for one sounding of the trumpet, which there shall be no deferring. And they *scoffingly* say, O LORD, hasten our sentence unto us before the day of account. Do thou patiently bear that which they utter and remind *them* of our servant David, endued with strength,[¶] for he *was* one who seriously turned himself *unto God* We compelled the mountains to

* On the conversion of Omar the Koreish being greatly irritated the most considerable of them went in a body to Abu Taleb to complain to him of his nephew Mohammed's proceedings but being confounded and put to silence by the prophet's arguments, they left the assembly, and encouraged one another in their obstinacy¹

¹ Namely, To draw us from their worship

* 'Their chiefs arose and said, Keep your religion be faithful to your God We know his designs'—Savary

² *ε* In the religion which we received from our fathers, or, in the religion of Jesus which was the last before the mission of Mohammed²

† "Let them essay to ascend into the heavens. Their armies, how numerous soever they be, shall be put to flight"—Savary

‡ 'Pharaoh environed by his courtiers'—Savary

⁴ For they say Pharaoh used to tie those he had a mind to punish by the hands and feet to four stakes fixed in the ground and so tormented them⁴ Some interpret the words, which may also be translated *the lord or master of the stakes* figuratively of the firm establishment of Pharaoh's kingdom because the Arabs fix their tents with stakes⁵ but they may possibly intend that prince's *obstinacy and hardness of heart.*

⁵ See chap 15 p 213

[¶] The commentators suppose that ability to undergo the frequent practice of religious exercises is here meant They say David used to fast every other day, and to spend one half of the night in prayer[¶]

⁴ Al Beidâwi

⁵ Idem

* (Pharaoh is mentioned in several parts of the Koran, with the epithet *zou aloutad*, *contriver of the stakes* So the phrase has hitherto been translated. *Zou* signifies *possessor* *Aloutad* does not merely mean *stakes* It means also *the chief men of a city* It has, therefore, appeared to me to be more natural to translate the Arabic words by "*Pharaoh, environed by his courtiers*," than by "*Pharaoh, contriver of the stakes*" Besides, Mohammed uniformly represents that prince surrounded by his courtiers)—Savary

Tallal'oddin.

* Al Beidâwi

Idem. Interp

celebrate *our* praise with him, in the evening and at sunrise, and also the birds, which gather themselves together *unto him* * *all of them* returned frequently unto him *for this purpose*. And we established his kingdom, and gave him wisdom and eloquence of speech. Hath the story of the *two* adversaries^b come to *thy knowledge*, * when they ascended over the wall into the upper apartment, when they went in unto David, and he was afraid of them.^c They said, Fear not *we are two adversaries who have a controversy to be decided*. The one of us hath wronged the other wherefore judge between us with truth, and be not unjust, and direct us into the even way. This my brother had ninety and nine sheep, and I had only one ewe and he said, Give her to me to keep, and he prevailed against me in the discourse *which we had together* † David answered, Verily he hath wronged thee in demanding thine ewe *as an addition* to his own sheep and many of them who are concerned together *in business* wrong one another, except those who believe and do that which is right, but how few are they! And David perceived that we had tried him *by this parable*, and he asked pardon of his Lord and he fell down and bowed himself, and repented.^d Wherefore we forgave him this *fault*, and he *shall be* admitted to approach near unto us, and *shall have* an excellent place of abode *in paradise*. O David, verily we have appointed thee a sovereign prince in the earth judge therefore between men with truth, and follow not *thy own* lust, lest it cause thee to err from the way of GOD for those who err from the way of GOD shall suffer a severe punishment, because they have forgotten the day of succour. We have not created the heavens and the earth, and whatever is between them, in vain.^e This is the opinion of the unbelievers but woe unto those who believe not, because of the fire of hell ‡ Shall we deal with those who believe and do good works, as with those who act corruptly in the earth? Shall we deal with the pious as with the wicked? A blessed book have we sent down unto thee, O Mohammed, that they may attentively meditate on the signs thereof, and that *men* of understanding may be warned. And we gave unto David

* See chap 21 p 270

^b These were two angels who came unto David in the shape of men to demand judgment in the feigned controversy after mentioned. It is no other than Nathan's parable to David² a little disguised

* "Knowest thou the dispute of the two brothers?"—*Savary*

^c Because they came suddenly upon him on a day of privacy, when the doors were guarded and no person admitted to disturb his devotions. For David they say divided his time regularly setting apart one day for the service of God, an other day for rendering justice to his people, another day for preaching to them, and another day for his own affairs³

† "I yielded unto his solicitations, and he hath wrested her from me"—*Savary*

^d The crime of which David had been guilty was the taking the wife of Uriah, and ordering her husband to be set in the front of the battle to be slain⁴

^e Some suppose this story was told to serve as an admonition to Mohammed, who it seems, was apt to covet what was another's

² So as to permit injustice to go unpunished and righteousness unrewarded

‡ 'The creation of the heavens, the earth, and the whole universe, is our work. It is not the sport of chance, as the unbelievers imagine. Woe be to the unbelievers! They shall be the prey of the flames'—*Savary*

Solomon, how excellent a servant! for he frequently turned himself to God. When the horses standing on three feet,* and touching the ground with the edge of the fourth foot,* and swift in the course, were set in parade before him in the evening,^f he said, Verily I have loved the love of earthly good above the remembrance of my LORD and have spent the time in viewing these horses, until the sun is hidden by the veil of night bring the horses back unto me. And when they were brought back, he began to cut off their legs and their necks. We also tried Solomon, and placed on his throne a counterfiet body ^g† afterwards he turned unto God, and said, O LORD, forgive me, and give me a kingdom which may not be obtained by any after me,^h for thou art the giver of kingdoms. And we made the wind subject to him, it ran gently at his command, whithersoever we directed And we also put the devils in subjection under him, and among them such as were every way skilled in building, and in diving for pearls ⁱ and others we delivered to him bound in chains, saying, This is our gift therefore be bounteous, or be sparing unto whom thou shalt thrive

* They ran with such swiftness, that hardly did their feet touch the ground —Savary

^f Some say that Solomon brought these horses, being a thousand in number, from Damascus and Nisibis, which cities he had taken, others say that they were left him by his father who took them from the Amalekites, while others, who prefer the marvellous, pretend that they came up out of the sea, and had wings However, Solomon having one day a mind to view these horses, ordered them to be brought before him and was so taken up with them that he spent the remainder of the day, till after sunset in looking on them by which means he neglected the prayer, which ought to have been said at that time, till it was too late, but when he perceived his omission, he was so greatly concerned at it, that, ordering the horses to be brought back, he killed them all as an offering to God, except only a hundred of the best of them But God made him ample amends for the loss of these horses by giving him dominion over the winds^g

^g The most received exposition of this passage is taken from the following Talmudic fable^h

Solomon having taken Sidon, and slain the king of that city brought away his daughter Jerâda who became his favourite and because she ceased not to lament her father's loss, he ordered the devils to make an image of him for her consolation, which being done, and placed in her chamber she and her maids worshipped it morning and evening according to their custom At length, Solomon being informed of this idolatry, which was practised under his roof, by his vizir Asaf he broke the image, and having chastised the woman, went out into the desert, where he wept and made supplications to God, who did not think fit, however, to let his negligence pass without some correction It was Solomon's custom while he eased, or washed himself, to intrust his signet, on which his kingdom depended, with a concubine of his named Amina, one day therefore, when she had the ring in her custody a devil, named Sakhar, came to her in the shape of Solomon, and received the ring from her, by virtue of which he became possessed of the kingdom, and sat on the throne in the shape which he had borrowed, making what alterations in the law he pleased Solomon, in the mean time being changed in his outward appearance and known to none of his subjects, was obliged to wander about and beg alms for his subsistence, till at length, after the space of forty days, which was the time the image had been worshipped in his house, the devil flew away, and threw the signet into the sea the signet was immediately swallowed by a fish, which being taken and given to Solomon, he found the ring in its belly, and having by this means recovered the kingdom, took Sakhar, and tying a great stone to his neck threw him into the lake of Tiberiasⁱ

† We tempted him, and we seated on his throne a devil in a human form^j —Savary

^h i. e. That I may surpass all future princes in magnificence and power

ⁱ See chap 21, p 270, and chap 27, p. 230, &c

^j Al Beidâwî Al Zamakhî, Yahya. ^k Vide Talm En Jacob part 2, et Yalkut in hb Reg p 182. ^l Al Beid., Jallâl Abu'lfeâ.

fit,^k without rendering an account. And he shall approach near unto us, and shall have an excellent abode *in paradise*. And remember our servant Job,^l when he cried unto his LORD, *saying* Verily Satan hath afflicted me with calamity and pain. *And it was said unto him*, Strike the earth with thy foot, *which when he had done, a fountain^m sprang up, and it was said to him*, This is for thee to wash in, to refresh thee, and to drink. And we restored unto him his family, and as many more with them, through our mercy, and for an admonition unto those who are endued with understanding. And *we said unto him*, take a handful of rodsⁿ in thy hand, and strike thy wife therewith, ° and break not thine oath.^p Verily we found him a patient person how excellent a servant *was he* ! for he *was* one who frequently turned himself unto us. Remember also our servants Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, *who were* men strenuous and prudent. Verily we purified them with a *perfect* purification, through the remembrance of the life to come,^q and they were, in our sight, elect *and good men*. And remember Ismael, and Elisha,^r and Dhulkefi^s for all *these were good men*. This is an admonition. Verily the pious shall have an excellent place to return unto, *namely*, gardens of perpetual abode, the gates *whereof shall stand open* unto them *. As they lie down therein, they shall there ask for many *sorts* of fruits, and for drink, and near them *shall sit the virgins of paradise*, refraining their looks *from beholding any besides their spouses*, and of equal age with them.^t This is what ye are promised at the day of account. This is our provision, which shall not fail. This *shall be the reward of the righteous*. But for the transgressors is prepared an evil receptacle, *namely*, hell they shall be cast into the same to be burned, and a wretched couch *shall it be*. This let them taste, *to wit*, scalding water, and corruption *flowing from the bodies of the damned*, and divers other things of

^k Some suppose these words relate to the genu and that Solomon is thereby empowered to *release* or to *keep in chains* such of them as he pleased

^l See chap 21 p 271

^m Some say there were two springs, one of hot water, wherein he bathed, and the other of cold of which he drank *

ⁿ The original not expressing what this handful was to consist of, one supposes it was to be only a handful of dry grass, or of rushes and another that it was a branch of a palm-tree *

^o The commentators are not agreed what fault Job's wife had committed, to deserve this chastisement we have mentioned one opinion already¹⁰ Some think it was only because she stayed too long on an errand

^p For he had sworn to give her a hundred stripes if he recovered

^q Or, as the words may be interpreted, according to al Zamakhshari, *We have purified them, or peculiarly destined and fitted them for paradise*

^r See chap 6 p 107

^s See chap 21 p 271 Al Beidāwī here takes notice of another tradition concerning this prophet, viz that he entertained and took care of a hundred Israelites, who fled to him from a certain slaughter from which action he probably had the surname of Dhulkefi given him, the primary signification of the verb *cafa* being to *maintain* or *take care of* another If a conjecture might be founded on this tradition I should fancy the person intended was Obadiah, the governor of Ahab's house¹

^t "The earth cherisheth the memory of them Those who fear the Lord shall enjoy felicity The gates of the garden of Eden shall open before them." — *Savary*

¹ i. e. About thirty or thirty three.²

^k Al Beidāwī.
1 Kings xviii. 4.

^q See the notes to chap 21, p 271
² See the Prelim Disc. sect iv p 71

¹⁰ See *ibid*.

¹ See

the same kind. *And it shall be said to the seducers,* This troop *which was guided by you* shall be thrown, together with you, headlong *into hell* they shall not be bidden welcome, for they shall enter the fire to be burned. *And the seduced shall say to their seducers,* Verily ye shall not be bidden welcome ye have brought it upon us, and a wretched abode *is hell* * They shall say, O LORD, doubly increase the torment of him who hath brought this *punishment* upon us, in the fire of *hell*. *And the infidels shall say,* Why do we not see the men whom we numbered among the wicked, and whom we received with scorn? Or do *our* eyes miss them? Verily this is a truth, *to wit,* the disputing of the inhabitants of *hell* fire Say, *O Mohammed, unto the idolaters,* Verily I *am* no other than a warner and there *is* no god, except the one only God, the Almighty, the LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatsoever *is* between them, the mighty, the forgiver of *sins* Say, it is a weighty message, from which ye turn aside I had no knowledge of the exalted princes,² when they disputed *concerning the creation of man* (it hath been revealed unto me only *as a proof* that I am a public preacher) when thy LORD said unto the angels, Verily I am about to create man of clay when I shall have formed him, therefore, and shall have breathed my spirit into him, do ye fall down and worship him³ And all the angels worshipped *him*, in general, except Eblis, *who* was puffed up with pride, and became an unbeliever God said *unto him,* O Eblis, what hindereth thee from worshipping that which I have created with my hands? Art thou elated with vain pride? Or art thou *really* one of exalted merit?† He answered, I am more excellent than he thou hast created me of *fire*, and thou hast created him of clay God said *unto him,* Get thee hence therefore, for thou shalt be driven away *from mercy*, and my curse *shall be* upon thee, until the day of judgment He replied, O LORD, Respite me, therefore, until the day of resurrection God said, Verily thou shalt be *one* of those who are respited until the day of the determined time Eblis said, By thy might *do I swear,* I will surely seduce them all, except thy servants *who shall be* peculiarly chosen from among them God said, *It is* a just sentence, and I speak the truth I will surely fill hell with thee, and with such of them as shall follow thee, altogether⁴ Say *unto the Meccans,* I ask not of you any reward for this *my preaching* neither am I *one* of those who assume a part which belongs not to them *The Koran* is no other than an admonition unto all creatures and ye shall surely know what is delivered there *n to be true*, after a season

* 'The unbelievers shall say unto their seducers You are not deserving of any pardon you have outgone us in error Horrible will be our mutual habitations'

—Savary

² That is, the angels.

³ See chap 2 p 5

† "Art thou instigated by pride? Does thy greatness consider itself humiliated?"

—Savary

⁴ See chap 7, p 117, and chap 15, p 211 &c.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

INTITLED, THE TROOPS,* REVEALED AT MECCA *

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THE revelation of *this* book is from the mighty, the wise God Verily we have revealed *this* book unto thee with truth wherefore serve God, exhibiting the pure religion unto him. Ought not the pure religion to be exhibited unto God? But as to those who take other patrons besides him, saying, We worship them only that they may bring us nearer unto God, verily God will judge between them concerning that wherein they disagree Surely God will not direct him who is a liar & ungrateful If God had been minded to have had a son, he had surely chosen what he pleased out of that which he hath created^a But far be *such a thing* from him! He is the sole, the almighty God He hath created the heavens and the earth with truth he causeth the night to succeed the day, and he causeth the day to succeed the night, and he obligeth the sun and the moon to perform their services, each of them hasteneth to an appointed period Is not he the mighty, the forgiver of sins? He created you of one man, and afterwards out of him formed his wife and he hath bestowed^d on you four pair of cattle^e He formeth you in the wombs of your mothers, by several gradual formations,^f within three veils of darkness^g This is God, your LORD his is the kingdom there is no God but he Why therefore are ye turned aside from the worship of him to idolatry? If ye be ungrateful, verily God hath no need of you, yet he liketh not ingratitude in his servants but if ye be thankful, he will be well pleased with you A burdened soul shall not bear the burden of another hereafter shall ye return unto your LORD, and he shall declare unto you that which ye have wrought, and will reward you accordingly, for he knoweth the innermost parts of your breasts. When harm befalleth a man, he calleth upon his LORD, and turneth unto him yet afterwards, when God hath bestowed on him favour from himself, he forgetteth that *Being* which he invoked before,^h and setteth up equals unto God, that he may seduce men from his

^a This title is taken from the latter end of the chapter where it is said the wicked shall be sent to hell and the righteous admitted into paradise by troops

^b Except the verse beginning, *Say, O my servants who have transgressed against your own souls &c*³

^c Because says al Beidâwî, there is no being besides himself but what hath been created by him, since there cannot be two necessarily existent beings and hence appears the absurdity of the imagination here condemned because no creature can resemble the Creator, or be worthy to bear the relation of a son to him

^d Literally, *he hath sent down*, from which expression some have imagined that these four kinds of beasts were created in paradise, and thence sent down to earth⁴

^e See chap 6, p 113 114

^f See chap 22 p 274

^g i. e. The belly the womb and the membranes which enclose the embryo.

^h Or, *He forgetteth the evil which he before prayed against*

way Say unto such a man, Enjoy *this life* in thy infidelity for a little while but hereafter shalt thou surely be *one* of the inhabitants of *hell fire*. Shall he who giveth himself up to prayer in the hours of the night, prostrate, and standing, and who taketh heed as to the life to come, and hopeth for the mercy of his LORD, be dealt with as the wicked unbeliever? Say, Shall they who know *their duty*, and they who know *it* not, be held equal? Verily the men of understanding only will be warned. Say, O my servants who believe, fear your LORD They who do good in this world shall obtain good *in the next*,¹ and God's earth is spacious² verily those who persevere with patience shall receive their recompence without measure. Say, I am commanded to worship God, and to exhibit the pure religion unto him and I am commanded to be the first Moslem.³ Say, Verily I fear, if I be disobedient unto my LORD, the punishment of the great day Say, I worship God, exhibiting my religion pure unto him but do ye worship that which ye will, besides him Say, verily they *will be* the losers, who shall lose their own souls, and their families, on the day of resurrection is not this manifest loss? Over them *shall be* roofs of fire, and under them *shall be* floors of fire* With this doth God terrify his servants wherefore, O my servants, fear me But those who eschew the worship of idols, and are turned unto God, shall receive good tidings. Bear good tidings therefore unto my servants, who hearken unto *my* word, and follow that which is most excellent therein these *are they* whom God directeth, and these are *men* of understanding Him, therefore, on whom the sentence of *eternal* punishment shall be justly pronounced, canst thou, O Mohammed, deliver him who *is destined to dwell* in the fire of *hell*?† But for those who fear their LORD *will be* prepared high apartments in *paradise*, over which *shall be* other apartments built, and rivers shall run beneath them *this is* the promise of God, and God will not be contrary to the promise. Dost thou not see that God sendeth down water from heaven, and causeth the same to enter *and form* sources in the earth, and produceth thereby corn of various sorts? Afterwards he causeth *the same* to wither, and thou seest it become yellow afterwards he maketh it crumble into dust‡ Verily, herein is an instruction to men of understanding Shall he, therefore, whose breast God hath enlarged to receive *the religion of* Islam, and who followeth the light from his LORD *be as he whose heart is hardened*? But woe unto those whose

¹ Or *They who do good shall obtain good even in this world*

² Wherefore let him who cannot safely exercise his religion where he was born or resides, fly to a place of liberty and security³

³ a. The first of the Koreish who professeth the true religion, or the leader in chief of the Moslems.

* "Say, A whirlwind of fire shall cover their heads, and shall enwrap their feet —Savary

† "Wilt thou save him against whom the fatal sentence is pronounced? He is already the victim of flames. —Savary

‡ "The heat embrowneth the harvest They fall under the edge of the sickle." —Savary

hearts are hardened against the remembrance of God! they are in a manifest error God hath revealed a most excellent discourse, a book conformable to itself, *and* containing repeated *admonitions* The skins of those who fear their LORD shrink for fear thereof, afterwards their skins grow soft, and then hearts *also*, at the remembrance of their LORD * This is the direction of God he will direct thereby whom he pleaseth, and whomsoever God shall cause to err, he shall have no director Shall he, therefore, who shall *be obliged* to screen himself with his face^m from the severity of the punishment on the day of resurrection, *be as he who is secure therefrom?* † And it shall be said unto the ungodly, Taste that which ye have deserved. Those who *were* before them accused *their apostles* of imposture, wherefore a punishment came upon them from whence they expected *it* not and God caused them to take shame in this present life, but the punishment of the life to come *will* certainly *be* greater If they were men of understanding, *they would know this* Now have we proposed unto mankind, in this Korân, every kind of parable, that they may be warned an Arabic Korân, wherein there is no crookedness,ⁿ that they may fear God God propoundeth as a parable a man who hath *several* companions which are at mutual variance and a man who committeth himself wholly to one person ° shall these be held in equal comparison? God forbid! But the greater part of them do not understand Verily thou, *O Mohammed*, shalt die, and they also shall die and ye shall debate *the matter*^p with one another before your LORD, at the day of resurrection. [* XXIV] Who *is* more unjust than he who uttereth a lie concerning God, and denieth the truth when it cometh unto him? Is there not a dwelling *provided* in hell for the unbelievers? But he who bringeth the truth, and giveth credit thereto,^q these are they who fear God, they *shall obtain* whatever they shall desire, in the sight of their LORD this *shall be* the recompence of the righteous, that God may expiate from them the *very* worst of that which they have wrought, and may render them their reward according to the utmost merit of the good which they have wrought Is not God a sufficient *protector* of his servant? yet they will attempt to make thee afraid of the *false deities* which they worship

* "Those who fear the Lord shudder at the reading thereof, their terror dies away by degrees and they eagerly receive the divine word"—*Savary*

^m For his hands shall be chained to his neck, and he shall not be able to oppose anything, but his face to the fire °

† "Feareth not the unbeliever that the seal of reprobation shall be imprinted on his forehead at the day of resurrection? —*Savary*

ⁿ i. e. No contradiction defect or doubt

° This passage represents the uncertainty of the idolater who is distracted in the service of different masters, and the satisfaction of mind which attends the worshipper of the only true God †

^p For the prophet will represent his endeavours to reclaim them from idolatry, and their obstinacy and they will make frivolous excuses, as that they obeyed their chiefs and kept to the religion of their fathers, &c.^q

^q i. e. Mohammed and his followers some suppose that by the latter words Abu Beer is particularly intended, because he asserted the prophet's veracity in respect to his journey to heaven.

besides God[†] But he whom God shall cause to err, shall have none to direct *him* and he whom God shall direct, shall have none to mislead *him*. Is not God most mighty, able to avenge? If thou ask them who hath created the heavens and the earth, they will surely answer, God. Say, Do ye think, therefore, that the *deities* which ye invoke besides God, if God be pleased to afflict me, are able to relieve *me* from his affliction? or if he be pleased to show mercy unto me, that they are able to withhold his mercy? Say, God is my sufficient support in him let those put their trust, who *seek in whom to confide** Say, O my people, do ye act according to your state, verily I will act *according to mine* † hereafter shall ye know on which of us will be inflicted a punishment that shall cover him with shame, and on whom a lasting punishment shall fall. Verily we have revealed unto thee the book of the *Korân*, for the instruction of mankind, with truth. Whoso shall be directed *thereby*, shall be directed to the advantage of his own soul, and whoso shall err, shall only err against the same and thou art not a guardian over them God taketh unto himself the souls of men at the time of their death, and those which die not *he also taketh* in their sleep[‡] and he withholdeth those on which he hath passed the decree of death,[§] but sendeth back the others till a determined period.^{||} Verily herein are signs unto people who consider Have the *Koreish* taken idols for their intercessors *with God*? Say, What, although they have not dominion over any thing, neither do they understand? Say, Intercession is altogether in the disposal of God[¶] his is the kingdom of heaven and earth, and hereafter shall ye return unto him When the one sole God is mentioned, the hearts of those who believe not in the life to come, shrink with horror but when the *false gods*, which are worshipped besides him, are mentioned behold, they are filled with joy Say, O God, the creator of heaven and earth, who knowest that which is secret, and that which is manifest, thou shalt judge between thy servants concerning that wherein they disagree. If those who act unjustly were matters of whatever is in the earth, and as much more therewith, verily they would give it to ransom themselves from

[†] The Koreish used to tell Mohammed that they feared their gods would do him some mischief and deprive him of the use of his limbs or of his reason because he spoke disgracefully of them It is thought by some that this passage was verified in Khaleel Ebn al Walid who, being sent by Mohammed to demolish the idol of Uzza, was advised by the keeper of her temple to take heed what he did, because the goddess was able to avenge herself severely but he was so little moved at the man's warning that he immediately stepped up to the idol, and broke her nose To support the latter explication, they say, that what happened to Khaleel is attributed to Mohammed because the former was then executing the prophet's orders[¶] A circumstance not much different from the above mentioned is told of the demolition of Allat^{||}

* "The arm of the Almighty is my support It is in him that the wise put their trust. —Savary

† "Say unto them, Unite all your efforts I will act on my side, and soon shall ye know —Savary

‡ That is, seemingly, and to outward appearance, sleep being the image of death

§ Not permitting them to return again into their bodies

|| Viz, into their bodies, when they awake^{||}

¶ For none can or dare presume to intercede with him unless by his permission.

the evil of the punishment, on the day of resurrection and there shall appear unto them, from GOD, *terrors* which they never imagined, and there shall appear unto them the evils of that which they shall have gained, and that which they mocked at shall encompass them When harm befalleth man, he calleth upon us, yet afterwards, when we have bestowed on him favour from us, he saith, I have received it merely because of *God's* knowledge of my deserts ^w On the contrary, it is a trial, but the greater part of them know it not. Those who *were* before them said the same ^x but that which they had gained, profited them not, and the evils which they had deserved, fell upon them And whoever of these *Meccans* shall have acted unjustly, on them likewise shall fall the evils which they shall have deserved, ^y neither shall they frustrate *the divine vengeance* Do they not know that GOD bestoweth provision abundantly on whom he pleaseth, and is sparing unto whom he pleaseth? Verily herein are signs unto people who believe. Say, O my servants who have transgressed against your own souls, despair not of the mercy of GOD seeing that GOD forgiveth all sins, ^z for he is gracious and merciful And be turned unto your LORD, and resign yourselves unto him, before the *threatened* punishment overtake you, for then ye shall not be helped And follow the most excellent *instructions* which have been sent down unto you from your LORD, before the punishment come suddenly upon you, and ye perceive not *the approach thereof* and a soul say, Alas! for that I have been negligent in my duty to GOD, verily I have been *one* of the scornors or say, If GOD had directed me, verily I had been one of the pious or say when it seeth the *prepared* punishment, If I could return once more into the world, I would become one of the righteous But *God shall answer*, My signs came unto thee heretofore, and thou didst charge them with falsehood, and wast puffed up with pride, and thou becamest one of the unbelievers. On the day of resurrection, thou shalt see the faces of those who have uttered lies concerning GOD, become black is there not an abode *prepared* in hell for the arrogant? But GOD shall deliver those who shall fear him, and shall set them in their place of safety evil shall not touch them, neither shall they be grieved. GOD is the creator of all things, and he is the governor of all things. His are the keys of heaven and earth and they who believe not in the signs of GOD, they shall perish Say, Do ye therefore bid me to worship other than GOD, oh ye fools? since it hath been spoken by revelation unto thee, and also unto *the prophets* who have been before thee, saying, Verily, if thou join any partners with God thy work will be altogether unprofitable, and thou shalt certainly be one of

^w Or by means of my own wisdom

^x 'Scarcely have we stretched forth unto him a succouring hand, before he saith, I have deserved this favour'—*Savary*

^y As did Karûn in particular ^z

^z As it happened accordingly, for they were punished with a sore famine for seven years, and had the bravest of their warriors cut off at the battle of Bedr ³

³ To those who sincerely repent and profess his unity for the sins of idolaters will not be forgiven ⁴

² See chap 28, p 323

³ Al Baidâwî

⁴ See p 11, note ¹

those who perish wherefore rather fear GOD, and be *one* of those who give thanks. But they make not a due estimation of GOD ^a since the whole earth *shall be but* his handful, on the day of resurrection, and the heavens *shall be* rolled together in his right hand. Praise be unto him! and far be he exalted above the *idols* which they associate *with him*! The trumpet shall be sounded,^b and whoever *are* in heaven, and whoever *are* on earth, shall expire, except those whom GOD shall please to *exempt from the common fate*. Afterwards it shall be sounded again, and behold, they shall arise and look *up*. And the earth shall shine by the light of its LORD, and the book shall be laid *open*,^d and the prophets and the martyrs shall be brought *as witnesses*, and judgment shall be given between them with truth, and they shall not be treated unjustly. And every soul shall be fully rewarded, according to that which it shall have wrought, for he perfectly knoweth whatever they do. And the unbelievers shall be driven unto hell by troops, until, when they shall arrive at the same, the gates thereof shall be opened and the keepers thereof^e shall say unto them, Did not apostles from among you come unto you, who rehearsed unto you the signs of your LORD, and warned you of the meeting of this your day? They shall answer, Yea but the sentence of *eternal* punishment hath been justly pronounced on the unbelievers^f. It shall be said *unto them*, Enter ye the gates of hell, to dwell therein for ever, and miserable *shall be* the abode of the proud! But those who shall have feared their LORD shall be conducted by troops towards paradise, until they shall arrive at the same and the gates thereof shall be ready set open, and the guards thereof shall say unto them, Peace *be* on you! ye have been good wherefore enter ye into *paradise*, to remain therein for ever. And they shall answer, Praise be unto GOD, who hath performed his promise unto us, and hath made us to inherit the earth,^g that we may dwell in paradise wherever we please! How excellent *is* the reward of those

^a See chap 6 p 107, note *

^b The first time, says al Beidâwî, who consequently supposes there will be no more than two blasts (and two only are distinctly mentioned in the Korân), though others suppose there will be three^h

^c These, some say, will be the angels Gabriel, Michael, and Israfil, and the angel of death, who yet will afterwards all die, at the command of God,ⁱ it being the constant opinion of the Mohammedan doctors, that every soul, both of men, and of animals, which live either on land, or in the sea, and of the angels also must necessarily taste of death^j others suppose those who will be exempted are the angels who bear the throne of God,^k or the black-eyed damsels, and other inhabitants of paradise^l

The space between these two blasts of the trumpet will be forty days, according to Yahya and others, there are some, however who suppose it will be as many years^m

^d See the Prelim Disc. sect. iv p 62

^e See chap 74, and the Prelim Disc. sect iv p 66

^f See chap 7, p 118, chap 11, p 186. It seems as if the damned, by these words attributed their ruin to God's decree of predestination

^g This is a metaphorical expression, representing the perfect security, and abundance which the blessed will enjoy in paradise.

^h See the Prelim. Disc. sect. iv p 59

not in Port. Mosu, p 266

ⁱ Al Beidâwî.

^j Al Beidâwî, Yahya.

^k Jallalo dîm

^l Vide Pocock,

^m See the Prelim

Disc. ubi sup.

who work *righteousness* ! And thou shalt see the angels going in procession round the throne, celebrating the praises of their LORD * and judgment shall be given between them with truth, and they shall say, Praise be unto God the Lord of all creatures !

CHAPTER XL

INTITLED THE TRUE BELIEVER,^a REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

H Mⁱ THE revelation of *this* book is from the mighty, the wise God, the forgiver of sin and the acceptor of repentance, severe in punishing, long suffering There is no God but he before him *shall be the general assembly at the last day*. None disputeth against the signs of God, except the unbelievers but let not their prosperous dealing in the land^k deceive thee *with vain allurements* The people of Noah, and the confederated *infidels which were* after them, accused *their respective prophets* of imposture before these, and each nation hatched *ill designs* against their apostle, that they might get him *into their power*, and they disputed with vain *reasoning*, that they might thereby invalidate the truth wherefore I chastised them, and how *severe* was my punishment^l Thus hath the sentence of thy LORD justly passed on the unbelievers, and they *shall be the inhabitants of hell fire* The angels who bear the throne of God, and those who *stand* about it, celebrate the praise of their LORD, and believe in him, and they ask pardon for the true believers, *saying*, O LORD, thou encompassest all things by thy mercy and knowledge, wherefore forgive those who repent, and follow thy path, and deliver them from the pains of hell O LORD, lead them also into gardens of eternal abode, which thou hast promised unto them, and unto every one who shall do right, of their fathers, and their wives, and their children, for thou art the mighty, the wise God And deliver them from evil, for whomsoever thou shalt deliver from evil on that day, on him wilt thou show mercy, and this will be great salvation. But the infidels *at the day of judgment*, shall hear a voice crying unto them, Verily the hatred of God *towards you is* more grievous than your hatred towards yourselves since ye were called unto the faith, and would not believe. They shall say, O LORD, thou hast given us death twice, and thou

* "The angels, bare footed, around the sublime throne, shall publish the praises of the Highest — *Savary*

^a This title is taken from the passage wherein mention is made of one of Pharaoh's family, who believed in Moses.

ⁱ See the Prel Disc sect iii p 42, &c.

^k By trading into Syria and Yaman See chap 3, p 58 note l.

^l These are the Cherubim, the highest order of angels, who approach nearest to God's presence¹

his work was prepared for Pharaoh, and he turned aside from the *right* path and the stratagems of Pharaoh ended only in loss. And he who had believed said, O my people, follow me I will guide you into the right way O my people, verily this present life *is* but a temporary enjoyment, but *the* life to come is the mansion of firm continuance. Whoever worketh evil shall only be rewarded in equal proportion to the same but whoever worketh good, whether male or female, and *is* a true believer, they shall enter paradise they shall be provided for therein superabundantly And, O my people, as for me, I invite you to salvation, but ye invite me to *hell* fire ye invite me to deny God, and to associate with him that whereof I have no knowledge, but I invite you to the most mighty, the forgiver of *sins* There *is* no doubt but that the *false gods* to which ye invite me deserve not to be invoked, either in this world or in the next,* and that we must return unto GOD, and that the transgressors shall be the inhabitants of *hell* fire and ye shall *then* remember what I *now* say unto you. And I commit my affair unto GOD, for GOD regardeth his servants Wherefore GOD delivered him from the evils which they had devised, and a grievous punishment encompassed the people of Pharaoh † They shall be exposed to the fire of *hell* morning and evening ‡ and the day whereon the hour of judgment shall come, *it shall be said unto them*, Enter, O people of Pharaoh, into a most severe torment And *think on the time* when *the infidels* shall dispute together in *hell* fire, and the weak shall say unto those who behaved with arrogance, † Verily we were your followers will ye therefore relieve us from *any* part of *this* fire? Those who behaved with arrogance shall answer, Verily we *are* all doomed to suffer therein for GOD hath now judged between *his* servants And they who *shall be* in the fire shall say unto the keepers of *hell*, ‡ Call ye on your LORD, that he would ease us, for one day, from *this* punishment. They shall answer, Did not your apostles come unto you with evident *proofs*? They shall say, Yea. *The keepers* shall reply, Do ye therefore call on *God* but the calling of the unbelievers on *him* shall be only in vain We will surely assist our apostles, and those who believe, in this present life, and on the day whereon the witnesses shall stand forth a day, whereon the excuse of the unbelievers shall not avail them, but a curse *shall attend* them, and a wretched abode We heretofore gave unto Moses a direction,

* 'Your gods cannot grant the prayers of mortals, either in this world or in that which is to come — *Savary*

† Some are of opinion that those who were sent by Pharaoh to seize the true believer, his kinsman are the persons more particularly meant in this place, for they tell us that the said believer fled to a mountain, where they found him at prayers guarded by the wild beasts, which ranged themselves in order about him and that his pursuers thereupon returned in a great fright to their master, who put them to death for not performing his command¹

‡ Some expound these words of the previous punishment they are doomed to suffer, according to a tradition of Ebn Masud which informs us, that their souls were in the crops of blackbirds, which are exposed to hell fire every morning and evening until the day of judgment.²

¹ See chap 14, p 206, note †

² See chap 74

and we left as an inheritance unto the children of Israel the book of the law, a direction, and an admonition to men of understanding Wherefore do thou, *O prophet*, bear the insults of the infidels with patience, for the promise of GOD is true and ask pardon for thy fault,* and celebrate the praise of thy LORD, in the evening and in the morning As to those who impugn the signs of GOD, without any convincing proof which hath been revealed unto them, there is nothing but pride in their breasts,^a but they shall not attain their desire wherefore fly for refuge unto GOD, for it is he who heareth and seeth Verily the creation of heaven and earth is more considerable* than the creation of man but the greater part of men do not understand The blind and the seeing shall not be held equal, nor they who believe and work righteousness, and the evil doer how few revolve these things in their mind! The last hour will surely come, there is no doubt thereof but the greater part of men believe it not Your LORD said, Call upon me, and I will hear you but they who proudly disdain my service shall enter with ignominy into hell. It is GOD who hath appointed the night for you to take your rest therein, and the day to give you light † verily GOD is endued with beneficence towards mankind, but the greater part of men do not give thanks This is GOD, your LORD, the Creator of all things, there is no GOD besides him how therefore are ye turned aside from his worship? Thus are they turned aside, who oppose the signs of GOD It is GOD who hath given you the earth for a stable floor, and the heaven for a ceiling, and who hath formed you, and made your forms beautiful, and feedeth you with good things This is GOD, your LORD Wherefore blessed be GOD, the LORD of all creatures. He is the living God there is no GOD but he Wherefore call upon him, exhibiting unto him the pure religion Praise be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures! Say, Verily I am forbidden to worship the deities which ye invoke, besides GOD, after that evident proofs have come unto me from my LORD, and I am commanded to resign myself unto the LORD of all creatures It is he who first created you of dust, and afterwards of seed, and afterwards of coagulated blood, and afterwards brought you forth infants out of your mother's wombs then he permitteth you to attain your age of full strength, and afterwards to grow old men (but some of you die before that age), and to arrive at the determined period of your life,^b that peradventure ye may understand ‡ It is he who giveth life, and causeth to die and when

* In being too backward and negligent in advancing the true religion, for fear of the infidels³

^a This sentence may be understood generally though it was revealed on account of the idolatrous Meccans or of the Jews who said of Mohammed *This man is not our lord but the Messias the son of David, whose kingdom will be extended over sea and land*⁴

^b "Is more wonderful —Savary

† "The day for labour"—Savary

^c See chap 22 p 274.

‡ "As children you enter on the career of life you reach at length the vigour of your years, and soon old age overtaketh you Many finish their course before

he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be, and it is Dost thou not observe those who dispute against the signs of God, how they are turned aside *from the true faith*? They who charge with falsehood the book of the *Korân*, and the other scriptures and revealed doctrines which we have sent our former apostles to *preach*, shall hereafter know *their folly*, when the collars *shall be* on their necks, and the chains *by which* they shall be dragged into hell then shall they be burned in the fire And it shall be said unto them, Where are the *gods* which ye associated, besides God? They shall answer, They have withdrawn themselves from us yea, we called on nothing ^o heretofore Thus doth God lead the unbelievers into error This *hath befallen you*, for that ye rejoiced *insolently* on earth, in that which was false, and for that ye were elated with immoderate joy Enter the gates of hell, to remain therein *for ever* and wretched *shall be* the abode of the haughty! Wherefore, persevere with patience, O Mohammed, for the promise of God *is true*. Whether we cause thee to see any part of the *punishment* with which we have threatened them, or whether we cause thee to die *before thou see it*, before us shall they be assembled at the last day We have sent a great number of apostles before thee, ^d the histories of some of whom we have related unto thee, and the histories of others of them we have not related unto thee but no apostle had the power to produce a sign, unless by the permission of God When the command of God, therefore, shall come, judgment shall be given with truth, and then shall they perish who endeavour to render the signs of God of no effect It is God who hath given you the cattle, that ye may ride on *some of them*, and may eat of *others of them*, (ye also receive other advantages therefrom, ^e) and that on them ye may arrive at the business *proposed* in your mind and on them are ye carried *by land*, and on ships *by sea* [†] And he sheweth you his signs, which, therefore, of the signs of God, will ye deny? Do they not pass through the earth, and see what hath been the end of those who *were* before them? They were more numerous than these, and more mighty in strength, and left *more considerable* monuments of their power in the earth yet that which they had acquired profited them not. And when their apostles came unto them with evident *proofs of their mission*, they rejoiced in the knowledge which was with them [†] but that which they mocked at encompassed them [‡] And when they beheld our vengeance, they said, We believe in God alone, and we renounce the *idols* which we associated with him but their

they reach the latter but all fulfil the period which hath been appointed by the Eternal These divers stages through which man passeth ought to serve for his instruction —Savary

^o Seeing an idol is nothing in the world ⁵

^d See the Prelim Disc sect. iv p 54

^e See chap 16, p 214

[†] 'They are to you on the land that which a ship is on the sea' —Savary

[†] Being prejudiced in favour of their own erroneous doctrines, and despising the instructions of the prophets

[‡] They scoffed at their doctrines. Their mockeries have fallen back on themselves. —Savary

faith availed them not, after they had beholden our vengeance * *This was* the ordinance of God, which was formerly observed in respect to his servants and then did the unbelievers perish.

CHAPTER XLI

INTITLED, ARE DISTINCTLY EXPLAINED, * REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

H M ^h *This is* a revelation from the most Merciful, a book, the verses whereof are distinctly explained,¹ an Arabic Korân, for the instruction of people who understand, bearing good tidings, and denouncing threats but the greater part of them turn aside, and hearken not *thereto* And they say, Our hearts are veiled from *the doctrine* to which thou invitest us and *there is* a deafness in our ears, and a curtain between us and thee, wherefore act thou *as thou shalt think fit* for we shall act *according to our own sentiments* Say, Verily I am only a man like you It is revealed unto me that your God is one God wherefore direct your way straight unto him, and ask pardon of him *for what is past* And woe be to the idolaters who give not the appointed alms, and believe not in the life to come! But *as to* those who believe and work righteousness, they shall receive an everlasting reward Say, Do ye indeed disbelieve in him who created the earth in two days ^k and do ye set up equals unto him? He is the LORD of all creatures And he placed in *the earth mountains* firmly rooted,¹ *rising* above the same and he blessed it, and provided therein the food *of the creatures designed to be the inhabitants* thereof, in four days,^m equally, for those who ask ⁿ Then he set his mind to *the creation of heaven*, and it was smoke, ^o and he said unto it, and to the earth, Come, either

* "But their faith hath been in vain They believed not until they felt the avenging scourge — *Savary*

^h Some intitle this chapter *Worship*, or *Adoration* because the infidels are herein commanded to forsake the worship of idols, and to worship God but the thirty-second chapter bearing the same title, that which we have here prefixed, is, for distinction, generally used

^h See the Prelim. Disc. sect iii p 42, &c.

ⁱ See chap 11, p 175 note ⁱ

^k *Viz*, The two first days of the week ^k

^l See chap 16, p 215

^m That is including the two former days wherein the earth was created

ⁿ For all in proportion to the necessity of each, and as their several appetites require Some refer the word *sawdan* here translated *equally* and which also signifies *completely* to the four days, and suppose the meaning to be, that God created these things in just so many *entire* and *complete* days ⁿ

^o Or darkness Al Zamakhshari says this smoke proceeded from the waters under the throne of God (which throne was one of the things created before the heavens and the earth), and rose above the water, that the water being dried up, the earth was formed out of it, and the heavens out of the smoke which had mounted aloft.

obediently, or against your will. They answered, We come, obedient to thy command * And he formed them into seven heavens, in two days, and revealed unto every heaven its office. And we adorned the lower heaven with lights, and placed therein a guard of angels. This is the disposition of the mighty, the wise God. If the Meccans withdraw from these instructions, say, I denounce unto you a sudden destruction, like the destruction of Ad and Thamud. When the apostles came unto them before them and behind them, saying, Worship God alone, they answered, If our LORD had been pleased to send messengers, he had surely sent angels and we believe not the message with which ye are sent. As to the tribe of Ad, they behaved insolently in the earth, without reason, and said, Who is more mighty than we in strength? Did they not see that God, who had created them, was more mighty than they in strength? And they knowingly rejected our signs. Wherefore we sent against them a piercing wind, on days of ill luck, that we might make them taste the punishment of shame in this world, but the punishment of the life to come will be more shameful, and they shall not be protected therefrom. And as to Thamud, we directed them, but they loved blindness better than the true direction wherefore the terrible noise of an ignominious punishment assailed them, for that which they had deserved, but we delivered those who believed, and feared God. And warn them of the day on which the enemies of God shall be gathered together unto hell fire, and shall march in distinct bands, until, when they shall arrive thereat, their ears, and their eyes, and their skins, shall bear witness against them of that which they shall have wrought. And they shall say unto their skins, Wherefore do ye bear witness against us? They shall answer, God hath caused us to speak, who giveth speech unto all things. He created you the first time, and unto him are ye returned. Ye did not hide yourselves, while ye sinned, so that your ears, and your eyes, and your skins could not bear witness against you. but ye thought that God was ignorant of many things which ye did. This was your opinion, which ye imagined of your LORD. It hath ruined you, and ye are become lost people. Whether they bear their torment, hell fire shall be their abode, or whether they beg for favour, they shall not obtain.

* "He cast his glance on the heaven which was only a pile of smoke. He said unto heaven and earth, Come, obey my voice. Heaven and earth replied, We obey.—Savary

† Viz. On the fifth and sixth days of the week. It is said the heavens were created on Thursday, and the sun, moon, and stars, on Friday, in the evening of which last day Adam was made.⁸

⁸ See chap. 15 p. 210

⁹ That is, on every side, persuading and urging them continually and by arguments drawn from past examples and the expectation of future rewards or punishments.

¹⁰ It is said that this wind continued from Wednesday to Wednesday inclusive, being the latter end of the month Shawal, and that a Wednesday is the day whereon God sends down his judgments on a wicked people.⁹

⁹ See chap. 7 p. 125, &c.

† 'Why,' shall the guilty say unto them, 'do ye bear witness against us?'—Savary

¹¹ i.e. Ye hid your crimes from men, like thinking that your very members from which ye could not hide them, would rise up as witnesses against you.

favour And we will give them *the devils to be their companions*, for they dressed up for them *the false notions which they entertained of* this present world, and *of that which is to come*, and the sentence justly fitteth them, which was formerly pronounced on the nations of *genu and men* who were before them, for they perished *. The unbelievers say, *Hearken not unto this Korân but use vain discourse* ² *during the reading thereof*, that ye may overcome *the voice of the reader by your scoffs and laughter*. Wherefore we will surely cause the unbelievers to taste a grievous punishment, and we will certainly reward them for the evils which they shall have wrought. This *shall be* the reward of the enemies of God, *namely, hell fire*, therein *is prepared* for them an everlasting abode, *as a reward* for that they have wittingly rejected our signs. And the infidels shall say *in hell*, O LORD, show us the two who seduced us, of the *genu and men*,³ and we will cast them under our feet, that they may become most base and *despicable*. *As for* those who say, Our LORD *is* God, and who behave uprightly, the angels shall descend unto them ⁴ *and shall say*, Fear not, neither be ye grieved, but rejoice in the hopes of paradise, which ye have been promised. We *are* your friends in this life, and in that which is to come therein shall ye have that which your souls shall desire, and therein shall ye obtain whatever ye shall ask for, *as a gift* from a gracious and merciful God. Who speaketh better than he who inviteth unto God, and worketh righteousness, and saith, *I am a Moslem*? Good and evil shall not be held equal. Turn away *evil* with that which is better, and behold the *man* between whom and thyself *there was* enmity *shall become*, as it were, *thy warmest friend* but none shall attain to this *perfection*, except they who are patient, nor shall any attain thereto, except he who is endued with a great happiness of temper. And if a malicious suggestion be offered unto thee from Satan, have recourse unto God, for *it is* he who heareth and knoweth. Among the signs of *his power* are the night, and the day, and the sun and the moon. Worship not the sun, neither the moon but worship God, who hath created them, if ye serve him. But if they proudly disdain *his service*, verily the *angels*, who are with thy LORD, praise him night and day, and are not wearied. And among his signs *another is*, that thou seest the land waste, but when we send down rain thereon, it is stirred and fermenteth. And he who quickeneth *the earth* will surely quicken the dead, for he is almighty. Verily those who impiously wrong our signs are not concealed from us. *Is* he, therefore,

* "Worshippers of the devils who drew unto them delusive pictures of the present and the future they have been included in the sentence which hath been denounced against the past generations and the rebel spirits reprobation is their portion — *Savary*

² Or *Talk aloud*

³ *i. e.* Those of either species, who drew us into sin and ruin. Some suppose that the two more particularly intended here are Eblis and Cain, the two authors of infidelity and murder ¹

⁴ Either while they are living on earth to dispose their minds to good, to preserve them from temptations, and to comfort them or at the hour of death, to support them in their last agony, or at their coming forth from their graves, at the resurrection.¹

better, who shall be cast into *hell* fire, or he who shall appear secure on the day of resurrection? Work that which ye will he certainly beholdeth whatever ye do Verily they who believe not in the admonition of the *Korân*, after it hath come unto them, *shall one day be discovered* It is certainly a book of infinite value vanity shall not approach it, either from before it, or from behind it * * *it is a revelation from a wise God*, whose praise is justly to be celebrated No other is said unto thee *by the infidels of Mecca* than what hath been formerly said unto the apostles before thee verily thy LORD is inclined to forgiveness, and is also able to chastise severely If we had revealed the *Korân* in a foreign language,^b they had surely said, Unless the signs thereof be distinctly explained, *we will not receive the same as the book written in a foreign tongue, and the person unto whom it is directed an Arabian?* Answer, It is, unto those who believe, a sure guide, and a remedy for doubt and uncertainty but unto those who believe not, *it is a thickness of hearing in their ears, and it is a darkness which covereth them*, these are *as they who are* called unto from a distant place^c† We heretofore gave the book of the law unto Moses, and a dispute arose concerning the same ‡ and if a previous decree had not proceeded from thy LORD, *to respite the opposers of that revelation*, verily the matter had been decided between them, *by the destruction of the infidels*, for they were in a very great doubt as to the same He who doth right, *doth it to the advantage* of his own soul, and he who doth evil, *doth it against the same* for thy LORD is not unjust towards his servants [*XXV] Unto him is reserved the knowledge of the hour of judgment and no fruit cometh forth from the knops which involve it, neither doth any female conceive in her womb, nor is she delivered of her burden, but with his knowledge On the day whereon he shall call them to him, saying, *Where are my companions which ye ascribed unto me?* they shall answer, *We assure thee there is no witness of this matter among us*^d and the idols which they called on before shall withdraw themselves from them, and they shall perceive that *there will be no way to escape*. Man is not wearied with asking good, but if evil befall him, he despondeth, and despaireth And if we cause him to taste mercy from us, after affliction hath touched him he surely saith, *This is due to me on account of my deserts* I do not think the hour of judgment will ever come and if I be brought before my LORD, I shall surely attain, with him, the most excellent condition But we will then declare unto

* That is, It shall not be prevailed against, or frustrated by any means, or in any respect whatever

* "They have refused to believe in the *Korân*, and it is the supremely excellent book None of the sacred books accuse it of falsehood —Savary

^b See chap 16, p 223 &c.

^c Being so far off that they hear not, or understand not the voice of him who calls to them.

† "Had we written the *Korân* in a foreign idiom they would have exclaimed, Why is it not written in our own language? Reply to them Is its style barbarous? Is its author an Arabian? This book is the light and remedy of believers The ears of the unbelievers are closed up A cloud obscures their eyes. They will not understand —E

‡ 'The subject of a thousand disputes.'—Savary

^d For they shall disclaim their idols at the resurrection.

those who shall not have believed, that which they have wrought, and we will surely cause them to taste a most severe punishment. When we confer favours on man, he turneth aside, and departeth *without returning thanks* but when evil toucheth him, he is frequent at prayer Say, What think ye ? if *the Korân* be from God, and ye believe not therein, who will be under a greater error than he who dissenteth widely *therefrom* ? Hereafter we will show them our signs in the regions of *the earth*, and in themselves,* until it become manifest unto them that *this book* is the truth Is it not sufficient *for thee* that thy LORD is witness of all things ? Are they not in a doubt as to the meeting of their LORD *at the resurrection* ? Doth not he encompass all things ?

CHAPTER XLII

INTITLED, CONSULTATION,† REVEALED AT MECCA.‡

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

H.M. A.S.K.^h Thus doth the mighty, the wise GOD reveal *his will* unto thee, and *in like manner did he reveal it* unto the *prophets* who were before thee. Unto him *belongeth* whatever is in heaven, and in earth, and he is the high, the great *God* It wanteth little but that the heavens be rent in sunder from above, at *the awfulness of his majesty* the angels celebrate the praise of their LORD, and ask pardon for those who *dwell* in the earth. Is not GOD the forgiver of *sins*, the merciful ? But *as to* those who take *other gods* for their patrons, besides him, GOD observeth their *actions* for thou art not a steward over them Thus have we revealed unto thee an Arabic Korân, that thou mayest warn the metropolis of *Mecca*, and the *Arabs* who *dwell* round about it, and mayest threaten *them* with the day of the *general assembly*, of which there is no doubt *one part shall then be placed* in paradise, and *another part* in hell. If GOD had pleased, he had made them *all* of one religion, but he leadeth whom he pleaseth into *his* mercy, and the unjust shall have no patron or helper Do they take *other* patrons, besides him ? whereas GOD is the *only true* patron he quickeneth the dead, and he is almighty Whatever matter ye disagree about, the

* By the surprising victories and conquests of Mohammed, and his successors *

† The title is taken from the verse wherein the believers are commended, among other things, for using deliberation in their affairs, and consulting together in order to act for the best. Some, instead of this word, prefix the five single letters with which the chapter begins.

‡ Jallalo'ddin excepts three verses beginning with these words, *Say, I ask not of you, for this my preaching, any reward &c*

^h See the Prelim Disc. sect. III. p. 42, &c

decision thereof *appertaineth* unto God This is God, my LORD in him do I trust, and unto him do I turn me * the Creator of heaven and earth he hath given you wives of your own species, and cattle both male and female, by which means he multiplieth you there is nothing like him, and *it is* he who heareth and seeth. His are the keys of heaven and earth, he bestoweth provision abundantly on whom he pleaseth, and he is sparing *unto whom he pleaseth*, for he knoweth all things. He hath ordained you the religion which he commanded Noah, and which we have revealed unto thee, O Mohammed, and which we commanded Abraham, and Moses, and Jesus ¹ saying, Observe *this* religion, and be not divided therein The *worship of one God*, to which thou invitest them, is grievous unto the unbelievers God will elect thereto whom he pleaseth, and will direct unto the same him who shall repent Those who *lived in times past* were not divided among themselves, until after that the knowledge of *God's unity* had come unto them, through their own perverseness and unless a previous decree had passed from the LORD, to bear with them till a determined time, verily *the matter* had been decided between them, by the *destruction of the gainsayers* They who have inherited the scriptures after them² are certainly in a perplexing doubt concerning *the same*³ Wherefore invite them to receive the *sure faith*, and be urgent with them, as thou hast been commanded, and follow not their vain desires and say, I believe in all the scriptures which God hath sent down, and I am commanded to establish justice among you God is our LORD and your LORD unto us *will* our works be imputed, and unto you *will* your works be imputed let there be no wrangling between us and you, for God will assemble us *all at the last day*, and unto him shall we return. As to those who dispute concerning God, after obedience hath been paid him by receiving his religion, their disputing *shall be* vain in the sight of their LORD, and wrath *shall fall* on them, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment It is God who hath sent down the scripture with truth, and the balance of *true judgment* and what shall inform thee whether the hour be nigh at hand? They who believe not therein wish it to be hastened by way of *mockery* but they who believe dread the same, and know it to be the truth Are not those who dispute concerning the *last hour* in a wide error? God is bounteous unto his servants he provideth for whom he pleaseth, and he is the strong the mighty Whoso chooseth the tillage of the life to come,⁴ unto him will we give increase in his tillage and whoso chooseth the tillage of this world, we will give him *the fruit* thereof, but he shall have no part in the life to come Have the idolaters deities which ordain them a religion which God hath not allowed? But *had it not been* for the decree of *respiteing their punishment to the day of separating the infidels from the true believers* judgment had been *already* given between them for the unjust shall

* "I have put my trust in Him Unto Him I shall return"—Savary

¹ See the Prelim Disc sect iv pp 50 and 54

² Viz, the modern Jews and Christians

³ Not understanding the true meaning, nor believing the real doctrines thereof

⁴ Labouring here to obtain a reward hereafter for what is sown in this world will be reaped in the next.

surely suffer a painful torment. *On that day* thou shalt see the unjust in great terror, because of their demerits, and *the penalty thereof* shall fall upon them but they who believe and do good works *shall dwell* in the delightful meadows of paradise, they shall obtain whatever they shall desire, with their LORD This is the greatest acquisition. This is what God promiseth unto his servants who believe and do good works. Say, I ask not of you, for this *my preaching*, any reward, except the love of *my relations* * and whoever shall have deserved well by *one* good action, unto him will we add *the merit of another* action thereto, for God is inclined to forgive, and ready to reward. Do they say, *Mohammed* hath blasphemously forged a lie concerning God? If God pleaseth, he will seal up thy heart † and God will absolutely abolish vanity, and will establish the truth in his words, ‡ for he knoweth the innermost part of *men's* breasts † It is he who accepteth repentance from his servants, and forgiveth sins, and knoweth that which ye do He will incline his ear unto those who believe and work righteousness, and will add unto them *above what they shall ask or deserve*, of his bounty but the unbelievers shall suffer a severe punishment. If God should bestow abundance upon his servants, they would certainly behave insolently in the earth ‡ but he sendeth down by measure unto *every one* that which he pleaseth, for he well knoweth and seeth the *condition of his* servants. It is he who sendeth down the rain, after *men* have despaired *thereof*, and spreadeth abroad his mercy, and he is the patron, justly to be praised Among his signs is the creation of heaven and earth, and of the living creatures with which he hath replenished them both, and he is able to gather them together *before his tribunal*, whenever he pleaseth. Whatever misfortune befalleth you is *sent unto you by God*, for that which your hands have deserved, and yet he forgiveth many things ye shall not frustrate *the divine vengeance* in the earth, neither shall ye have any protector or helper, against God Among his signs also are the *ships* running in the sea, like high mountains if he pleaseth, he causeth the wind to cease, and they lie still on the back of *the water* (verily herein are signs unto every patient and grateful person) or he destroyeth them *by ship wreck*, because of that which *their crews* have merited, though he pardoneth many things § And they who dispute against our signs shall know that

“The love of your kindred —Savary

‡ The meaning of these words is somewhat obscure Some imagine they express a detestation of the forgery charged on the prophet by the infidels, because none could be capable of so wicked an action but one whose heart was close shut, and knew not his Lord as if he had said *God forbid that thou shouldst be so void of grace, or have so little sense of thy duty!* Others think the signification to be that God might strike all the revelations which had been vouchsafed to Mohammed out of his heart at once and others that God would strengthen his heart with patience against the insults of the unbelievers.*

§ Wherefore if the doctrine taught in this book be of man, it will certainly fail and come to nothing, but if it be of God it can never be overthrown †

† He will impress upon thy heart the seal of patience He will destroy falsehood, and confirm the truth of his words He fathometh the depth of every heart.”

—Savary

‡ “Excess of prosperity would have made them forget moderation”—Savary

§ “If the crimes of mariners have merited his anger, he drowneth them but his mercy often prevaileth over his justice”—Savary

‡ Al Beidawi

§ Idem.

there will be no way for them to escape our vengeance. Whatever things are given you, *they are* the provision of this present life but the *reward* which is with God is better, and more durable, for those who believe, and put their trust in their LORD and who avoid heinous and filthy crimes, and when they are angry, forgive, and who hearken unto their LORD, and are constant at prayer, and whose affairs are directed by consultation among themselves, and who give *alms* out of what we have bestowed on them, and who, when an injury is done them, avenge themselves* (and the retaliation of evil *ought to be* an evil proportionate thereto) but he who forgiveth, and is reconciled unto *his enemy*, shall receive his reward from God,[†] for he loveth not the unjust doers. And whoso shall avenge him self, after he hath been injured, as to these, it is not lawful to punish them *for it* but it is only lawful to punish those who wrong men, and act insolently in the earth, against justice, these shall suffer a grievous punishment. And whoso beareth *injuries* patiently, and forgiveth, verily this *is* a necessary work. Whom God shall cause to err, he shall afterwards have no protector. And thou shalt see the ungodly, who shall say, when they behold the punishment prepared for them, *Is there* no way to return back into the world? And thou shalt see them exposed unto *hell fire*, dejected, because of the ignominy *they shall undergo* they shall look at the fire sideways, and by stealth,* and the true believers shall say, Verily the losers are they who have lost their own souls, and their families, on the day of resurrection *shall not the ungodly continue* in eternal torment? They shall have no protectors to defend them against God and whom God shall cause to err, he shall find no way to the truth. Harken unto your LORD, before the day come, which God will not keep back ye shall have no place of refuge on that day, neither shall ye be able to deny *your sins*. But if those to whom thou preachest turn aside from thy admonitions, verily we have not sent thee to be a guardian over them † thy duty is preaching only. When we cause man to taste mercy from us, he rejoiceth thereat, but if evil befall them, for that which their hands have formerly committed, verily man becometh ungrateful. Unto God appertaineth the kingdom of heaven and earth he createth that which he pleaseth, he giveth females unto whom he pleaseth, and he giveth males unto whom he pleaseth, or he giveth them males and females jointly and he maketh whom he pleaseth to be childless for he is wise and powerful. It is not fit for man that God should speak unto him otherwise than by *private* revelation, or from behind a veil, or by his sending of a messenger to reveal, by his permission, that which he pleaseth, for he is high and wise. Thus have we revealed unto

* Using the means which God has put into their hands for their own defence. This is added to complete the character here given, for valour and courage are not inconsistent with clemency, † the rule being—

Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos

† See chap. 5, p. 88, &c.

* "Covered with shame they shall start back in terror, and shall look upon the flames with an eye of dismay"—Savary

† "If they persist in their unbelief, thou ceasest to be their guide."—Savary

thee a revelation,[†] by our command. Thou didst not understand, *before this*, what the book of the *Korân* was, nor *what* the faith *was* but we have ordained the same *for* a light, we will thereby direct such of our servants as we please and thou shalt surely direct *them* into the right way, the way of God, unto whom *belongeth* whatever *is* in heaven and in earth. Shall not *all* things return unto God?

CHAPTER XLIII.

INTITLED THE ORNAMENTS OF GOLD • REVEALED AT MECCA.[‡]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

H M " By the perspicuous book, verily we have ordained the same an Arabic Korân that ye may understand and it *is* certainly *written* in the original book,[†] kept with us, *being* sublime and full of wisdom. Shall we therefore turn away from you the admonition, and deprive *you thereof*, because ye are a people who transgress? And how many prophets have we sent among those of old? and no prophet came unto them, but they laughed him to scorn wherefore we destroyed *nations who were* more mighty than these in strength, and the example of those who were of old hath been already *set before them*. If thou ask them who created the heavens and the earth, they will certainly answer, The mighty, the wise God created them who hath spread the earth as a bed for you, and hath made you paths therein, that ye may be directed and who sendeth down rain from heaven by measure, whereby we quicken a dead country, (so shall ye be brought forth *from your graves*) and who hath created all the *various* species of *things*, and hath given you ships and cattle, whereon ye are carried, that ye may sit *firmly* on the backs thereof, and may remember the favour of your LORD, when ye sit thereon, and may say, Praise be unto him, who hath subjected these unto our service! for we could not have mastered them *by our own power* * and unto our LORD shall we surely return. Yet have they attributed unto him some of his servants as his offspring verily man is openly ungrateful. Hath God taken daughters out of *those beings* which he hath created, and hath he chosen sons for you? But when one of them hath the news brought of *the birth of a child of that*

[†] Or as the words may be also translated, *Thus have we sent the spirit Gabriel unto thee with a revelation*

[‡] The word chosen for the title of this chapter occurs p 398

[§] Some except the verse beginning with these words *And ask our apostles whom we have sent before thee* &c.

^{||} See the Prel. Disc sect III. p 42 &c

[¶] The preserved Table, which is the original of all the scriptures in general.

* "Borne on the land and on the sea, ought ye not to call to mind his benefits, and to say, Praise be to him who hath made his creatures administer unto our wants! We could not have procured unto ourselves these advantages"—*Savary*

which they attribute unto the Merciful, as *his* similitude, his face becometh black, and he is oppressed with sorrow ^x Do they therefore attribute unto God female issue, which are brought up among ornaments, and are contentious without cause? ^{*} And do they make the angels, who are the servants of the Merciful, females? Were they present at their creation? Their testimony shall be written down, and they shall be examined concerning the same, on the day of judgment. And they say, If the Merciful had pleased, we had not worshipped them. They have no knowledge herein they only utter a vain lie.† Have we given them a book of revelations before this, and do they keep the same in their custody? But they say, Verily we found our fathers practising a religion, and we are guided in their footsteps. Thus we sent no preacher before thee, unto any city, but the inhabitants thereof who lived in affluence, said, Verily we found our fathers practising a religion and we tread in their footsteps. And the preacher answered, What, although I bring you a more right religion than that which ye found your fathers to practise? And they replied, Verily we believe not that which ye are sent to preach. Wherefore we took vengeance on them and behold what hath been the end of those who accused our apostles of imposture. Remember when Abraham said unto his father, and his people, Verily I am clear of the gods which ye worship, except him who hath created me, for he will direct me aright. And he ordained this to be a constant doctrine among his posterity, that they should be turned from idolatry to the worship of the only true God. Verily I have permitted these Meccans and their fathers to live in prosperity, until the truth should come unto them, and a manifest apostle but now the truth is come unto them, they say, This is a piece of sorcery, and we believe not therein. And they say, Had this Korân been sent down unto some great man of either of the two cities,‡ we would have received it. Do they distribute the mercy of thy LORD? ^{*} We distribute the necessary provision among them, in this present life, and we raise some of them several degrees above the others, that the one of them may take the other to serve him and the mercy of thy LORD is more valuable than the riches which they gather together. If it were not that mankind would have become one sect of infidels, verily we had given unto those who believe not in the Merciful, roofs of silver to their houses, and stairs of silver, by which they might ascend thereto, and doors of silver to their houses, and couches of silver, for them to lean on, and ornaments of gold for all this is the provision of the present life, but the next life with thy LORD shall be for those who fear him. Whoever shall withdraw from the admonition of the Merciful, we will chain a devil unto him, and he shall be his inseparable

^{*} See chap 16 p 218, &c.

^{*} "Can the Eternal be the father of a capricious being of a daughter whose youth is passed in the midst of ornament and of dress? —Savary

† "Did heaven command this worship unto them? They blaspheme —Savary

‡ i. e. To one of the principal inhabitants of Mecca, or of Tayef, such as al Walid Ibn al Mogheira, or Orwa Ebn Masud the Thakifite?

^{*} By this expression the prophetic office is here particularly intended.

companion (and *the devils* shall turn them aside from the way of truth, yet they shall imagine themselves to be rightly directed) until, when he shall appear before us at the last day, he shall say unto the devil,^a Would to God that between me and thee *there was* the distance of the east from the west! Oh how wretched a companion art thou! But *wishes* shall not avail you on this day, since ye have been unjust, for ye shall be partakers of the same punishment. Canst thou, O prophet, make the deaf to hear, or canst thou direct the blind, and him who is in a manifest error? Whether we take thee away, we will surely take vengeance on them, or whether we cause thee to see the punishment with which we have threatened them executed, we will certainly prevail over them. Wherefore hold fast the doctrine which hath been revealed unto thee, for thou art in a right way and it is a memorial unto thee and thy people, and hereafter shall ye be examined concerning your observance thereof. And ask our apostles whom we have sent before thee,^b whether we have appointed gods for them to worship besides the Merciful. We formerly sent Moses with our signs unto Pharaoh and his princes, and he said, Verily I am the apostle of the LORD of all creatures. And when he came unto them with our signs, behold, they laughed him to scorn, although we showed them no sign, but it was greater than the other^c and we inflicted a punishment on them,^d that peradventure they might be converted. And they said unto Moses, O magician, pray unto thy LORD for us, according to the covenant which he hath made with thee, for we will certainly be directed. But when we took the plague from off them, behold, they brake their promise. And Pharaoh made proclamation among his people, saying, O my people, is not the kingdom of Egypt mine, and these rivers,^e which flow beneath me? Do ye not see? Am not I better than this Moses, who is a contemptible person, and can scarce express himself intelligibly?^f Have bracelets of gold, therefore, been put upon him,^g or do the angels attend him in orderly procession? And Pharaoh persuaded his people to light behaviour, and they obeyed him for they were a wicked people. And when they had provoked us to wrath we took vengeance on them and we drowned them

^a See chap 19 p 253

^b That is, Ask those who profess the religions which they taught, and their learned men^h

^c Literally, *Than its sister*. The meaning is, that the miracles were *all very great and considerable*, or as the French may express it by a phrase nearly the same, *les uns plus grands que les autres*

^d Viz the successive plagues which they suffered, previous to their final destruction in the Red Sea.

^e To wit, the Nile and its branchesⁱ

^f "Pharaoh having assembled his people, said unto them, Doth not the empire of Egypt belong unto me? This river, these canals, do they not flow under my laws? Think ye not thus?"—*Savary*

^g See chap 20, p 256, note^d

^h Such bracelets were some of the insignia of royalty for when the Egyptians raised a person to the dignity of a prince, they put a collar or chain of gold about his neck¹ and bracelets of gold on his wrists²

¹ Al Beidāwī, Jallalo ddin, &c.

² Al Beidāwī Jallalo ddin.

³ Al Beidāwī.

¹ S.

all and we made them a precedent, and an example unto others. And when the son of Mary was proposed for an example, behold, thy people cried out *through excess of joy* thereat,^b * and they said, *Are our gods better, or he?* They have proposed this *instance* unto thee no otherwise than for an occasion of dispute yea, they are contentious men. *Jesus* is no other than a servant, whom we favoured *with the gift of prophecy*, and we appointed him for an example¹ unto the children of Israel (if we pleased, verily we could from yourselves produce angels, to succeed you in the earth^k) and he *shall be* a sign of the *approach of the last hour*,¹ wherefore doubt not thereof. And follow me *this is the right way* And let not Satan cause you to turn aside, for he is your open enemy And when *Jesus* came with evident *miracles*, he said, Now am I come unto you with wisdom,^m and to explain unto you part of *those things* concerning which ye disagree, wherefore fear God, and obey me Verily God is my LORD, and your LORD, wherefore worship him, *this is the right way* And the confederated sects among them fell to varianceⁿ but woe unto those who have acted unjustly, because of the punishment of a grievous day Do the *unbelievers* wait for any other than the hour of judgment, that it may come upon them suddenly, while they foresee it not? The intimate friends, on that day, *shall be* enemies unto one another, except the pious O my servants, *there shall* ^r *be* fear come on you this day, neither shall ye be grieved, who had believed in our signs, and have been Moslems enter ye into paradise, ye and your wives, with great joy Dishes of gold shall

^b This passage is generally supposed to have been revealed on occasion of an objection made by one Ebn al Zabari, to those words in the twenty first chapter³ by which all in general, who were worshipped as deities besides God are doomed to hell whereupon the infidels cried out, *We are contented that our gods should be with Jesus, for he also is worshipped as God*.⁴ Some, however, are of opinion it might have been revealed in answer to certain idolaters who said that the Christians who received the scriptures, worshipped Jesus supposing him to be the son of God whereas the angels were more worthy of that honour than he⁵

* "The example of Jesus, the son of Mary was proposed to the idolaters and they started back thereat —Savary

¹ Or an instance of our power by his miraculous birth

^k As easily as we produced Jesus without a father⁶ The intent of the words is to show how just and reasonable it is to think that the angels should bear the relation of children to men, rather than to God, they being his creatures, as well as men and equally in his power

¹ For some time before the resurrection Jesus is to descend on earth according to the Mohammedans near Damascus,⁷ or, as some say near a rock in the holy land named Afiik, with a lance in his hand wherewith he is to kill Antichrist, whom he will encounter at Ludd or Lydda, a small town not far from Joppa.⁸ They add that he will arrive at Jerusalem at the time of morning prayer that he shall perform his devotions after the Mohammedan institution and officiate instead of the Imam who shall give place to him, that he will break down the cross, and destroy the churches of the Christians, of whom he will also make a general slaughter excepting only such as shall profess Islâm &c.⁹

^m That is with a book of revelations, and an excellent system of religion

ⁿ This may be understood either of the Jews in the time of Jesus, who opposed his doctrine, or of the Christians since, who have fallen into various opinions concerning him, some making him to be God, others the son of God and others one of the persons of the Trinity, &c.¹⁰ (Savary applies it to the Christians.)

³ See p 272.

⁴ Jallalo ddin, al Beidâwi.

⁵ Idem

⁶ Idem

⁷ See the

Prelim Disc sect. iv p 57, 58.

⁸ See ibid p 57

⁹ Al Beidâwi.

¹⁰ Idem.

Jallalo ddin.

be carried round unto them, and cups without handles, and therein *shall they enjoy* whatever *their* souls shall desire, and *whatever their* eyes shall delight in and ye shall remain therein for ever This is paradise, which ye have inherited *as a reward* for that which ye have wrought. Therein shall ye have fruits in abundance, of which ye shall eat But the wicked shall remain for ever in the torment of hell it shall not be made lighter unto them, and they *shall* despair therein * We deal not unjustly with them, but they deal unjustly *with their own souls* And they shall call aloud, *saying*, O Malec,^o *intercede for us* that thy LORD would end us *by annihilation* He shall answer,^p Verily we shall remain *here for ever* We brought you the truth heretofore, but the greater part of you abhorred the truth. Have *the infidels* fixed on a method to *circumvent our apostle*? Verily we will fix *on a method to circumvent them*. Do they imagine that we hear not their secrets, and their private discourse? Yea, and our messengers who attend them^q write down *the same* Say, If the Merciful had a son, verily I *would be* the first of those who should worship *him* Far be the LORD of heaven and earth, the LORD of the throne, from that which they affirm *of him*! Wherefore let them wade *in their vanity*, and divert themselves until they arrive at their day with which they have been threatened † He who is GOD in heaven is GOD on earth also and he *is* the wise, the knowing And blessed be he unto whom *appertaineth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and of whatever is between them, with whom *is* the knowledge of the *last* hour, and before whom ye shall be assembled They whom they invoke besides him have not the privilege to intercede *for others*, except those who bear witness to the truth, and know *the same* ‡ If thou ask them who hath created them, they will surely answer, GOD How therefore are they turned away *to the worship of others*? God also *heareth* the saying of the prophet, O LORD, verily these are people who believe not and he *answereth*, Therefore turn aside from them, and say, Peace § hereafter shall they know *their folly*

* "Their rigour shall never be mitigated The guilty shall preserve a melancholy silence — *Savary*

^o This the Mohammedans suppose to be the name of the principal angel who has the charge of hell

^p Some say that this answer will not be given till a thousand years after

^q i. e. The guardian angels.

† Let them waste their time in vain disputes The day which is promised unto them shall come upon them by surprise — *Savary*

‡ That is to the doctrine of God's unity The exception comprehends Jesus Ezra, and the angels, who will be admitted as intercessors, though they have been worshipped as gods.¹

§ See chap 25, p 300 note p

CHAPTER XLIV

INTITLED, SMOKE,^a REVEALED AT MEC(A).

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

H M.^x By the perspicuous book of *the Korán*, verily we have sent down the same on a blessed night^y (for we had engaged *so to do*), *on the night* wherein is distinctly sent down the decree of every determined thing, as a command from us^z. Verily, we have *ever* used to send *apostles with revelations, at proper intervals*, as a mercy from thy LORD, for it is he who heareth and knoweth the Lord of heaven and earth, and of whatever is between them, if ye are *men* of sure knowledge. There is no God but he he giveth life, and he causeth to die, *he is* your LORD, and the LORD of your forefathers. Yet do they amuse themselves with doubt. But observe *them*, on the day *whereon* the heaven shall produce a visible smoke, which shall cover mankind. ^a *this will be* a tormenting plague. *They shall say*, O LORD, take *this* plague from off us. verily we *will become* true believers, How *should* an admonition *be of avail* to them *in this condition*, when a manifest apostle came unto them, but they retired from him, saying, *This man is instructed by others*,^b or is a distracted person? We will take the plague from off *you*, a little but ye will certainly return to your *infidelity*.^c On the day whereon we shall fiercely assault *them* with great

^x This word occurs within a few lines from the beginning of the chapter

^y Some except the verse beginning *We will take the plague off you a little, &c*

^z See the Prelim Disc sect iii p 42 &c

^a Generally supposed to be that between the 23rd and 24th of Ramadan. See ibid p 46, and chap 97 and the notes there

^b For annually on the night, as the Mohammedans are taught all the events of the ensuing year, with respect to life and death and the other affairs of this world, are disposed and settled. Some, however suppose that these words refer only to that particular night on which the Koran, wherein are completely contained the divine determinations in respect to religion and morality was sent down,^c and according to this exposition the passage may be rendered *The night whereon every determined or adjudged matter was sent down*

^c "I swear it by the book of evidence we sent it down unto thee on the blessed night, for the instruction of mortals. On the same night eternal wisdom put the seal unto its laws. —Savary

^d The commentators differ in their expositions of this passage. Some think it spoken of a smoke which seemed to fill the air, during the famine which was inflicted on the Meccans in Mohammed's time^e and was so thick that though they could hear, yet they could not see one another.^f But according to a tradition of Ali, the smoke here meant is that which is to be one of the previous signs of the day of judgment^g and will fill the whole space from east to west, and last for forty days. This smoke, they say, will intoxicate the infidels, and issue at their nose, ears and posteriors, but will very little incommode the true believers.^h

^e See chap 16, p 223

^f If we follow the former exposition, the words are to be understood of the ceasing of the famine, upon the intercession of Mohammed, at the desire of the Koreish, and on their promise of believing on him, notwithstanding which they fell back to their old incredulity but if we follow the latter exposition, they are to be understood of God's taking away the plague of the smoke, after the expiration of forty days, at the prayer of the infidels, and on their promise of receiving the true faith which being done, they will immediately return to their wonted obstinacy

^g Jallalo ddin al Beidâwî

^h Idem

ⁱ Al Zamakhshârî, al Beidâwî Yahya, Jallalo ddin

iv p 58.

^j Al Zamakhshârî al Beidâwî

^k See chap 23 p 284 note ^a

^l See the Prelim Disc sect

power,^d verily we will take vengeance *on them*. We made trial of the people of Pharaoh before them, and an honourable messenger came unto them, *saying*, Send unto me the servants of God,^e verily I *am* a faithful messenger unto you and lift not yourselves up against God, for I come unto you with manifest power And I fly for protection unto my LORD, and your LORD, that ye stone me not.^f If ye do not believe me, *at least* depart from me.^g And *when they accused him of imposture*, he called upon his LORD, *saying*, These are a wicked people. And God *said unto him*, March forth with my servants by night, for ye *will* be pursued and leave the sea divided, *that the Egyptians may enter the same*, for they *are* a host doomed to be drowned. How many gardens, and fountains, and fields of corn, and fair dwellings, and advantages which they enjoyed, did they leave behind them! Thus *we dispossessed them thereof*, and we gave the same for an inheritance unto another people.^h Neither heaven nor earth wept for them,ⁱ neither were they respited *any longer*. And we delivered the children of Israel from a shameful affliction, from Pharaoh, for he was haughty, and a transgressor and we chose them, knowingly,^k above all people, and we showed them *several* signs,^l wherein was an evident trial. Verily these *Meccans* say, Assuredly *our final end* will be no other than our first *natural* death, neither shall we be raised again bring now our forefathers *back to life* if ye speak truth Are they better, or the people of Tobba,^m and those who *were* before them? we destroyed them because they wrought wickedness. We have not created the heavens and the earth, and whatever *is* between them by way of sport we have created them no otherwise than in truth,ⁿ but the greater part of them do not understand. Verily the day of separation^o *shall be* the appointed term of the n all a day, whereon the master and the servant shall be of no advantage to one another neither shall they be helped, excepting those on whom

^d Some expound this of the slaughter at Bedr and others of the day of judgment.

^e Let the Israelites go with me to worship their God

^f Or that ye injure me not either by word or deed

^g Without opposing me or offering me any injury which I have not deserved from you

^h See chap 26 p 204

ⁱ That is None pitied their destruction

^k Knowing that they were worthy of our choice or notwithstanding we knew they would in time to come fall into idolatry &c

^l As the dividing of the Red Sea the cloud which shaded them, the raining on them manna and quails &c

^m Viz the Hamvarites whose kings had the title of Tobba.² The commentators tell us that the Tobba here meant was very potent and built Samarcand or as others say, demolished it and that he was a true believer but his subjects were infidels

This prince seems to have been Abu Carb Asaad, who flourished about seven hundred years before Mohammed and embraced Judaism, which religion he first introduced into Yaman (being the true religion at that time inasmuch as Christianity was not then promulgated) and was for that cause probably, slain by his own people

ⁿ See chap 21 p 265 and chap 38 p 373

^o The heavens the earth and the whole universe, are not the effect of chance Out of Nothing have we created them — *Savary*

^p The day of judgment, when the wicked shall be separated from the righteous &c

¹ Al Beidawi Jallalo ddin

² Idem

³ See the Prelim Disc sect 1 p 7

⁴ Al Beidawi

⁵ Al Jannabi Vide Poc Spec. p 60

GOD shall have mercy, for he is the mighty, the merciful. Verily, *the fruit of the tree of al Zakkum shall be the food of the impious,*^p as the dregs of oil shall it boil in the bellies *of the damned,** like the boiling of the hottest water. *And it shall be said to the tormentors, Take him, and drag him into the midst of hell and pour on his head the torture of boiling water, saying, Taste this,* for thou art that mighty and honourable person. Verily this is the *punishment of which ye doubted.* But the pious *shall be lodged in a place of security, among gardens and fountains they shall be clothed in fine silk, and in satin, and they shall sit facing one another †* Thus *shall it be* and we will espouse them to fair damsels, having large black eyes. In that place shall they call for all *kinds of fruits, in full security they shall not taste death therein, after the first death, and God shall deliver from the pains of hell through the gracious bounty of thy LORD* This will be great felicity. Moreover we have rendered *the Korân easy for thee, by revealing it in thine own tongue, to the end that they may be admonished wherefore do thou wait the event, for they wait to see some misfortunes befall thee.*

CHAPTER XLV

INTITLED, THE KNEELING ^q REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

H M ^r THE revelation of *this* book is from the mighty, the wise God. Verily *both in heaven and earth are signs of the divine power* unto the true believers and in the creation of yourselves, and of the beasts which are scattered *over the face of the earth, are signs* unto people of sound judgment,[‡] and *also in the vicissitude of night and day, and the rain which God sendeth down from heaven, whereby he quickeneth the earth after it hath been dead in the change of the winds also are signs* unto people of understanding. These *are the signs of God, we rehearse them unto thee with truth.* In what revelation therefore will they believe, after *they have rejected God and his signs?* Woe unto every lying and impious person, who heareth the signs of God, which are read unto him, and afterwards proudly persisteth *in infidelity,* as though he heard them not (denounce unto him a painful punishment) and who, when he cometh to the knowledge of any of our signs, receiveth the same with scorn §. For these *is prepared a shameful punishment before them lieth hell, and whatever they shall have gained shall not avail them at all, neither shall the idols*

^p Jallalo ddin supposes this passage to have been particularly levelled against Abu Jahl

* 'Like molten metals, it shall devour their entrails.'—Savary

† 'They shall look on each other benevolently'—Savary

^q The word from which this chapter is denominated occurs page 406.

^r See the Prelim Disc. sect. iii. p 42, &c.

‡ Manifest his wisdom unto those who sincerely believe —Savary

§ 'If they know the divine doctrine. it is only to make of it an object of mockery' —Savary

which they have taken for *their* patrons, besides GOD and they shall suffer a grievous punishment. This *is* a true direction and for those who disbelieve the signs of their LORD, *is prepared* the punishment of a painful torment. It is GOD who hath subjected the sea unto you, that the ships may sail therein, at his command, and that ye may seek *advantage unto yourselves by commerce*, of his bounty, and that ye may give thanks and he obligeth whatever *is* in heaven and on earth to serve you, the whole *being* from him. Verily herein *are* signs unto people who consider. Speak unto the true believers, that they forgive those who hope not for the days of GOD,* that he may reward people according to what they shall have wrought. Whoso doeth that which is right *doth it to the advantage of* his own soul, and whoso doeth evil *doth it against* the same hereafter shall *ve* return unto your LORD. We gave unto the children of Israel the book *of the law*, and wisdom, and prophecy, and we fed them with good things, and preferred them above all nations and we gave them plain *ordinances* concerning the business *of religion*,† neither do they fall to variance, except after that knowledge had come unto them, through envy amongst themselves but thy LORD will decide the controversy between them, on the day of resurrection, concerning that wherein they disagree. Afterwards we appointed thee, O Mohammed, to *promulgate* a law concerning the business *of religion* wherefore follow the same, and follow not the desires of those who *are* ignorant‡. Verily they shall not avail thee against GOD at all, the unjust *are* the patrons of one another, but GOD *is* the patron of the pious. This *Korán* delivereth evident *precepts* unto mankind, and *is* a direction, and a mercy, unto people who judge aright. Do the workers of iniquity imagine that we will deal with them as with those who believe and do good works, *so that* their life and their death *shall be* equal? An ill judgment do they make. God hath created the heavens and the earth in truth, that he may recompense every soul according to that which it shall have wrought and they shall not be treated unjustly. What thinkest thou? He who taketh his own lust for his GOD, and whom GOD causeth knowingly to err, and whose ears and whose heart he hath sealed up, and over whose eyes he hath cast a veil, who shall direct him, after GOD *shall have forsaken him*? Will ye therefore not be admonished? They say, *There is no other life*, except our present life we die, and we live, and nothing but time destroyeth us. But they have no knowledge in this *matter*, they only follow a *vain* opinion‡. And when our evident signs are rehearsed unto them,

* By the days of GOD, in this place, are meant the prosperous successes of his people in battle against the infidels⁶. The passage is said to have been revealed on account of Omar who being reviled by one of the tribe of Ghifâr, was thinking to revenge himself by force. Some are of opinion that this verse is abrogated by that of *war*⁶.

* 'Exhort the believers to extend forgiveness unto the unbelievers'—*Savary*

† "We prescribed unto them the worship of the true God —*Savary*

‡ That is, of the principal Koreish, who were urgent with Mohammed to return to the religion of his forefathers.⁷

‡ 'Ignorance hath given birth to this opinion, and hath converted it into a dogma.'—*Savary*

⁶ See p 205, note ^a

⁶ Al Beidâwi.

⁷ Idem.

their argument *which they offer against the same*, is no other than that they say, Bring to life our fathers *who have been dead*, if ye speak truth Say, GOD giveth you life, and afterwards causeth you to die hereafter will he assemble you together on the day of resurrection, there is no doubt thereof, but the greater part of men do not understand Unto GOD *appertaineth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and the day whereon the hour shall be fixed, on that day shall those who charge *the Korân* with vanity perish And thou shalt see every nation^u kneeling every nation shall be called unto its book of account, *and it shall be said unto them*, This day shall ye be rewarded according to that which ye have wrought. This our book will speak concerning you with truth, *therein* have we written down whatever ye have done.* As to those who shall have believed and done good works, their LORD shall lead them into his mercy this shall be manifest felicity But as to the infidels, *it shall be said unto them*, Were not my signs rehearsed unto you? but ye proudly rejected *them*, and became a wicked people! And when it was said *unto you*, Verily the promise of GOD is true and as to the hour of judgment, *there is* no doubt thereof ye answered, We know not what the hour of judgment is we hold an *uncertain* opinion only,* and we are not well assured of *this matter* But *on that day* the evils of that which they have wrought shall appear unto them, and that which they mocked at shall encompass them and it shall be said *unto them*, This day will we forget you, as ye did forget the meeting of this your day and you abode *shall be* hell fire, and ye shall have none to deliver you This *shall ye suffer*, because ye turned the signs of GOD to ridicule, and the life of the world deceived you. On this day, therefore, they shall not be taken forth from thence, neither shall they be asked *any more* to render themselves well pleasing *unto God* Wherefore praise be unto GOD, the LORD of the heavens, and the LORD of the earth, the LORD of all creatures and unto him be glory in heaven and earth, for he is the mighty, the wise God

CHAPTER XLVI

INTITLED, AL AHKÂF, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

[*XXVI] H.M.^u THE revelation of *this* book is from the mighty, the wise GOD We have not created the heavens, and the earth, and whatever

^u The original word *Ommat* properly signifies a people who profess one and the same law or religion

* See the Prelim Disc. sec. iv p. 63

"It is a chimerical opinion which is established among us"—*Savary*

⁷ Al Ahkâf is the plural of Hekf, and signifies sands which lie in a crooked or winding manner whence it became the name of a territory in the province of Hadramaut, where the Adites dwelt It is mentioned about the middle of this chapter

See the Prelim Disc. sect. iii. p. 42. &c

is between them, otherwise than in truth,^a and for a determined period ^b but the unbelievers turn away from the warning which is given them. Say, What think ye? Show me what *part* of the earth *the idols* which ye invoke, besides God, have created? Or, had they any share in the *creation* of the heavens?† Bring me a book of *scripture revealed* before this, or some footsteps of *ancient knowledge, to countenance your idolatrous practices*, if ye are men of veracity Who is in a wider error than he who invoceth, besides God, that which cannot return him an answer, to the day of resurrection, and *idols* which regard not their calling on them and which, when men shall be gathered together to judgment, will become their enemies, and will ungratefully deny their worship? When our evident signs are rehearsed unto them, the unbelievers say of the truth,^c when it cometh unto them, This is a manifest piece of sorcery Will they say, *Mohammed hath forged it?* Answer, If I have forged it, verily ye shall not obtain for me any *favour* from God he well knoweth the *injurious language* which ye utter concerning it he is a sufficient witness between me and you, and he is gracious and merciful. Say, I am not singular among the apostles,^d neither do I know what will be done with me or with you *hereafter* I follow no other than what is revealed unto me, neither am I any more than a public warner Say, What is your opinion? If *this book* be from God, and ye believe not therein, and a witness of the children of Israel bear witness to its consonancy with the law,^e and believeth therein, and ye proudly reject *the same* are ye not unjust doers? Verily God directeth not unjust people But those who believe not say of the true believers, If *the doctrine of the Korân* had been good, they had not embraced the same before us.^f And when they are not guided thereby, they say, This is an antiquated lie Whereas the book of Moses was *revealed* before the Korân, to be a guide and a mercy and this is a book confirming *the same, delivered* in the Arabic tongue, to denounce threats unto those who act unjustly, and to bear good tidings unto the righteous doers. As to those who say, Our Lord is God, and who behave uprightly on them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved. These shall be the inhabitants of paradise, they shall remain therein for ever in recom-

^a See chap 21 p 265 and chap 38 p 373 &c

^b Being to last but a certain space of time and not for ever

^c "We have called from nothing the heaven the earth and the immensity of space Truth presided over our work All beings have their appointed time — Savary

† 'Partake they of the empire of the heavens? — Savary

^d e Any part of the revelations of the Koran

^e That is I do not teach a doctrine different from what the former apostles and prophets have taught nor am I able to do what they could not, particularly to show the signs which every one shall think fit to demand^g

^f This witness is generally supposed to have been the Jew Abdallah Ebn Salam, who declared that Mohammed was the prophet foretold by Moses Some, however suppose the witness here meant to have been Moses himself^h

^g These words were spoken as some think by the Jews, when Abdallah professed Islam or according to others, by the Koreish, because the first followers of Mohammed were for the most part poor and mean people or else by the tribes of Amer, Ghatfân and Asad on the conversion of those of Joheinah Mozeinah, Aslam, and Ghifâr¹

^h Al Beidâwî

ⁱ Idem Jallalo ddin

¹ Idem.

pence for that which they have wrought We have commanded man to show kindness to his parents his mother beareth him *in her womb* with pain, and bringeth him forth with pain and *the space of his being carried in her womb*, and of his weaning, is thirty months,² until, when he attaineth his age of strength, and attaineth *the age of forty years*, he saith,³ O LORD, excite me, by thy inspiration, that I may be grateful for their favours, wherewith thou hast favoured me and my parents, and that I may work righteousness, which may please thee and be gracious unto me in my issue, for I am turned unto thee, and am a Moslem. These are they from whom we accept the good work which they have wrought, and whose evil works we pass by, and they shall be among the inhabitants of paradise this is a true promise, which they are promised *in this world*. He who saith unto his parents, Fie on you! Do ye promise me that I shall be taken forth *from the grave, and restored to life*, when many generations have passed away before me, and none of them have returned back?⁴ And his parents implore God's assistance, and say to their son, Alas for thee! Believe for the promise of God is true. But he answereth, This is no other than silly fables of the ancients. These are they whom the sentence passed on the nations which have been before them, of genu and of men, justly fitteth they shall surely perish.⁵ For every one is prepared a certain degree of happiness or misery, according to that which they shall have wrought that God may recompense them for their works and they shall not be treated unjustly On a certain day, the unbelievers shall be exposed before the fire of hell, and it shall be said unto them, Ye received your good things in your lifetime, *while ye were in the world*, and ye enjoyed yourselves therein wherefore this day ye shall be rewarded with the punishment of ignominy, for that ye behaved insolently in the earth, without justice, and for that ye transgressed Remember the brother of Ad,¹ when he preached unto his people in Al Ahkaf (and there were preachers before him, and after him), saying, Worship none but God verily I fear for you the punishment of a great day They answered, Art thou come unto us that thou mayest turn us aside from *the worship of our gods*? Bring on us now *the punishment* with which thou threatenest us, if thou art a man of veracity He said, Verily the

² At the least. For if the full time of suckling an infant be two years,² or twenty four months, there remain but six months for the space of his being carried in the womb, which is the least that can be allowed.

³ These words, it is said were revealed on account of Abu Becr who professed Islam in the fortieth year of his age, two years after Mohammed's mission, and was the only person, either of the Mohajerin or the Ansars, whose father and mother were also converted his son Abd alrahman, and his grandson Abu Atik, likewise embracing the same faith.

⁴ He is brought up under the paternal roof till he is of mature age Having attained his fortieth year, &c.—Savary

⁵ The words seem to be general but it is said they were revealed particularly on occasion of Abd alrahman, the son of Abu Becr, who used these expressions to his father and mother before he professed Islam.

⁶ Unless they redeem their fault by repentance and the embracing the true faith; as did Abd alrahmân

¹ i. e. The prophet Hud.

² See chap 2, p 27, 28

³ Al Beidâwi

⁴ Idem Jallalo ddin &c

⁵ Al Beidâwi

knowledge of the time when your punishment will be inflicted is with God, and I only declare unto you that which I am sent to preach, but I see ye are an ignorant people. And when they saw the preparation made for their punishment, namely, a cloud traversing the sky, and tending towards their valleys, they said, This is a traversing cloud, which bringeth us rain. *Hud answered*, Nay, it is what ye demanded to be hastened a wind, wherein is a severe vengeance it will destroy every thing,^m at the command of its LORD And in the morning nothing was to be seen, besides their empty dwellings. Thus do we reward wicked people We had established them in the like flourishing condition wherein we have established you, O men of Mecca, and we had given them ears, and eyes, and hearts yet neither their ears, nor their eyes, nor their hearts profited them at all, when they rejected the signs of GOD, but the vengeance which they mocked at fell upon them. We heretofore destroyed the cities which were round about you,ⁿ and we variously proposed our signs unto them, that they might repent. Did those protect them, whom they took for gods, besides GOD, and imagined to be honoured with his familiarity? Nay, they withdrew from them yet this was their false opinion which seduced them, and the blasphemy which they had devised Remember when we caused certain of the genu^o to turn aside unto thee, that they might hear the Koran and when they were present at the reading of the same, they said to one another, Give ear and when it was ended, they returned back unto their people, preaching what they had heard They said, Our people, verily we have heard a book read unto us, which hath been revealed since Moscs,^p confirming the scripture which was delivered before it, and directing unto the truth, and the right way Our people, obey GOD's preacher and believe in him, that he may forgive you your sins, and may deliver you from a painful punishment And whoever obeyeth not GOD's preacher shall by no means frustrate God's vengeance on earth neither shall he have any protectors besides him These will be in a manifest error Do they not know that GOD, who hath created the heavens and the earth, and was not fatigued with the creation thereof, is able to raise the dead to life? Yea verily, for he is almighty On a certain day the unbelievers shall be exposed unto hell fire, and it shall be said unto them, Is not this really come to pass? They shall answer, Yea, by our LORD God shall reply,

^m Which came to pass accordingly for this pestilential and violent wind killed all who believed not in the doctrine of Hud, without distinction of sex, age or degree, and entirely destroyed their possessions See the Prelim. Disc sect 1. p 5, and the notes to chap 7 p 123

ⁿ As the settlements of the Thamudites, Midianites and the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, &c.

^o These genu^o according to different opinions were of Nisibin or of Yaman, or of Niniveh and in number nine, or seven They heard Mohammed reading the Koran by night, or after the morning prayer in the valley of al Nakhlah, during the time of his retreat to al Tayef, and believed on him^q

^p Hence the commentators suppose those genu^o, before their conversion to Moham medism, to have been of the Jewish religion

Taste, therefore, the punishment of *hell* for that ye have been unbelievers.* Do thou, *O prophet*, bear the insults of thy people with patience, as our apostles, who were endued with constancy, bare the injuries of their people and require not their punishment to be hastened unto them. On the day whereon they shall see the punishment wherewith they have been threatened, it shall seem as though they had tarried in the world but an hour of a day. *This is a fair warning*. Shall they perish except the people who transgress?

CHAPTER XLVII.

INTITLED, MOHAMMED,^a REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

God will render of none effect the works of those who believe not, and who turn away men from the way of GOD but as to those who believe, and work righteousness, and believe the revelation which hath been sent down unto Mohammed (for it is the truth from their LORD), he will expiate their evil deeds from them, and will dispose their heart aright. This will he do, because those who believe not follow vanity, and because those who believe follow the truth from their LORD. Thus GOD propoundeth unto men their examples.† When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads, until ye have made a great slaughter among them, and bind them in bonds, and either give them a free dismissal after wards, or exact a ransom, until the war shall have laid down its arms.^b This shall ye do. Verily if GOD pleased he could take vengeance on them, without your assistance, but he commandeth you to fight his battles, that he may prove the one of you by the other. And as to those who fight^c in defence of GOD's true religion, God

* "Is not this real y fire? It is fire, they will reply we call God to witness that it is Taste, then, the torments the reality of which ye have denied —Savary

^a Some intitle this chapter War which is therein commanded to be vigorously carried on against the enemies of the Mohammedan faith

^b Some suppose the whole to have been revealed at Mecca

† "The unbelievers have taken falsehood for their guide the believers walk enlightened by the torch of the true faith God offereth this striking contrast unto the consideration of man —Savary

^c This law the Hanifites judge to be abrogated, or to relate particularly to the war of Bedr for the severity here commanded which was necessary in the beginning of Mohammedism^d they think too rigorous to be put in practice in its flourishing state. But the Persians, and some others hold the command to be still in full force or according to them, all the men of full age, who are taken in battle, are to be slain unless they embrace the Mohammedan faith; and those who fall into the hands of the Moslems after the battle are not to be slain, but may either be set at liberty gratis, or on payment of a certain ransom, or may be exchanged for Mohammedan prisoners, or condemned to slavery at the pleasure of the Imam or prince.^e

^d See chap 8 p 140 and 146
Militari Mohammedanor p 32

^e Al Beidawni Vide Reland Dissert. de

will not suffer their works to perish he will guide them, and will dispose their heart aright, and he will lead them into paradise, of which he hath told them. O true believers, if ye assist God, *by fighting for his religion*, he will assist you *against your enemies*, and will set your feet fast but *as for the infidels*, let them perish, and their works shall God render vain. *This shall befall them*, because they have rejected with abhorrence that which God hath revealed wherefore their works shall become of no avail. Do they not travel through the earth, and see what hath been the end of those who *were* before them? God utterly destroyed them and the like *catastrophe* awaiteth the unbelievers. *This shall come to pass*, for that God is the patron of the true believers, and for that the infidels have no protector Verily God will introduce those who believe, and do good works, into gardens beneath which rivers flow † but the unbelievers indulge themselves in pleasures, and eat as beasts eat, * and their abode *shall be hell fire*. How many cities were more mighty in strength than thy city which hath expelled thee, yet have we destroyed them, and *there was* none to help them? Shall he therefore, who followeth the plain declaration of his LORD, be as he whose evil works have been dressed up for him *by the devil* and who follow their own lusts? The description of paradise, which is promised unto the pious therein *are* rivers of incorruptible water, and rivers of milk, the taste whereof changeth not, and rivers of wine, pleasant unto those who drink, and rivers of clarified honey, and therein shall they have *plenty* of all *kinds* of fruits, and pardon from their LORD † *Shall the man for whom these things are prepared be* as he who must dwell for ever in *hell fire*, and will have the boiling water given him to drink, which shall burst their bowels? Of the *unbelievers there are* some who give ear unto thee, until, when they go out from thee, they say *by way of derision* unto those to whom knowledge hath been given, "What hath he said now? These *are they* whose hearts God hath sealed up, and who follow their own lusts but *as to* those who are directed, God will grant them a more ample direction, and he will instruct them what to avoid † Do the *infidels* wait for any other than the *last hour*, that it may come upon them suddenly? Some signs thereof are already come † and when it shall actually overtake them, how can they *then* receive admonition? Know therefore, that there is no god but God and ask pardon for thy sin, † and for the true believers, both men and

† Some copies, instead of *kātulu* read *kātulu*, according to which latter reading should be rendered, *who are slain* or *suffer martyrdom*, &c.

* "The unbelievers, intoxicated with earthly pleasures live in a brutish state."
—Savary

† "The grace of the Lord watcheth there over those whom he hath chosen."
—Savary

† i. e. The more learned of Mohammed's companions, such as Ebn Masud and Ebn Abbas †

† Or, as the words may also be translated *And he will reward them for their piety*

† As the mission of Mohammed, the splitting of the moon, and the smoke † men tioned in the 44th chap

† Though Mohammed here and elsewhere † acknowledges himself to be a sinner,

women. God knoweth your busy employment *in the world*, and the place of your abode *hereafter* * The true believers say, Hath not a Sura been revealed *commanding war against the infidels* ? But when a Sura without any ambiguity is revealed, and war is mentioned therein, thou mayest see those in whose hearts is an infirmity † look towards thee with the look of one whom death overshadoweth. But obedience *would be* more eligible for them, and to speak that which is convenient. And when the command is firmly established, if they give credit unto God, it will be better for them. Were ye ready, therefore, if ye had been put in authority, ‡ to commit outrages in the earth, and to violate the ties of blood ? These *are they* whom God hath cursed, and hath rendered deaf, and whose eyes he hath blinded. Do they not therefore attentively meditate on the Korân ? Are there locks upon their hearts ? Verily they who turn their backs, after the *true* direction is made manifest unto them, Satan shall prepare *their wickedness* for them, and God shall bear with them for a time. § This *shall befall them*, because they say *privately* unto those who detest what God hath revealed, We will obey you in part of the matter * But God knoweth their secrets. How therefore *will it be with them*, when the angels shall cause them to die, and shall strike their faces, and their backs ? ¶ This *shall they suffer*, because they follow that which provoketh God to wrath, and are adverse to what is well pleasing unto him and he will render their works vain ° Do they in whose hearts is an infirmity imagine that God will not bring their malice to light ? If we pleased, we could surely show them unto thee, and thou shouldest know them by *their* marks, but thou shalt certainly know them by *their* perverse pronunciation of *their* words. God knoweth your actions and we will try you, until we know those among you who fight valiantly, and who persevere with constancy and we will try the reports of your behaviour Verily those who believe not, and turn away *men* from the way of God, and make opposition against the apostle, after the *divine* direction hath been manifested unto them, shall not hurt God at all, but he shall make their works to perish O true believers, obey God, and obey the apostle and render not your works of no effect. Verily those who believe not, and who turn away *men* from the

yet several Mohammedan doctors pretend he was wholly free from sin and suppose he is here commanded to ask forgiveness not that he wanted it but that he might set an example to his followers wherefore he used to say of himself if the tradition be true, *I ask pardon of God an hundred times a day* ‡

* "He seeth you while that ye wake and while that ye slumber"—*Savary*

† As hypocrisy, cowardice, or instability in their religion

‡ Or, as the words may also be translated, *If ye had turned back*, and apostatized from your faith

§ "Satan shall deck vice with flowers to the eyes of the recreant who shall go back unto impiety He shall procure for him delusive riches"—*Savary*.

° i. e. In part of what ye desire of us, by staying at home and not going forth with Mohammed to war, and by private combination against him ‡

¶ These words are supposed to allude to the examination of the sepulchra,

° These were the tribes of Koreidha and al Nadir, or those who distributed provision to the army of the Koreish at Bedr ‡

way of God, and then die, being unbelievers, God will by no means forgive thee^c therefore, neither invite *your enemies* to peace, while ye *are* the superior for God *is* with you, and will not defraud you of *the merit* of your works. Verily, this present life *is* only a play and a vain amusement but if ye believe, and fear God, he will give you your rewards. He doth not require of you your *whole* substance if he should require the whole of you, and earnestly press you, ye would become niggardly, and it would raise your hatred *against his apostle*. Behold, ye *are* those who are invited to expend *part of your substance* for the support of God's true religion, and *there are* some of you who are niggardly But whoever shall be niggardly shall be niggardly towards his own soul for God wanteth nothing, but ye *are* needy and if ye turn back, he will substitute *another* people in your stead, who shall not be like unto you ^d

CHAPTER XLVIII

INTITLED, THE VICTORY, REVEALED AT MEDINA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

VERILY we have granted thee a manifest victory ^e that God may forgive thee^c thy preceding and thy subsequent sin,^f and may complete his favour on thee, and direct thee in the right way,^g and that God may assist thee with a glorious assistance It is he who sendeth down secure tranquillity

^{d : e} In backwardness and aversion to the propagation of the faith The people here designed to be put in the place of these lukewarm Moslems are generally supposed to be the Persians, there being a tradition that Mohammed, being asked what people they were at a time when Salmân was sitting by him clapped his hand on his thigh and said, *This man and his nation* Others, however, are of opinion that the Ansars or he angels, are intended in this place ^h

^e This victory from which the chapter takes its title, according to most received interpretation was the taking of the city of Mecca. The passage is said to have been revealed on Mohammed's return from the expedition of al Hodeibiya, and contains a promise or prediction of this signal success which happened not till two years after the preterite tense being therein used, according to the prophetic style, for the future ⁱ

There are some, notwithstanding, who suppose the advantage here intended was the pacification of al Hodeibiya which is here called a *victory* because the Meccans sued for peace, and made a truce there with Mohammed their breaking of which occasioned the taking of Mecca Others think the conquest of Khaibar, or the victory over the Greeks at Mûta, &c to be meant in this place

^f That is to say, That God may give thee an opportunity of deserving forgiveness by eradicating of idolatry and exalting his true religion, and the delivering of the weak from the hands of the ungodly, &c

^{g : e} Whatever thou hast done worthy of reprehension or, thy sins committed as well in the time of ignorance, as since Some expound the words more particularly, and say the *preceding* or *former* fault was his lying with his handmaid Mary^j contrary to his oath, and the *latter* his marrying of Zeinab,^k the wife of Zeid his adopted son^l

^h God hath pardoned unto thee thy faults he hath fulfilled his favours, and he will lead thee in the way of justice — *Savary*

^a Al Beidâwî
notes thereon.

^b Al Zamakh, al Beidawî, &c
^c See chap 33, and the notes thereon

^d See chap 66, and the
^e Al Zamakh.

into the hearts of the true believers, that they may increase in faith, beyond their former faith, (the hosts of heaven and earth are God's, and God is knowing and wise) that he may lead the true believers of both sexes into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for ever, and may expiate their evil deeds from them (this will be great felicity with God) and that he may punish the hypocritical men, and the hypocritical women, and the idolaters, and the idolatresses, who conceive an ill opinion of God. They shall experience a turn of evil fortune, and God shall be angry with them, and shall curse them, and hath prepared hell for them, an ill journey shall it be *thither* ! Unto God *belong* the hosts of heaven and earth, and God is mighty and wise. Verily we have sent thee to be a witness, and a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer of threats, that ye may believe in God, and his apostle, and may assist him, and revere him, and praise him morning and evening. Verily they who swear fealty^h unto thee, swear fealty unto God the hand of God is over their hands.¹ Whoever shall violate *his oath*, will violate *the same* to the hurt only of his own soul but whoever shall perform that which he hath covenanted with God, he will surely give him a great reward. The Arabs of the desert who were left behind^k will say unto thee, Our substance and our families employed us, so that we went not forth with thee to war, wherefore, ask pardon for us. They speak that with their tongues, which is not in their hearts. Answer, Who shall be able to obtain for you any thing from God to the contrary, if he is pleased to afflict you, or is pleased to be gracious unto you ? Yea, verily, God is well acquainted with that which ye do. Truly ye imagined that the apostle and the true believers would never return to their families and thus was prepared in your hearts but ye imagined an evil imagination, and ye are a corrupt people*. Whoso believeth not in God and his apostle, verily we have prepared burning fire for the unbelievers. Unto God *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth he forgiveth whom he pleaseth and he punisheth whom he pleaseth and God is inclined to forgive, and merciful. Those who were left behind will say, when ye go forth to take the spoil,¹ Suffer us to follow you. They

^h The original word signifies publicly to acknowledge or inaugurate a prince, by swearing fidelity and obedience to him.

¹ That is He beholdeth from above and is witness to the solemnity of your giving your faith to his apostle, and will reward you for it.¹⁰ The expression alludes to the manner of their plighting their faith on these occasions.

^k These were the tribes of Aslam, Joheimah, Mozamah and Ghifar, who being summoned to attend Mohammed in the expedition of al Hodeibiya, stayed behind, and excused themselves by saying their families must suffer in their absence and would be robbed of the little they had (for these tribes were of the poorer Arabs), whereas in reality they wanted firmness in the faith, and courage to face the Koreish.¹

* 'Ye imagined that the prophet and the faithful were for ever divided from their families your hearts eagerly adopted this opinion. It has deceived you, it will cause your ruin. — *Savary*

¹ *Viz*, in the expedition of Khaibar. The prophet returned from al Hodeibiya in Dhu l-hajja, in the sixth year of the Hejra, and stayed at Medina the remainder of that month and the beginning of Moharram, and then set forward against the Jews of Khaibar with those only who had attended him to al Hodeibiya and

seek to change the word of God^m Say, ye shall by no means follow us thus hath God said heretofore. They will reply, Nay ye envy us *a share of the booty* But they are men of small understanding Say unto the Arabs of the desert who were left behind, Ye shall be called forth against a mighty *and* a warlike nationⁿ ye shall fight against them, or they shall profess Islām.^o If ye obey, God will give you a glorious reward but if ye turn back, as ye turned back heretofore, he will chastise you with a grievous chastisement. It shall be no crime in the blind, neither shall it be a crime in the lame, neither shall it be a crime in the sick, *if they go not forth to war* and whoso shall obey God and his apostle, he shall lead them into gardens beneath which rivers flow, but whoso shall turn back, he will chastise him with a grievous chastisement Now God was well pleased with the true believers, when they swore fidelity to thee under the tree,^o and he knew that which *was* in their hearts, wherefore he sent down on them tranquillity of mind,^p and rewarded them with a speedy victory,^q and many spoils which they took, for God is mighty *and* wise. God promised you many spoils which ye should take, but he gave you these by way of earnest, and he restrained the hands of men from you^r that the same may be a sign unto the true believers, and that he may guide you into the right way And *he also promiseth you other spoils*, which ye have not yet been able to take but now hath God encompassed them *for you*, and God is almighty If the unbelieving *Meccans* had fought against you, verily they had turned *their* backs, and they would not have found a patron or protector according to the ordinance of God, which hath been put in having made himself master of the place, and all the castles and strongholds in that territory^s took spoils to a great value which he divided among them who were present at that expedition and none else^t

^m Which was his promise to those who attended the prophet to al Hodeibiya, that he would make them amends for their missing of the plunder of Mecca at that time by giving them that of Khaibar in lieu thereof Some think the word here intended to be that passage in the ninth chapter,^u *Ye shall not go forth with me for the future &c.* which yet was plainly revealed long after the taking of Khaibar, on occasion of the expedition of Tabuc^v

ⁿ These were Banu Honeifa, who inhabited al Yamama and were the followers of Moseilama, Mohammed's competitor or any other of those tribes which apostatized from Mohammedism^o or as others rather suppose the Persians, or the Greeks^p

^o Ye shall make war against them until they shall have embraced Islamism — *Savary*

^q Mohammed when at al Hodeibiya, sent Jawwās Ebn Omeiya the Khozaite, to acquaint the Meccans that he was come with a peaceable intention, to visit the temple but they on some jealousy conceived refusing to admit him the prophet sent Othman Ebn Affān whom they imprisoned and a report ran that he was slain whereupon Mohammed called his men about him and they took an oath to be faithful to him, even to death during which ceremony he sat under a tree, supposed by some to have been the Egyptian thorn and by others a kind of lote tree^r

^p The original word is *Saknat* of which notice has been taken elsewhere^s

^q Namely the success at Khaibar, or, as some rather imagine, the taking of Mecca, &c.

^r ^s The hands of those of Khaibar or of their successors of the tribes of Asad and Ghatfān, or of the inhabitants of Mecca, by the pacification of al Hodeibiya^t

(Mohammed was encamped near Mecca. Eighty of the idolaters roamed round the camp for the purpose of killing some of his soldiers they were made prisoners He pardoned them, and restored them to liberty His clemency conduced to establish peace and concord.)—*Savary*

^t Vide Abulf Vit. Moh p 87, &c. ^u Al Beidāwī

^o Idem ^v Jallalo ddin ^w Idem, al Beidāwī ^x Page 159 ^y Al Beidāwī

^z In note¹ ad cap 2, p 30 ^{aa} Al Beidāwī

execution heretofore *against opposers of the prophets*, for thou shalt not find any change in the ordinance of GOD *It was he who restrained their hands from you, and your hands from them, in the valley of Mecca, after that he had given you the victory over them* * and GOD saw that which ye did. *These are they who believed not, and hindered you from visiting the holy temple, and also hindered the offering being detained, that it should not arrive at the place where it ought to be sacrificed.*¹ Had it not been that ye might have trampled on *divers true believers, both men and women, whom ye knew not, being promiscuously assembled with the infidels*, and that a crime might therefore have lighted on you on their account, without *your knowledge, he had not restrained your hands from them but this was done*, that GOD might lead whom he pleased into his mercy If they had been distinguished from one another, we had surely chastised such of them as believed not, with a severe chastisement. When the unbelievers had put in their hearts an affected preciseness, the preciseness of ignorance, and GOD sent down his tranquillity on his apostle and on the true believers, ² and firmly fixed in them the word of piety,³ and they were the most worthy of the same, and the most deserving thereof for GOD knoweth all

* Jallaloddin says, that fourscore of the infidels came privately to Mohammed's camp at al Hodeibiya, with an intent to surprise some of his men, but were taken and brought before the prophet, who pardoned them and ordered them to be set at liberty and this generous action was the occasion of the truce struck up by the Koreish with Mohammed for thereupon they sent Sohail Ebn Amru and some others (and not Arwa Ebn Masud, as is said, by mistake, in another place,¹ for his errand was an actual defiance), to treat of peace

Al Beidawi explains the passage by another story telling us that Acrema Ebn Abi Jahl marching from Mecca at the head of five hundred men to al Hodeibiya, Mohammed sent against him Khaled Ebn al Walid, with a detachment, who drove the infidels back to the innermost part of Mecca, (as the word here translated *valley* properly signifies,) and then left them out of respect to the place

¹ Mohammed's intent in the expedition of al Hodeibiya being only to visit the temple of Mecca in a peaceable manner and to offer a sacrifice in the valley of Mina according to the established rites, he carried beasts with him for that purpose, but was not permitted by the Koreish either to enter the temple or to go to Mina

² This passage was occasioned by the stiffness of Sohail and his companions, in wording the treaty concluded with Mohammed for when the prophet ordered Ali to begin with the form *In the name of the most merciful God* they objected to it, and insisted that he should begin with this *In thy name, O God*, which Mohammed submitted to and proceeded to dictate, *These are the conditions on which Mohammed, the apostle of God, has made peace with those of Mecca*, to this Sohail again objected, saying, *If we had acknowledged thee to be the apostle of God, we had not given thee any opposition* whereupon Mohammed ordered Ali to write, as Sohail desired, *These are the conditions which Mohammed, the son of Abdallah, &c.* But the Moslems were so disgusted thereat, that they were on the point of breaking off the treaty, and had fallen on the Meccans had not God appeased and calmed their minds, as it follows in the text.³

The terms of this pacification were that there should be a truce for ten years, that any person might enter into league, either with Mohammed or with the Koreish, as he should think fit, and that Mohammed should have the liberty to visit the temple of Mecca the next year, for three days *

³ "While the idolaters cherished in their hearts the fury of a blind fanaticism, God sent peace unto the prophet and unto the believers —Savary

¹ i. e. The Mohammedan profession of faith, or the *Bismillah*, and the words, *Mohammed, the apostle of God*, which were rejected by the infidels

¹ See the Prelim Disc sect 2, p 37
p 87

² Idem

³ Al Beidawi. Vide Abulf Vit. Moh.

things. Now hath GOD in truth verified unto his apostle the vision,^{*} wherein he said, Ye shall surely enter the holy temple of *Mecca*, if God please, in full security, having your heads shaved, and your hair cut [†] ye shall not fear for God knoweth that which ye know not, and he hath appointed you, besides this, a speedy victory [‡] It is he who hath sent his apostle with the direction, and the religion of truth, that he may exalt the same above every religion and GOD is a sufficient witness *hereof* Mohammed is the apostle of GOD and those who are with him are fierce against the unbelievers, but compassionate towards one another Thou mayest see them bowing down, prostrate, seeking a recompence from GOD, and his good will Their signs are in their faces, being marks of frequent prostration ^{*} This is their description in the pentateuch, and their description in the gospel they are as seed which putteth forth its stalk, and strengtheneth it, and swelleth in the ear, and riseth upon its stem, giving delight unto the sower Such are the Moslems described to be that the infidels may swell with indignation at them GOD hath promised unto such of them as believe, and do good works, pardon and a great reward.

CHAPTER XLIX.

INTITLED, THE INNER APARTMENTS, REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

O TRUE believers, anticipate not *any matter* in the sight of GOD and his apostle ^{*} and fear GOD, for GOD both heareth and knoweth O true believers, raise not your voices above the voice of the prophet, ^b neither

^{*} Or dream which Mohammed had at Medina, before he set out for al Hodeibiya wherein he dreamed that he and his companions entered Mecca in security, with their heads shaven, and their hair cut This dream being imparted by the prophet to his followers occasioned a great deal of joy among them and they supposed it would be fulfilled that same year but when they saw the truce concluded, which frustrated their expectation for that time they were deeply concerned, whereupon this passage was revealed for their consolation confirming the vision, which was not to be fulfilled till the year after when Mohammed performed the visitation distinguished by the addition of *al Kadd*, or *completion*, because he then *completed* the visitation of the former year when the Koreish not permitting him to enter Mecca, he was obliged to kill his victims, and to shave himself at al Hodeibiya.⁴

[†] i. e. Some being shaved, and others having only their hair cut.

[‡] Viz. the taking of Khaibar

^{*} "The marks of their piety appear on their faces"—*Savary*

^a That is, do not presume to give your own decision in any case, before ye have received the judgment of GOD and his apostle

^b This verse is said to have been occasioned by a dispute between Abu Beer and Omar concerning the appointing of a governor of a certain place, in which they raised their voices so high, in the presence of the apostle, that it was thought proper to forbid such indecencies for the future.⁵

⁴ Al Beidawi, Jallalo ddin. Vide Abulf. Vit. Moh. p 84 87

⁵ Jallalo ddin

speak loud unto him in discourse,* as ye speak loud unto one another, lest your works become vain, and ye perceive it not Verily, they who lower their voices in the presence of the apostle of God are those whose hearts God hath disposed unto piety they shall obtain pardon, and a great reward. As to those who call unto thee from without the inner apartments,^o the greater part of them do not understand *the respect due to thee*.† If they wait with patience, until thou come forth unto them, it will certainly be better for them but God is inclined to forgive, and merciful O true believers, if a wicked man come unto you with a tale, inquire strictly *into the truth thereof*, lest ye hurt people through ignorance, and afterwards repent of what ye have done,^d and know that the apostle of God is among you if he should obey you in many things, ye would certainly be guilty of a crime, *in leading him into a mistake* But God hath made the faith amiable unto you, and hath prepared the same in your hearts, and hath rendered infidelity, and iniquity, and disobedience hateful unto you. These are they who walk in the right way, through mercy from God, and grace and God is knowing and wise If two parties of the believers contend with one another, do ye *endeavour* to compose the matter between them and if the one of them offer an insult unto the other, fight against that party which offered the insult, until they return unto the judgment of God, and if they do return, make peace between them with equity and act with justice, for God loveth those who act justly^e Verily the true believers are brethren, wherefore reconcile your brethren, and fear God, that ye may obtain mercy O true believers, let not men laugh other men to scorn, who peradventure may be better than themselves, neither let women laugh other women to scorn, who may possibly be better than themselves Neither defame one another, nor call one another by oppro-

* 'Speak not unto him with that familiarity which ye use unto each other'—*Savary*

^o These they say were Oyeyna Ebn Hosein and al Akra Ebn Hâbes who wanting to speak with Mohammed when he was sleeping at noon in his women's apartment, had the rudeness to call out several times *Mohammed come forth to us*^o

† 'The interior of thy dwelling is a sanctuary' they who violate it by calling unto thee are deficient in the respect which they owe to the interpreter of heaven —*Savary*

^d This passage was occasioned, it is said, by the following accident Al Walid Ebn Okba being sent by Mohammed to collect the alms from the tribe of al Mostalek, when he saw them come out to meet him in great numbers, grew apprehensive they designed him some mischief, because of past enmity between him and them, in the time of ignorance, and immediately turned back and told the prophet they refused to pay their alms, and attempted to kill him upon which Mohammed was thinking to reduce them by force but on sending Khaled Ebn al Walid to them, he found his former messenger had wronged them and that they continued in their obedience^o

^e This verse is supposed to have been occasioned by a fray, which happened between the tribes of al Aws and al Khazraj Some relate, that the prophet one day riding on an ass as he passed near Abdallah Ebn Obba, the ass chanced to stale, at which Ebn Obba stopped his nose, and Ebn Rawâha said to him *By God, the pass of his ass smells sweeter than thy musk*, whereupon a quarrel ensued between their followers and they came to blows though they struck one another only with their hands and slippers, or with palm branches^o

^o Al Beidâwi

⁷ (By the interior is to be understood the women's apartment, to which the Arabs give the name of Harem (the forbidden place) Only the husband is allowed to enter it he usually passes the afternoon there, in the midst of his wives and children, and dislikes to be called out of it.)—*Savary*

^o Al Beidâwi Jallalo ddin. ^o Idem

brious appellations. An ill name *is to be charged with* wickedness, after *having embraced* the faith and whoso repenteth not, they will be the unjust doers ^c O true believers, carefully avoid *entertaining* a suspicion of *another* for some suspicions *are* a crime. Inquire not too curiously *into other men's failings* neither let the one of you speak ill of another in his absence Would any of you desire to eat the flesh of his dead brother? Surely ye would abhor it. And fear God, for God *is* easy to be reconciled, *and* merciful O men, verily we have created you of a male and a female, and we have distributed you into nations and tribes, that ye might know one another Verily the most honourable of you, in the sight of God, *is* the most pious of you and God *is* wise *and* knowing The Arabs of the desert^d say, We believe. Answer, ye do by no means believe, but say, We have embraced Islâm ^e for the faith hath not yet entered into your hearts ^f If ye obey God and his apostle, he will not defraud you of any part of the merit of your works for God *is* inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. Verily, the true believers *are* those only who believe in God and his apostle, and afterwards doubt not, and who employ their substance and their persons in the defence of God's true religion these are they who speak sincerely Say, Will ye inform God concerning your religion? ^g But God knoweth whatever *is* in heaven and in earth for God *is* omniscient. They upbraid thee that they have embraced Islâm Answer, Upbraid me not with your having embraced Islâm rather God upbraideth you, that he hath directed you to the faith, ^h if ye speak sincerely ⁱ Verily God knoweth the secrets of heaven and earth, and God beholdeth that which ye do

^c It is said that this verse was revealed on account of Safiya Bint Hoyal one of the prophet's wives who came to her husband and complained that the women said to her *O thou Jewess the daughter of a Jew and of a Jewess* to which he answered *Canst thou not say, Aaron is my father, and Moses is my uncle, and Mohammed is my husband?*

^d These were certain of the tribe of Asad who came to Medina in a year of scarcity and having professed Mohammedism, told the prophet that they had brought all their goods and their families, and would not oppose him as some other tribes had done and thus they said, to obtain a part of the alms, and to upbraid him with their having embraced his religion and party ^e

^f That is, ye are not sincere believers, but outward professors only of the true religion.

^g (The distinction which the Mohammedans make between faith and Islâmism is that the one is the internal belief, and the other the external sign of that belief by religious acts.)—*Savary*

^h *e* Will ye pretend to deceive him by saying ye are true believers?

ⁱ The obligation being not on God's side, but on yours, for that he has favoured you so far as to guide you into the true faith, if ye are sincere believers.

[†] "They return thanks unto thee for having embraced Islâmism Say to them, His religion cometh not from me, it is the gift of heaven he will lead you if your hearts be sincere"—*Savary*

CHAPTER L

INTITLED K, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

K.¹ By the glorious Korân verily they wonder that a preacher from among themselves is come unto them, and the unbelievers say, *This is a wonderful thing after we shall be dead, and become dust, shall we return to life?* This is a return remote from thought Now we know what the earth consumeth of them, and with us is a book which keepeth an account thereof But they charge falsehood on the truth, after it hath come unto them wherefore they are plunged in a confused business.^{m*} Do they not look up to the heaven above them, and consider how we have raised it and adorned it and that there are no flaws therein? We have also spread forth the earth, and thrown thereon mountains firmly rooted ⁿ and we caused every beautiful kind of vegetables to spring up therein, for a subject of meditation, and an admonition unto every man who turneth unto us And we send down rain as a blessing from heaven, whereby we cause gardens to spring forth, and the grain of harvest and tall palm-trees having branches laden with dates hanging one above another,[†] as a provision for mankind, and we thereby quicken a dead country so shall be the coming forth of the dead from their graves The people of Noah, and those who dwelt at Al Rass,^o and Thainud, and Ad, and Pharaoh, accused the prophets of imposture before the Meccans, and also the brethren of Lot, and the inhabitants of the wood near Midian,[‡] and the people of Tobba ^p all these accused the apostles of imposture, wherefore the judgments which I threatened were justly inflicted on them. Is our power exhausted by the first creation? Yea, they are in a perplexity, because of a new creation which is foretold

¹ Some imagine that this letter is designed to express the mountain Kâf, which several eastern writers fancy encompasses the whole world ² Others say it stands for *Kada al amr* i e *The matter is decreed*, viz the chastisement of the infidels ³ See the Prelim Disc sect iii p 42, &c

^m Not knowing what certainly to affirm of the Korân, calling it sometimes a piece of poetry, at other times a piece of sorcery and at other times a piece of divination, &c.

ⁿ 'The spirit of confusion hath seized upon them' ³—*Savary*

^p See chap 16 p 215, and chap 31 p 335

[†] (The date tree produces three or four large clusters, which rise from the summit of the tree, and hang round. They are formed of small branches long and flexible, from which hang the dates These clusters will sometimes weigh as much as a hundred and twenty pounds The date is at first of a deep green as it ripens it turns red, and it becomes blackish when it is ripe This fruit, which is of a sugary and agreeable taste loses much by drying)—*Savary*

^o See chap 25, p 299

[‡] 'The inhabitants of Aleica' —*Savary*

^p See chap 44, p 403

² Vide D Herbel Bibl. Orient. Art. Caf ³ Al Beidâwi, Jallâloddin

³ (The unbelievers pretended that Mohammed was a magician and the Koran a book of magic, others that he was a poet and the Koran a book of poetry The last reproach is not wholly unfounded the whole of the Koran is written in verses The first chapters are in rhymed prose, a part of the last in verse Mohammed has displayed in his work all the treasures of eloquence and poetry)—*Savary*

them, namely the raising of the dead. We created man, and we know what his soul whispered within him, and we are nearer unto him than his ugiular vein. When the two *angels* deputed to take account of a man's behaviour, take an account thereof, one sitting on the right hand, and the other on the left he uttereth not a word, but *there is* with him a watcher, ready to note it^q And the agony of death shall come in truth this, *O man, is what thou soughtest to avoid.* And the trumpet shall sound this *will be* the day which hath been threatened. And every soul shall come, and therewith *shall be* a driver and a witness.^r And the former shall say unto the unbeliever, Thou wast negligent heretofore of this day but we have removed thy veil from off thee, and thy sight is become piercing this day And his companions shall say, This is what is ready with me to be attested And God shall say, Cast into hell every unbeliever, and perverse person, and every one who forbade good, and every transgressor, and doubter of the faith, who set up another god with the true God, and cast him into a grievous torment His companion^s shall say, O LORD, I did not seduce him, but he was in a wide error^t God shall say, Wrangle not in my presence since I threatened you beforehand with the torments which ye now see prepared for you The sentence is not changed with me neither do I treat my servants unjustly On that day we will say unto hell, Art thou full? and it shall answer, Is there yet any addition?^u And paradise shall be brought near unto the pious, and it shall be said unto them, This is what ye have been promised, unto every one who turned himself unto God, and kept his commandments, who feared the merciful in secret, and came unto him with a converted heart enter the same in peace this is the day of eternity Therein shall they have whatever they shall desire, and there

^q The intent of the passage is to exalt the omniscience of God who wants not the information of the guardian angels, though he has thought fit in his wisdom, to give them that employment for if they are so exact as to write down every word which falls from a man's mouth, how can we hope to escape the observation of him who sees our inmost thoughts?

The Mohammedans have a tradition that the angel who notes a man's good actions has the command over him who notes his evil actions and that when a man does a good action the angel of the right hand writes it down ten times, and when he commits an ill action, the same angel says to the angel of the left hand, *Forbear setting it down for seven hours peradventure he may pray, or may ask pardon*⁶

^r *e* Two angels, one acting as a serjeant, to bring every person before the tribunal, and the other prepared as a witness, to testify either for or against him. Some say the former will be the guardian angel who took down his evil actions, and the other angel who took down his good actions⁷

^s Every man shall present himself there with a guide and with a witness — *Savary*

^t *Viz* the devil which shall be chained to him

^u This will be the answer of the devil, whom the wicked person will accuse as his seducer for the devil hath no power over a man, to cause him to do evil, any otherwise than by suggesting what is agreeable to his corrupt inclinations⁸

^v *e* Are there yet any more condemned to this place, or is my space to be enlarged and rendered more capacious to receive them?

The commentators suppose hell will be quite filled at the day of judgment, according to that repeated expression in the Koran *Verily I will fill hell with you &c.*

⁶ Al Beidāwī.

⁷ Idem.

⁸ See chap 14, p 207 &c.

will be a superabundant addition of *bliss* with us.^v How many generations have we destroyed before the *Meccans*, which were more mighty than they in strength? Pass, therefore, through the regions of *the earth*, and see whether *there be* any refuge from *our vengeance*. Verily herein is an admonition unto him who hath a heart to *understand*, or giveth ear, and is present *with an attentive mind*. We created the heavens and the earth, and whatever is between them, in six days and no weariness affected us.^x Wherefore patiently suffer what they say,^y and celebrate the praise of thy LORD before sunrise, and before sunset, and praise him *in some part* of the night and *perform* the additional parts of worship.^z And hearken unto the day whereon the crier shall call *men to judgment* from a near place.^a the day whereon they shall hear the voice of *the trumpet* in truth this *will be* the day of *men's* coming forth from *their graves* we give life, and we cause to die, and unto us *shall be* the return of *all creatures* the day whereon the earth shall suddenly cleave in sunder over them This *will be* an assembly easy for us to *assemble*. We well know what *the unbelievers* say, and thou *art* not sent to compel them forcibly to *the faith*. Wherefore warn, by the Korân, him who feareth my threatening

CHAPTER LI

INTITLED, THE DISPERSING, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

By the *winds* dispersing and scattering *the dust* ^b and by the *clouds* bearing a load of *rain*,^c by the *ships* running swiftly in *the sea*,^d and by

^v See the Prelim. Disc. sect. 4 p. 71

^x This was revealed in answer to the Jews who said that God rested from his work of creation on the seventh day and reposed himself on his throne, as one fatigued.⁹

^y Viz. Either what the idolaters say in denying the resurrection or the Jews in speaking indecently of God

^z These are the two inclinations used after the evening prayer which are not necessary or of precept, but voluntary, and of supererogation and may therefore be added or omitted indifferently

^a "Make known his praise at the beginning of the night, and accomplish the adoration."¹—*Savary*

^b That is from a place from whence every creature may equally hear the call. This place, it is supposed, will be the mountain of the temple of Jerusalem which some fancy to be higher heaven than any other part of the earth whence Israfil will sound the trumpet and Gabriel will make the following proclamation, *O ye rotten bones and torn flesh, and dispersed hairs, God commandeth you to be gathered together to judgment*²

^c Or *By the women who bring forth or scatter children* &c.

^d I swear by the breath of the impetuous winds —*Savary*

^e Or *By the women bearing a burden* in their womb or *the winds bearing the clouds*, &c.

^f Or, *By the winds passing swiftly in the air or the stars moving swiftly in their courses* &c.

⁹ Al Beidâwi, Jallalo ddin

¹ (By these words is to be understood the prayer called *el achâ*, that is, of the supper which is repeated about two hours after sunset. Marracci is mistaken in supposing that the words signify *genuflexions* which are not prescribed by the law Marracci, p. 673.)—*Savary*

² Al Beidâwi, Jallalo ddin.

the *angels* who distribute things *necessary for the support of all creatures* * verily that wherewith ye are threatened is certainly true, and the last judgment will surely come By the heaven furnished with paths,^f ye widely differ in what ye say ^g He will be turned aside from *the faith*, who shall be turned aside *by the divine decree*. Cursed be the liars, who *wade* in deep waters of *ignorance*, neglecting *their salvation*.† They ask, When will the day of judgment come? On that day shall they be burned in *hell* fire, and it shall be said unto them, Taste your punishment, that is what ye demanded to be hastened. But the pious shall dwell among gardens and fountains, receiving that which their LORD shall give them, because they were righteous doers before this day They slept but a small part of the night,^h and early in the morning they asked pardon of God and a due portion of their wealth was given unto him who asked, and unto him who was forbidden by shame to ask There are signs of the divine power and goodness in the earth, unto men of sound understanding, and also in your own selves will ye not therefore consider? Your sustenance is in the heaven, and also that which ye are promisedⁱ Wherefore by the LORD of heaven and earth I swear that this is certainly the truth, according to what ye yourselves speak ^k Hath not the story of Abraham's honoured guests^l come to thy knowledge? When they went in unto him, and said, Peace he answered Peace, saying within himself, These are unknown people And he went privately unto his family, and brought a fatted calf And he set it before them, and when he saw they touched it not, he said, Do ye not eat? And he began to entertain a fear of them They said, Fear not ^m and they declared unto him the promise of a wise youth And his wife drew near with exclamation and she smote her face,ⁿ and said, I am an old woman, and barren The angels answered, Thus saith thy LORD verily he is the wise, the knowing [* XXVII] And Abraham said unto them, What is your errand, therefore O messengers of God? They answered, verily we are sent unto a wicked people that we may send down upon them stones of baked clay, marked

* Or By the winds which distribute the rain &c

* 'By the angels who execute the decrees of Heaven'—Savary

^f ^e The paths or orbs of the stars, or the streaks which appear in the sky like paths, being thin and extended clouds

^g Concerning Mohammed or the Koran or the resurrection and day of judgment speaking variously and inconsistently of them

† "The liars shall perish they are buried in the abyss of ignorance —Savary

^h Spending the greater part in prayer, and religious meditation

ⁱ ^e Your food cometh from above, whence proceedeth the change of seasons and rain and your future reward is also there that is to say, in paradise, which is situate above the seven heavens

^k That is, without any doubt or reserved meaning, as ye affirm a truth unto one another

^l See chap 11, p 182, and chap 15, p 212.

^m Some add that to remove Abraham's fear, Gabriel, who was one of these strangers, touched the calf with his wing, and it immediately rose up and walked to its dam, upon which Abraham knew them to be the messengers of God ⁿ

ⁿ This, some pretend, she did for shame because she felt her courses coming upon her

from thy LORD, for *the destruction of transgressors.** And we brought forth the true believers who were in *the city* but we found not therein more than one family of Moslems. And we *overthrew the same*, and left a sign therein unto those who dread the severe chastisement of God. In Moses also *was a sign* when he sent him unto Pharaoh with manifest power. But he turned back, with his princes, saying, *This man is a sorcerer, or a madman.* Wherefore we took him and his forces, and cast them into the sea and he was one worthy of reprehension. And in *the tribe of Ad also was a sign* when we sent against them a destroying wind,^o it touched not aught whereon it came, but it rendered the same as a thing rotten, and reduced to dust. In Thamud *likewise was a sign* when it was said unto them, *Enjoy yourselves for a time*^p But they insolently transgressed the command of their LORD wherefore a terrible noise from heaven assailed them, while they looked on, and they were not able to stand *on their feet*, neither did they save themselves *from destruction*.^q And the people of Noah *did we destroy* before *these* for they were a people who enormously transgressed[†] We have built the heaven with might, and we have given it a large extent and we have stretched forth the earth beneath, and how evenly have we spread *the same*! And of every thing we have created two kinds,^r that peradventure ye may consider. Fly, therefore, unto God, verily I am a public warner unto you, from him. And set not up another god with *the true God* verily I am a public warner unto you, from him[‡] In like manner there came no apostle unto their predecessors, but they said, *This man is a magician, or a mad man.* Have they bequeathed this *behaviour* successively the one to the other? Yea, they are a people who enormously transgress § Wherefore withdraw from them, and thou *shalt not be blameworthy in so doing*. Yet continue to admonish, for admonition profiteth the true believers. I have not created genu and men *for any other end* than that they should serve me. I require not any sustenance from them, neither will I that they feed me. Verily GOD is he who provideth *for all creatures*, possessed of mighty power. Unto those who shall injure *our apostle* shall be given a portion like unto the portion of those who behaved like them *in times past*, and they shall not wish *the same* to be hastened. Woe, therefore, to the unbelievers, because of their day with which they are threatened!

* "We are about" replied they, "to chastise an infamous people. We shall cause to fall on the guilty a shower of stones on which their names are engraven by the hand of the Lord."—*Savary*

^o See chap 7, p 124, &c

^p For three days. See chap 11, p 181

^q For this calamity happened in the day time.

[†] "We exterminated the people of Noah, in the midst of their crimes"—*Savary*

^r As for example male and female, the heaven and the earth, the sun and the moon, light and darkness; plains and mountains winter and summer sweet and bitter &c⁴

[‡] "Give not unto him an equal or fear my threats."—*Savary*

§ "Have the people bequeathed themselves unto error? The people of Mecca persist in their unbelief"—*Savary*

CHAPTER LII

INTITLED, THE MOUNTAIN; REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

By the mountain of *Sinai*, and by the book written in an expanded scroll,^a and by the visited house,^b and by the elevated roof of *heaven*, and by the swelling ocean verily the punishment of thy LORD will surely descend, *there shall be none to withhold it*. On that day the heaven shall be shaken, and shall reel, and the mountains shall walk and pass away. And on that day woe be unto those who accused *God's apostles* of imposture, who amused themselves in wading in *vain disputes*! On that day shall they be driven and thrust into the fire of hell, *and it shall be said unto them*, This is the fire which ye denied as a fiction. Is this a magic illusion? Or do ye not see? Enter the same to be scorched whether ye bear *your torments* patiently or impatiently, *it will be equal unto you* ye shall surely receive the reward of that which ye have wrought. But the pious shall dwell amidst gardens and pleasures, delighting themselves in what their LORD shall have given them and their LORD shall deliver them from the pains of hell. *And it shall be said unto them*, Eat and drink with easy digestion,^c because of that which ye have wrought leaning on couches disposed in order and we will espouse them unto virgins having large black eyes. And unto those who believe, and whose offspring follow them in the faith, we will join their offspring in *paradise* and we will not diminish unto them aught of *the merit* of their works (Every man is given in pledge for that which he shall have wrought^d) And we will give them fruits in abundance, and flesh of the *kinds* which they shall desire. They shall present unto one another therein a cup of *wine*, wherein there shall be no vain discourse, nor any incitement unto wickedness. And youths appointed to attend them shall go round them beautiful as pearls hidden in *their shell*. And they shall approach unto one another, and shall ask mutual questions. And they shall say, Verily we were heretofore amidst our family, in great dread with regard to *our state after death* but God hath been gracious unto us, and hath delivered us from the pain of burning fire for we called on him heretofore,

^a The book here intended, according to different opinions, is either the book or register wherein every man's actions are recorded, or the *preserved tables* containing God's decrees, or the book of the law which was written by God, Moses hearing the creaking of the pen, or else the Koran^e

^b The Caaba, so much visited by pilgrims or as some rather think, the original model of that house in heaven, called al Dorah, which is visited and compassed by the angels, as the other is by men^f

^c Satiates yourselves, it shall be said unto them, with the blessings which are offered unto you they are the reward of your virtues — *Savary*

^d Every man is pledged unto God for his behaviour and if he does well, he redeems his pledge, but if evil he forfeits it.

^e Al Zamakh. al Baidawi.

^f See Prelim Disc. sect 4.

and he is the beneficent, the merciful. Wherefore do thou, *O prophet*, admonish *thy people* Thou art not, by the grace of thy LORD, a soothsayer, or a madman. Do they say, *He is* a poet we wait, concerning him, some adverse turn of fortune? Say, Wait ye *my rum* verily I wait, with you, *the time of your destruction*.^{*} Do their mature understandings bid them say this, or are they people who perversely transgress? Do they say, He hath forged *the Korân*? Verily they believe not. Let them produce a discourse like unto it, if they speak truth Were they created by nothing, or were they the creators of *themselves*? Did they create the heavens and the earth? Verily they are not firmly persuaded *that God hath created them*.[†] Are the stores of thy LORD in their hands? Are they the supreme dispensers of *all things*? Have they a ladder, whereby they may *ascend to heaven*, and hear the discourses of the angels? Let one, therefore, who hath heard them, produce an evident proof *thereof* Hath God daughters, and have ye sons?[‡] Dost thou ask them a reward *for thy preaching*? but they are laden with debts. Are the secrets of futurity with them, and do they transcribe *the same from the table of God's decrees*? Do they seek to *lay a plot against thee*? But the unbelievers are *they who shall be circumvented*.[§] Have they *any god*, besides God? Far be GOD exalted above the idols which they associate *with him*! If they should see a fragment of the heaven falling down *upon them*, they would say, *It is only* a thick cloud.^{||} Wherefore leave them, until they arrive at their day wherein they shall swoon for fear[¶] a day, in which their subtle contrivances shall not avail them at all, neither shall they be protected. And those who act unjustly shall surely suffer *another* punishment besides this,[‡] but the greater part of them do not understand. And wait thou patiently the judgment of thy LORD *concerning them*, for thou art in our eye and celebrate the praise of thy LORD, when thou risest up, and praise him in the night-season, and when the stars begin to disappear

* "Reply unto them, Wait! I will wait with you"—*Savary*

† For though they confess this with their tongues, yet they deny it by their aversion to render him his due worship

‡ See chap 16 p 218 &c

§ See chap 8, p 142 &c

|| This was one of the judgments which the idolatrous Meccans defied Mohammed to bring down upon them, and yet, says the text, if they should see a part of the heaven falling on them, they would not believe it till they were crushed to death by it⁷

¶ 1. e At the first sound of the trumpet⁸

‡ That is Besides the punishment to which they shall be doomed at the day of judgment, they shall be previously chastised by calamities in this life as the slaughter at Bedr, and the seven years famine, and also after their death, by the examination of the sepulchre⁹

⁷ Al Beidâwi

⁸ See the Prelim Disc. sect iv p 59

⁹ Al Beidâwi.

CHAPTER LIII

INTITLED, THE STAR, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

By the star,^d when it setteth,^e your companion *Mohammed* erreth not, nor is he led astray neither doth he speak of *his own* will. It is no other than a revelation, which hath been revealed *unto him*. One mighty in power, endued with understanding, taught *it* him^f and he appeared^g in the highest part of the horizon. Afterwards he approached *the prophet*, and near *unto him*, until he was at the distance of two bows length^h *from him*, or yet nearer, and he revealed unto his servant that which he revealed. The heart of *Mohammed* did not falsely represent that which he saw^k. Will ye therefore dispute with him concerning that which he saw? He also saw him another time, by the lote-tree beyond which there is no passing^l near it is the garden of *eternal* abode. When the lote tree covered that which it covered,^m *his* eyesight turned not aside, neither did it wanderⁿ and he really beheld *some* of the greatest signs of his LORD^o. What think ye of Allat, and Al Uzza, and Manah, that other thrid *god-desses*?^p Have ye male children, and *God* female?^p This therefore, *is* an

^d Some suppose the stars in general, and others the Pleiades in particular, to be meant in this place

^e Or, according to a contrary signification of the verb here used, *when it riseth*.

^f Namely the angel Gabriel

^g In his natural form in which God created him and in the eastern part of the sky. It is said that this angel appeared in his proper shape to none of the prophets, except Mohammed and to him only twice once when he received the first revelation of the Korân and a second time when he took his night journey to heaven, as it follows in the text

^h In a human shape

ⁱ Or, as the word also signifies, *two cubits length*

^k But he saw it in reality

^l This tree, say the commentators stands in the seventh heaven on the right hand of the throne of God, and is the utmost bounds beyond which the angels themselves must not pass, or as some rather imagine beyond which no creatures knowledge can extend.

^m The words seem to signify, that what was under this tree exceeded all description and number. Some suppose the whole host of angels worshipping beneath it¹ are intended and others, the birds which sit on its branches²

ⁿ "He had before seen the same angel near the lotos³ which bounds the abode of delights. Near this tree is the garden of refuge⁴. The lotos was shadowed by the veil, which covers it. The eye of the prophet bore the splendour of the divine magnificence.—*Savary*

^o Seeing the wonders both of the sensible and the intellectual world⁵

^p Those were three idols of the ancient Arabs, of which we have spoken in the Preliminary Discourse.⁶

As to the blasphemy which some pretend Mohammed once uttered, through inadvertence as he was reading this passage See chap 22, p 279, note⁷

^q See chap 16, p 218, &c.

¹ Al Beidâwi

² Jallalo'ddin

³ "This lotos, says Jallalo'ddin, is the tree called Nabe"—*Savary*

⁴ "This garden is thus denominated because that it will be the asylum of the angels, the martyrs, and the virtuous"—*Savary*

⁵ Al Beidâwi

⁶ Sect. i. p. 12.

unjust partition. They are no other than *empty* names, which ye and your fathers have named *goddesses*. God hath not revealed concerning them any thing to authorize *their worship*. They follow no other than a vain opinion, and what *their* souls desire yet hath the *true* direction come unto them from their LORD. Shall man have whatever he wisheth for? ¹ The life to come and the present life *are* God's and how many angels soever *there be* in the heavens, their intercession shall be of no avail, until after God shall have granted permission unto whom he shall please and shall accept. Verily they who believe not in the life to come give unto the angels a female appellation.* But they have no knowledge herein they follow no other than a bare opinion, and a bare opinion attaineth not any thing of truth. Wherefore withdraw from him who turneth away from our admonition, and seeketh only the present life. This *is* their highest pitch of knowledge. Verily thy LORD well knoweth him who erreth from his way, and he well knoweth him who is *rightly* directed. Unto God *belongeth* whatever *is* in heaven and earth that he may reward those who do evil, according to that which they shall have wrought, and may reward those who do well, with the most excellent reward. *As to* those who avoid great crimes, and heinous sins, *and are guilty* only of lighter faults, [†] verily thy LORD *will be* extensive in mercy towards them. He well knew you when he produced you out of the earth, and when ye *were* embryos in your mothers' wombs wherefore justify not yourselves he best knoweth *the man* who feareth him. What thinkest thou of him who turneth aside from following the truth, and giveth little, and covetously stoppeth his hand? [‡] Is the knowledge of futurity with him, so that he seeth *the same*? [§] Hath he not been informed of that which *is contained* in the books of Moses, and of Abraham who faithfully performed *his engagements*? *To wit* that a burdened soul shall not bear the burden of another, and that nothing *shall be imputed* to a man for righteousness, except his own labour, and that his labour shall surely be made manifest hereafter, and that he shall be rewarded for the same with a most abundant reward, and that unto thy LORD *will be* the end of *all things*, and that he causeth to laugh, and causeth to weep, and that he putteth to death, and giveth life and that he createth

¹ *e* Shall he dictate to God, and name whom he pleases for his intercessors or for his prophet, or shall he choose a religion according to his own fancy and prescribe the terms on which he may claim the reward of this life and the next? [†]

* "The unbelievers pretend that the angels are the daughters of God — *Salary*

[†] "Who are guilty only of those faults which are inevitable to human weakness" — *Salary*

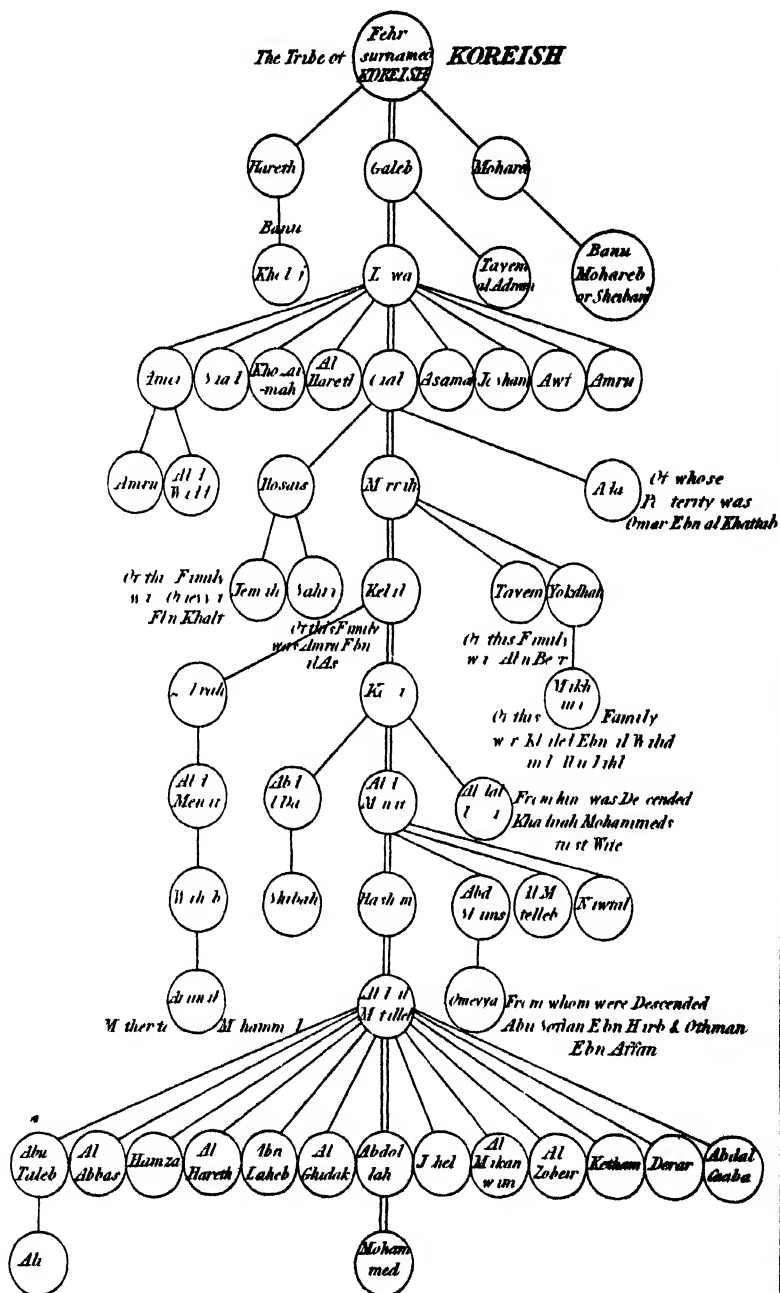
[‡] This passage, it is said, was revealed on account of al Walid Ebn al Mogheira, who following the prophet one day was reviled by an idolater for leaving the religion of the Koreish, and giving occasion of scandal, to which he answered, that what he did was out of apprehension of the divine vengeance whereupon the man offered, for a certain sum, to take the guilt of his apostasy on himself and the bargain being made, al Walid returned to his idolatry, and paid the man part of what had been agreed on, but afterwards, on farther consideration, he thought it too much, and kept back the remainder [§]

[§] That is, Is he assured that the person with whom he made the above-mentioned agreement will be allowed to suffer in his stead hereafter? [¶]

[¶] Al Beidāwī, Jallalo ddin

[¶] Al Beidāwī

[¶] Idem.



the two sexes, the male and the female, of seed when it is emitted, * and that unto him *appertaineth* another production, *namely, the raising of the dead again to life hereafter*, and that he enricheth, and causeth to acquire possessions, and that he is the LORD of the dog-star, † and that he destroyed the ancient *tribe of Ad*, and *Thamud*, and left not *any of them* alive, and also the people of *Noah*, before *them*, for they were most unjust and wicked and he overthrew the *cities which were* turned upside down, ‡ and that which covered *them*, covered them Which, therefore, of thy LORD's benefits, *O man*, wilt thou call in question? This *our apostle* is a preacher like the preachers who preceded *him*. The approaching day of judgment draweth near there is none who can reveal *the exact time* of the same, besides GOD Do ye, therefore, wonder at this new revelation, and do ye laugh, and not weep, † spending your time in idle diversions? But rather worship GOD and serve *him*

CHAPTER LIV

INTITLED THE MOON, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THE hour of judgment approacheth, and the moon hath been split in sunder † but if the *unbelievers* see a sign, they turn aside, saying, *This is a powerful charm* ‡ And they accuse thee, *O Mohammed*, of imposture, and follow their own lusts but every thing will be *immutably fixed* § And now hath a message^b come unto them, wherein is a deterrent from *obstinate infidelity*, the same being consummate wisdom but warners profit them not,

* 'Of earth and water mingled together —*Savary*

† *Sirius*, or the greater dog star, was worshipped by some of the old Arabs¹

‡ *Viz* Sodom, and the other cities involved in her ruin. See chap 11, p 183

† "Ye laugh when ye ought to weep —*Savary*

‡ This passage is expounded two different ways Some imagine the words refer to a famous miracle supposed to have been performed by Mohammed for it is said that, on the infidels demanding a sign of him, the moon appeared cloven in two, one part vanishing, and the other remaining, and Ebn Masud affirmed that he saw mount Harâ interpose between the two sections Others think the preter tense is here used, in the prophetic style, for the future, and that the passage should be rendered, *The moon shall be split in sunder* for this they say, is to happen at the resurrection The former opinion is supported by reading, according to some copies, *wakad inshakka lkamaro* i e *since the moon hath already been split in sunder*, the splitting of the moon being reckoned by some to be one of the previous signs of the last day

§ Or as the participle here used may also signify, a continued series of magic, or a transient magic illusion.

§ Or will reach a final period of ruin or success in this world, and of misery or happiness in the next, which will be conclusive and unchangeable thenceforward for ever⁴

^b i e The Korân, containing stories of former nations which have been chastised for their incredulity, and threats of a more dreadful punishment hereafter

¹ See the Prelim Disc sect 1 p 12, and Hyd. not in Ulug Beg Tab Stell. fix p 53 ² See a long and fabulous account of this pretended miracle in Gagner, Vie de Moham chap 19 ³ Al Zamakh, Al Beidâwi. ⁴ Idem.

wherefore do thou withdraw from them. The day whereon the summoner shall summon *mankind* to an ungrateful business,^a they shall come forth from *their graves* with downcast looks *numerous* as locusts scattered far abroad, hastening with terror unto the summoner. The unbelievers shall say, This is a day of distress.* The people of Noah accused *that prophet* of imposture, before *thy people rejected thee* they accused our servant of imposture, saying, *He is a madman*, and he was rejected with reproach. He called, therefore, upon his LORD, *saying*, Verily I *am* overpowered, wherefore avenge me^d. So we opened the gates of heaven, with water pouring down, and we caused the earth to break forth into springs, so that the water of *heaven and earth* met, according to the decree which hath been established. And we bear him on a *vessel* composed of planks and nails, which moved forward under our eyes,^e as a recompence unto him who had been ungratefully rejected. And we left the *said vessel* for a sign but *is* any one warned *thereby*? And how *severe* was my vengeance, and my threatening!^f Now have we made the Korân easy for admonition but *is* any one admonished *thereby*? Ad charged *their prophet* with imposture but how *severe* was my vengeance, and my threatening! Verily, we sent against them a roaring^g wind, on a day of continued ill luck,^h it carried men away, as though they *had been* roots of palm trees forcibly torn upⁱ. And how *severe* was my vengeance and my threatening! Now have we made the Korân easy for admonition but *is* any one admonished *thereby*? Thamud charged the admonitions of *their prophet* with falsehood, and said, Shall we follow a single man among us? verily we should then be guilty of error, and preposterous madness is the *office* of admonition committed unto him *preferably* to the rest of us? Nay, he is a liar, and an insolent fellow ‡ But God said to *Saleh*, To-morrow shall they know who *is* the liar, and the insolent person for we will surely send the she-camel for a trial of them^j and do thou observe them, and bear *their insults* with patience and prophesy unto them that the water *shall be* divided between them,^k and each portion *shall be* sat down to *alternately*. And they called their companion^l and he took a

^a That is, When the angel Israfil shall call men to judgment.

^{*} They shall hasten to whither the voice shall call them. The unbelievers shall say Behold the terrible day —Savary

^d This petition was not preferred by Noah till after he had suffered repeated violence from his people for it is related, that one of them having fallen upon him and almost strangled him when he came to himself he said O Lord *forgive them, for they know not what they do*^b

^e i. e. Under our special regard and keeping

† What punishments have followed my threats! —Savary

‡ Or, a cold wind.

^g *viz* On a Wednesday See chap 41, p 390 note ^a

^h It is related that they sought shelter in the clefts of rocks and in pits, holding fast by one another, but the wind impetuously tore them away and threw them down dead.^o

‡ No doubtless he is an ambitious impostor —Savary

ⁱ See chap 7, p 124, &c

^k That is, between the Thamudites and the camel See chap 26, p 306, note a.

^l Namely Kodâr Ebn Salef who was not an Arab, but a stranger dwelling among the Thamudites See chap 7, p 123, note ^a

sword,^m and slew her But how severe was my vengeance, and my threatening! For we sent against them one cry of the angel Gabriel, and they became like the dry sticks used by him who buildeth a fold for cattleⁿ And now have we made the Korân easy for admonition but is any one admonished thereby? The people of Lot charged his preaching with falsehood but we sent against them a wind driving a shower of stones, which destroyed them all except the family of Lot, whom we delivered early in the morning, through favour from us. Thus do we reward those who are thankful And Lot had warned them of our severity in chastising, but they doubted of that warning And they demanded his guests of him, that they might abuse them but we put out their eyes,^o saying, Taste my vengeance, and my threatening And early in the morning a lasting punishment^p surprised them Taste, therefore, my vengeance, and my threatening† Now have we made the Korân easy for admonition but is any one admonished thereby? The warning of Moses also came unto the people of Pharaoh, but they charged every one of our signs with imposture wherefore we chastised them with a mighty and irresistible chastisement Are your unbelievers, O Meccans, better than these? Is immunity from punishment promised unto you in the scriptures? Do they say, We are a body of men able to prevail against our enemies? The multitude shall surely be put to flight and shall turn their back^q But the hour of judgment is their threatened time of punishment^r and that hour shall be more grievous and more bitter than their afflictions in this life Verily the wicked wander in error, and shall be tormented hereafter in burning flames. On that day they shall be dragged into the fire on their faces, and it shall be said unto them, Taste ye the touch of hell All things have we created bound by a fixed decree and our command is no more than a single word,^s like the twinkling of an eye ‡ We have formerly destroyed nations like unto you, but is any of

^m Or as the word also imports *He became resolute and daring*

ⁿ The words may signify either the dry boughs with which in the east, they make folds or enclosures, to fence their cattle from wind and cold, or the stubble and other stuff with which they litter them in those folds during the winter season

^o 'A single cry was heard, and they were reduced like unto dry and chopped straw'—Savary

^p So that their sockets became filled up even with the other parts of their faces. This it is said, was done by one stroke of the wing of the angel Gabriel See chap. 11 p. 183

^q Under which they shall continue till they receive their full punishment in hell

† "They wished to wrest from him his guests We deprived them of sight, and we said unto them Taste the punishments which have been foretold unto you. A terrible scourge rushed upon the inhabitants of Sodom at the rising of the sun Undergo the punishment with which ye have been threatened"—Savary

^r This prophecy was fulfilled by the overthrow of the Koreish at Bedr It is related, from a tradition of Omar, that when this passage was revealed, Mohammed professed himself to be ignorant of its true meaning but on the day of the battle of Bedr, he repeated these words as he was putting on his coat of mail

^s 'e The time when they shall receive their full punishment, what they suffer in this world being only the forerunner or earnest of what they shall feel in the next.

^t Viz, Kun, i e Be The passage may also be rendered, *The execution of our purpose is but a single act exerted in a moment.* Some suppose it refers to the business of the day of judgment

‡ "And in the twinkling of an eye we are obeyed"—Savary.

you warned by their example? Every thing which they do is recorded in the books kept by the guardian angels and every action both small and great, is written down in the preserved table. Moreover the pious shall dwell among gardens and rivers, in the assembly of truth, in the presence of a most potent king

CHAPTER LV

INTITLED, THE MERCIFUL; REVEALED AT MECCA.¹

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

THE Merciful hath taught *his servant* the Korân. He created man: he hath taught him distinct speech.* The sun and the moon run *their courses* according to a certain rule: and the vegetables which creep on the ground, and the trees submit to *his disposition*. He also raised the heaven, and he appointed the balance,[†] that ye should not transgress in respect to the balance: wherefore observe a just weight, and diminish not the balance. And the earth hath he prepared for living creatures: therein are various fruits, and palm-trees bearing sheaths of flowers, and grain having chaff, and leaves. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny?[‡] He created man of dried clay like an earthen vessel: but he created the genu of fire clear from smoke. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? He is the LORD of the east, and the LORD of the west.[§] Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? He hath let loose the two seas,[¶]† that they meet each another: between them is placed a bar which they cannot pass. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? From them are taken forth unions and lesser pearls.[‡] Which, therefore, of your

¹ Most of the commentators doubt whether this chapter was revealed at Mecca or at Medina, or partly at the one place, and partly at the other.

* He endowed them with understanding.—*Savary*

† Or justice and equity in mutual dealings

‡ The words are directed to the two species of rational creatures, men and genu, the verb and the pronoun being in the dual number

This verse is intercalated, or repeated by way of burden, throughout the whole chapter, no less than thirty-one times, which was done, as Marracci guesses, in imitation of David.⁹ (With respect to this verse, Jaber tells the following story. The envoy of the Lord read to us the chapter intitled The Merciful. When he had ended, perceiving that none of us spoke, he addressed this reproach unto us. Why do ye remain silent? The genu know better how to answer than you do. When ever I have read this verse to them, they have exclaimed, Lord, we deny not any of thy benefits. Blessed be the name of the Lord.—*Savary*.)

² The original words are both in the dual number, and signify the different points of the horizon at which the sun rises and sets at the summer and winter solstice. See chap. 37, p. 366, note ¹

³ Of salt water and fresh ¹ or the Persian and Mediterranean seas ²

† He hath balanced the waters of the two neighbouring seas.—*Savary*

‡ Both of them furnish pearls and coral.—*Savary*

LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? His also are the ships, carrying their sails aloft in the sea like mountains. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Every creature which *liveth on the earth* is subject to decay but the glorious and honourable countenance of thy LORD shall remain *for ever*. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Unto him do all creatures which are in heaven and earth make petition, every day as he employed in some new work.^a Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? We will surely attend to judge you, O men and geni, at the last day. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? O ye collective body of geni and men, if ye be able to pass out of the confines of heaven and earth,^b pass forth * ye shall not pass forth but by absolute power. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? A flame of fire without smoke, and a smoke without flame^b shall be sent down upon you, and ye shall not be able to defend yourselves *therefrom*. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? And when the heaven shall be rent in sunder, and shall become red as a rose, and shall melt like ointment^c † (Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny?) On that day neither man nor genius shall be asked concerning his sin.^d Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? The wicked shall be known by their marks,^e and they shall be taken by the forelocks, and the feet, and shall be cast into hell. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? This is hell, which the wicked deny as a falsehood they shall pass to and fro between the same and hot boiling water.^f Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? But for him who dreadeth the tribunal of his LORD are prepared two gardens^g (Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny?) planted with shady trees. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? In each of them shall be two fountains flowing. Which, therefore, of

In executing those things which he hath decreed from eternity, by giving life and death raising one, and abasing another, hearing prayers and granting petitions &c.^h

^a To fly from the power and to avoid the decree of God

^b "O ye! men and geni, our vigilant eyes watch all your actions"—Savary

^b Or as the word also signifies, *molten brass* which shall be poured on the heads of the damned

^c Or, *shall appear like red leather*, according to a different signification of the original word

[†] "When the heaven shall open, it shall shine like unto a rose, or a skin dyed red"—Savary

^d For their crimes will be known by their different marks, as it follows in the text. This says al Beidawi, is to be understood of the time when they shall be raised to life, and shall be led towards the tribunal for when they come to trial, they will then undergo an examination as is declared in several places of the Koran.

^e See the Prelim. Disc. sect. iv p 60 &c

^f For the only respite they shall have from the flames of hell will be when they are suffered to go to drink this scalding liquor. See chap 37 p 367

^g : : One distinct paradise for men, and another for geni or as some imagine, two gardens for each person, one as a reward due to his works, and the other as a free and superabundant gift, &c

your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? In each of them *shall there be* of every fruit two kinds.^{h*} Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? They shall repose on couches, the linings whereof *shall be* of thick silk interwoven with gold and the fruit of the two gardens *shall be* near at hand to gather![†] Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Therein *shall receive them beauteous damsels*, refraining their eyes *from beholding any besides their spouses* whom no man shall have deflowered before them, neither any genius (Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny?) *Having complexions* like rubies and pearls Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? *Shall* the reward of good works *be* any other good? Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? And besides these *there shall be* two other gardens! (Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny?) Of a dark green.^{h†} Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? In each of them *shall be* two fountains pouring forth plenty of water Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? In each of them *shall be* fruits, and palm trees, and pomegranates. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Therein *shall be* agreeable and beauteous *damsels* Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Having fine black eyes, *and* kept in pavilions *from public view* Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Whom no man shall have deflowered before *their destined spouses*, nor any genius Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? *Therein shall they delight themselves*, lying on green cushions and beautiful carpets Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Blessed be the name of thy LORD, possessed of glory and honour!

^h Some being known, and like the fruits of the earth and others of new and unknown species or, fruits both green and ripe

^{*} "In each of them shall grow divers fruits in abundance"—*Savary*

[†] So that a man may reach them as he sits or lies down

[†] "The guests of this abode, reposing on silken beds enriched with gold, shall enjoy all these blessings at their pleasure —*Savary*

[†] For the inferior classes of the inhabitants of paradise

^h From hence says al Beidawi, it may be inferred that these gardens will chiefly produce herbs or the inferior sorts of vegetables whereas the former will be planted chiefly with fruit-trees. The following part of this description also falls short of that of the other gardens, prepared for the superior classes

[†] "That shall be dressed in eternal verdure —*Savary*

CHAPTER LVI

INTITLED THE INEVITABLE, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHEN the inevitable¹ day of judgment shall suddenly come, no soul shall charge the prediction of its coming with falsehood it will abase some, and exalt others When the earth shall be shaken with a violent shock, and the mountains shall be dashed in pieces, and shall become as dust scattered abroad, and ye shall be separated into three distinct classes the companions of the right hand, (how happy shall the companions of the right hand be!) and the companions of the left hand^m (how miserable shall the companions of the left hand be!) and those who have preceded others in the faith shall precede them to paradiseⁿ These are they who shall approach near unto God they shall dwell in gardens of delight (There shall be many of the former religions, and few of the last^o) Reposing on couches adorned with gold and precious stones, sitting opposite to one another thereon^p* Youths which shall continue in their bloom for ever, shall go round about to attend them, with goblets, and beakers, and a cup of flowing wine their heads shall not ache by drinking the same, neither shall their reason be disturbed and with fruits of the sorts which they shall choose, and the flesh of birds of the kind which they shall desire. And there shall accompany them fair damsels having large black eyes, resembling pearls hidden in their shells as a reward for that which they shall have wrought They shall not hear therein any vain discourse, or any charge of sin, but only the salutation, Peace! Peace! And the companions of the right hand (how happy shall the companions of the right hand be!) shall have their abode among lote trees free from thorns, and trees of mauz^q loaded regularly with their produce from top to bot-

¹ The original word, the force whereof cannot well be expressed by a single one in English signifies a calamitous accident which falls surely and with sudden violence, and is therefore made use of here to design the day of judgment.

^m That is the blessed and the damned who may be thus distinguished here, because the books wherein their actions are registered will be delivered into the right hands of the former, and into the left hands of the latter ⁿ though the words translated right hand, and left hand do also signify happiness, and misery

ⁿ Either the first converts to Mohammedism or the prophets, who were the respective leaders of their people, or any persons who have been eminent examples of piety and virtue may be here intended. The original words literally rendered are, *The leaders, the leaders*, which repetition, as some suppose, was designed to express the dignity of these persons, and the certainty of their future glory and happiness^o

^o ^p There should be more leaders, who have preceded others in faith and good works, among the followers of the several prophets from Adam down to Mohammed, than of the followers of Mohammed himself^q

^p See chap 15 p 212, note ^a

^q "They shall look upon each other benevolently"—Savary

^a The original word Talh is the name, not only of the mauz,^q but also of a very tall and thorny tree, which bears abundance of flowers of an agreeable smell,^r and seems to be the Acacia.

^q Jallalo ddin, al Beidawni

^r Idem.

^s Idem

^t See p 370

^u Vide

^v Leon Descript Africæ lib 9

tom,* *under an extended shade, near a flowing water,*† and *amidst fruits in abundance, which shall not fail, nor shall be forbidden to be gathered and they shall repose themselves on lofty beds*‡ Verily we have created *the damsels of paradise* by a *peculiar creation* § and we have made them virgins,¶ beloved by their husbands, of equal age *with them*, for *the delight* of the companions of the right hand. *There shall be many of the former religions, and many of the latter* † And the companions of the left hand (how *miserable shall the companions of the left hand be* †) *shall dwell amidst burning winds,*‡ and scalding water, under the shade of a black smoke, neither cool nor agreeable. For they enjoyed the pleasures of life before this, *while on earth*, and obstinately persisted in a heinous wickedness and they said, After we shall have died, and become dust and bones, *shall we surely be raised to life?* *Shall our forefathers also be raised with us?* Say, Verily both the first and the last shall surely be gathered together *to judgment*, at the prefixed time of a known day Then ye, *O men*, who have erred, *and denied the resurrection* as a falsehood, shall surely eat of *the fruit of the tree of al Zakkum*, and shall fill *your bellies* therewith and ye shall drink thereon boiling water, and ye shall drink as a thirsty camel drinketh This *shall be* their entertainment on the day of judgment We have created you will ye not therefore believe *that we can raise you from the dead?* What think ye? The *seed* which ye emit, do ye create the same, or *are we the creators thereof?* We have decreed death unto you *all* and we shall not be prevented *We are able to substitute others* like unto you *in your stead*, and to produce you *again in the condition or form* which ye know not. Ye know the original production *by creation*, will ye not therefore consider *that we are able to produce you by resuscitation?* What think ye? The *grain* which ye sow, do ye cause the same to spring forth

* "They shall walk among trees of Nabe which are devoid of thorns and in the midst of Banana trees arranged in a pleasing order —*Savary*

† Which shall be conveyed in channels to such places, and in such manner, as every one shall desire" Al Beidâwî observes that the condition of the few who have preceded others in faith and good works is represented by whatever may render a city life agreeable and that the condition of the companions of the right hand, or the generality of the blessed, is represented by those things which make the principal pleasure of a country life, and that this is done to show the difference of the two conditions

‡ The word translated *beds* signifies also, by way of metaphor *wives or concubines* and if the latter sense be preferred the passage may be rendered thus, *And they shall enjoy damsels raised on lofty couches, whom we have created* &c.

§ Having created them purposely of finer materials than the females of this world and subject to none of those inconveniences which are natural to the sex † Some understand this passage of the beatified women, who though they die old and ugly shall yet be restored to their youth and beauty in paradise †

¶ For how often soever their husbands shall go in unto them, they shall always find them virgins.

† Father Marracci thinks this to be a manifest contradiction to what is said above *There shall be many of the former and few of the latter*, but al Beidâwî obviates such an objection, by observing that the preceding passage speaks of the *leaders* only and those who have preceded others in faith and good works, and the passage before us speaks of the righteous of inferior merit and degree, so that though there be many of both sorts, yet there may be few of one sort, comparatively speaking in respect to the other

‡ Which shall penetrate into the passages of their bodies

* Al Beidâwî. † See the Prelim Disc. sect. 4, p 69, &c. † See *ibid* p 73.

or do we cause *it* to spring forth? If we pleased, verily we could render the same dry and fruitless, *so that ye would not cease to wonder,*⁷ *saying,* Verily, we have contracted debts *"for seed and labour,* but we are not permitted *"to reap the fruit thereof* What think ye? The water which ye drink, do ye send down the same from the clouds, or *are we the senders thereof?* If we pleased, we could render the same brackish will ye not therefore give thanks? What think ye? The fire which ye strike, do ye produce the tree *whence ye obtain the same,*^b or *are we the producers thereof?* We have ordained the same for an admonition,^c and an advantage unto those who travel through the deserts Wherefore praise the name of thy LORD, the great God. Moreover I swear ^d by the setting of the stars, (and it is surely a great oath, if ye knew *it,*) that this is the excellent Korân, *the original whereof is written* in the preserved book none shall touch the same, except those who are clean ^e It is a revelation from the LORD of all creatures Will ye, therefore, despise this new revelation? And do ye make *this return* for your food *which ye receive from God,* that ye deny yourselves to be obliged to him for the same? ^f When the soul of a dying person cometh up to his throat, and ye at the same time are looking on, (and we are nigher unto him than ye, but ye see not his true condition, ^g) would ye not, if ye are not to be rewarded for your actions hereafter, cause the same to return *into the body,* if ye speak the truth?^h And whether he be of those who shall approach near unto God,ⁱ his reward shall be rest, and mercy, and a garden of delights or whether he be of the companions of the right hand, *he shall be saluted with the salutation,* Peace be unto thee! ^j by the companions of the right hand, his brethren or whether he be of those who have rejected the true faith, and gone astray, his enter-

⁷ Or to repent of your time and labour bestowed to little purpose &c

^a Or, *We are undone*

^b Or, *We are unfortunate wretches* who are denied the necessaries of life

^c See chap 36 p 365 note ^f

^d To put men in mind of the resurrection, ² which the production of fire in some sort resembles or of the fire of hell ³

^e The particle *la* is generally supposed to be intensive in this place, but if it be taken for a negative, the words must be translated *I will not or do not swear* because what is here asserted is too manifest to need the confirmation of an oath.⁴ (Savary adopts the latter reading)

^f Or, *Let none touch the same,* &c Purity both of body and mind being requisite in him who would use this book with the respect he ought and hopes to edify by it for which reason these words are usually written on the cover ⁵

^g By ascribing the rains which fertilize your lands, to the influence of the stars ⁶

Some copies, instead of *rizkacom*, i e *your food*, read *shocracom*, i e *your gratitude*, and then the passage may be rendered thus, *And do ye make this return of gratitude* for God's revealing the Koran, *that ye reject the same as a fiction* ⁷

^h "When some one among you is about to expire and that you see him struggling against death, we are nigher unto them than ye are, but ye perceive us not"—Savary

ⁱ The meaning of this obscure passage is, If ye shall not be obliged to give an account of your actions at the last day as by your denying the resurrection ye seem to believe, cause the soul of the dying person to return into his body, for ye may as easily do that as avoid the general judgment ⁷

^j That is, of the leaders, or the first professors of the faith

² See chap 36 p 365
Disc. sect 3, p 49

³ Al Beidawi

⁴ See *ibid* sect 1, p 22, 23

⁵ Idem

⁶ See the Prelim.
Jallalo ddin, Al Beidawi

tainment *shall consist* of boiling water, and the burning of hell *fire*. Verily this *is* a certain truth. Wherefore praise the name of thy LORD, the great God.

CHAPTER LVII.

INTITLED, IRON,¹ REVEALED AT MECCA, OR AT MEDINA²

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHATEVER *is* in heaven and earth, singeth praise unto GOD, and he *is* mighty *and* wise. His *is* the kingdom of heaven and earth, he giveth life, and he putteth to death, and he *is* almighty. He *is* the first, and the last, the manifest, and the hidden and he knoweth all things. *It is* he who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and then ascended *his* throne. He knoweth that which entereth into the earth, and that which issueth out of the same, and that which descendeth from heaven, and that which ascendeth thereto and he *is* with you, wheresoever ye be for GOD seeth that which ye do. His *is* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and unto GOD shall *all* things return. He causeth the night to succeed the day, and he causeth the day to succeed the night, and he knoweth the innermost part of *men's* breasts. Believe in GOD and his apostle, and lay out *in alms* a part of the *wealth* whereof GOD hath made you inheritors for unto such of you as believe, and bestow alms *shall be given* a great reward. And what aileth you, that ye believe not in GOD, when the apostle inviteth you to believe in your LORD, and he hath received your covenant³ *concerning this matter*, if ye believe *any proposition*?⁴ *It is* he who hath sent down unto his servant evident signs, that he may lead you out of darkness into light, for GOD *is* compassionate and merciful unto you. And what aileth you, that ye contribute not of *your substance* for the defence of GOD's true religion? Since unto GOD appertaineth the inheritance of heaven and earth. Those among you who shall have contributed and fought *in defence of the faith*, before the taking of Mecca, shall not be held equal *with those who shall contribute and fight for the same afterwards*⁵. These shall be superior in degree unto those who shall contribute and fight *for the propagation of the faith*, after the above-mentioned success, but unto all hath GOD promised a most excellent reward, and GOD well knoweth that which ye do. Who *is* he that will lend unto GOD an acceptable loan? for he will double the same unto him, and he shall receive *moreover* an honourable reward[†]. On a *certain* day, thou shalt see the true believers of both sexes their light shall run before

¹ The word occurs towards the end of the chapter

² It is uncertain which of the two places was the scene of revelation of this chapter

³ That is, ye are obliged to believe in him by the strongest arguments and motives.

⁴ 'If your hearts are sincere — *Savary*

⁵ Because afterwards there was not so great necessity for either, the Moham medan religion being firmly established by that great success

[†] 'Who is he who will enter into the glorious covenant of God? He shall prosper. An inestimable reward shall crown his devotedness. — *Savary*

them, and on their right hands,^m *and it shall be said unto them,* Good tidings unto you this day gardens through which rivers flow ye shall remain therein for ever This will be great felicity On that day, the hypocritical men and the hypocritical women shall say unto those who believe, Stay for us,ⁿ that we may borrow some of your light. It shall be answered, Return back *into the world,* and seek light.† And a high wall shall be set betwixt them, wherein shall be a gate, within which shall be mercy, and without it, over against the same, the torment of hell. The hypocrites shall call out unto the true believers, saying, Were we not with you? They shall answer, Yea, but ye seduced your own souls by your hypocrisy, and ye wanted our ruin, and ye doubted concerning the faith, and your wishes deceived you, until the decree of God came, and ye died and the deceiver deceived you concerning God This day, therefore, a ransom shall not be accepted of you, nor of those who have been unbelievers. Your abode shall be hell fire this is what ye have deserved, and an unhappy journey shall it be thither! Is not the time yet come unto those who believe, that their hearts should humbly submit to the admonition of God, and to that truth which hath been revealed, and that they be not as those unto whom the scripture was given heretofore, and to whom the time of forbearance was prolonged but their hearts were hardened, and many of them were wicked doers? Know that God quickeneth the earth, after it hath been dead Now have we distinctly declared our signs unto you, that ye may understand Verily as to the almsgivers, both men and women, and those who lend unto God an acceptable loan, he will double the same unto them, and they shall moreover receive an honourable reward ‡ And they who believe in God and his apostles, these are the men of veracity,§ and the witnesses in the presence of their LORD they shall have their reward, and their light But as to those who believe not, and accuse our signs of falsehood, they shall be the companions of hell Know that this present life is only a toy and a vain amusement and worldly pomp, and the affectation of glory among you, and the multiplying of riches and children, are as the plants nourished by the rain, the springing up whereof delighteth the husbandmen after wards they wither, so that thou seest the same turned yellow, and at length they become dry stubble And in the life to come will be a severe punishment for those who covet worldly grandeur, and pardon from God, and favour for those who renounce it for this present life is no other than a deceitful provision Hasten with emulation to obtain pardon from your LORD, and paradise, the extent whereof equalleth the extent of heaven and earth, prepared for those who believe in God and his apostles. This

^m One light leading them the right way to paradise and the other proceeding from the book wherein their actions are recorded, which they will hold in their right hand

* "Thou shalt one day see the faithful encompassed by a resplendent lustre"—Savary

ⁿ For the righteous will hasten to paradise swift as lightning

† 'Remain' it shall be replied unto them, "remain in darkness"—Savary

‡ "Those who shall have entered into the holy covenant, and who support it by their riches shall be repaid twofold that which they shall have given and shall be magnificently rewarded"—Savary

§ "These are the true believers."—Savary

“the bounty of God he will give the same unto whom he pleaseth, and God is endued with great bounty. No accident happeneth in the earth, nor in your persons, but *the same was entered* in the book of our decrees, before we created it: verily this is easy with God, and *this is written* lest ye *immoderately* grieve for the good which escapeth you, or rejoice for that which happeneth unto you, for God loveth no proud or vain glorious person, or those who are covetous, and command men covetousness. And whose turneth aside *from giving alms*, verily God is self sufficient, worthy to be praised. We formerly sent our apostles with evident *miracles and arguments*, and we sent down with them the scriptures, and the balance,^o that men might observe justice: and we sent *them* down iron,^p wherein is mighty strength for war,^q and *various* advantages unto mankind: * that God may know who assisteth him and his apostles in secret,^r for God is strong and mighty. We formerly sent Noah and Abraham, and we established in their posterity the gift of prophecy, and the scripture: and of them *some were* directed, but many of them *were* evil doers. Afterwards we caused our apostles to succeed in their footsteps, and we caused Jesus the son of Mary to succeed *them*, and we gave him the gospel: and we put in the hearts of those who followed him compassion and mercy: but *as to* the monastic state, they instituted the same (we did not prescribe it to them) only out of a desire to please God, yet they observed not the same as it ought truly to have been observed. And we gave unto such of them as believed their reward: but many of them *were* wicked doers. O ye who believe *in the prophets*,^s fear God, and believe in his apostle Mohammed: he will give you two portions of his mercy,^t and he will ordain you a light wherein ye may walk, and he will forgive you, for God is ready to forgive, and merciful: that those who have received the scriptures may know that they have not power over any of the favours of God,^u and that good is in the hand of God, he bestoweth the same on whom he pleaseth, for God is endued with great beneficence.

^o i. e. A rule of justice. Some think that a balance was actually brought down from heaven by the angel Gabriel to Noah: the use of which he was ordered to introduce among his people.

^p That is, We taught them how to dig the same from mines. Al Zamakhshari adds that Adam is said to have brought down with him from paradise five things made of iron: viz. an anvil, a pair of tongs, two hammers, a greater and a lesser and a needle.

^q Warlike instruments and weapons being generally made of iron.

^r We taught the art of forging iron, to render it fit for battle, and useful to the wants of life. — *Savary*.

^s That is, sincerely and heartily.

^t These words are directed to the Jews and Christians, or rather to the latter only.

^u One as a recompence for their believing in Mohammed and the other as a recompence for their believing in the prophets who preceded him: for they will not lose the reward of their former religion, though it be now abrogated by the promulgation of Islam.⁶

⁶ i. e. That they cannot expect to receive any of the favours above mentioned, because they believe not in his apostle, and those favours are annexed to faith in him; or That they have not power to dispose of God's favours, particularly of the greatest of them, the gift of prophecy: so as to appropriate the same to whom they please.⁷

CHAPTER LVIII.

INTITLED, SHE WHO DISPUTED, REVEALED AT MEDINA *

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

[*XXVIII] Now hath God heard the speech of her who disputed with thee concerning her husband, and made her complaint unto God, ² and God hath heard your mutual discourse for God *both* heareth *and* seeth. As to those among you who divorce their wives, by declaring that they will thereafter regard them as their mothers, *let them know that they are not their mothers.* They only *are* their mothers who brought them forth, ³ and they certainly utter an unjustifiable saying, and a falsehood † but God is gracious *and* ready to forgive. Those who divorce their wives by declaring that they will for the future regard them as their mothers, and afterwards would repair ⁴ what they have said, *shall be obliged to free a captive* ⁵ before they touch one another ‡ That *is* what ye are warned to *perform* and God is well apprised of that which ye do. And whoso findeth not a captive to redeem, *shall observe* a fast of two consecutive months, before they touch one another And whoso shall not be able to fast *that time*, *shall feed* threescore poor men. This *is ordained you*, that ye may believe in God and his apostle. These *are* the statutes of God and for the unbelievers *is prepared* a grievous torment Verily they who oppose God and his apostle shall be brought low, *as the unbelievers* who preceded them were brought low And now we have sent down manifest signs and an

* Some are of opinion that the first ten verses of this chapter ending with these words, *and fear God, before whom ye shall be assembled*, were revealed at Mecca, and the rest at Medina ¹

* This was Khawla bint Thâlabâ the wife of Aws Ebn al Sâmât, who being divorced by her husband by a form in use among the Arabs in the time of ignorance, *viz* by saying to her, *Thou art to me as the back of my mother* ² came to ask Mohammed's opinion whether they were necessarily obliged to a separation, and he told her that it was not lawful for her to cohabit with her husband any more to which she replying, that her husband had not put her away the prophet repeated his former decision adding that such form of speaking was, by general consent understood to imply a perpetual separation Upon this the woman being greatly concerned because of the smallness of her children, went home, and uttered her complaint to God in prayer and thereupon this passage was revealed ³ allowing a man to take his wife again notwithstanding his having pronounced the above mentioned form of divorce, on doing certain acts of charity, or mortification, by way of penance.

* "Heaven hath heard the voice of her who brought unto thee her complaint against her husband, and who raised to the Lord her eyes bathed in tears — *Savary*

* "And therefore no woman ought to be placed in the same degree of prohibition, except those whom God has joined with them as nursing mothers, and the wives of the prophet ⁴

† "They cannot become their wives — *Savary*

* This seems to be here the true meaning of the original word, which properly signifies to *return*, and is variously expounded by the Mohammedan doctors

* Which captive according to the most received decision, ought to be a true believer as is ordered for the expiation of manslaughter ⁵

‡ "They who swear to live no longer with their wives, and who repent of their oath must not have intercourse with them before they have liberated a captive — *Savary*

¹ Al Beidâwî

² See chap 33, p 341

³ Al Beidawî, Jallalo d d n &c,

⁴ Al Beidawî See chap 4, p 62, and chap 33, p 349

⁵ See *ibid* p 71, 72

ignominious punishment awaiteth the unbelievers. On a *certain* day God shall raise them all to life, and shall declare unto them that which they have wrought. God hath taken an exact account thereof, but they have forgotten the same and God is witness over all things. Dost thou not perceive that God knoweth whatever is in heaven and in earth? There is no private discourse among three persons, but he is the fourth of them, nor among five, but he is the sixth of them, neither among a smaller number than this, nor a larger, but he is with them, whosoever they be and he will declare unto them that which they have done, on the day of resurrection for God knoweth all things. Hast thou not observed those who have been forbidden to use clandestine discourse, but afterwards return to what they have been forbidden,* and discourse privily among themselves of wickedness, and enmity, and disobedience towards the apostle?† And when they come unto thee, they salute thee with that *form of salutation* wherewith God doth not salute thee,‡ and they say among themselves, *by way of derision*, Would not God punish us for what we say, *if this man were a prophet?* Hell shall be their sufficient punishment they shall go down into the same to be burned, and an unhappy journey shall it be! O true believers, when ye discourse privily together, discourse not of wickedness, and enmity, and disobedience towards the apostle, but discourse of justice and piety and fear God, before whom ye shall be assembled. Verily the clandestine discourse of the infidels proceedeth from Satan,† that he may grieve the true believers but there shall be none to hurt them in the least, unless by the permission of God, wherefore in God let the faithful trust O true believers, when it is said unto you, Make room in the assembly, make room § God will grant you ample room in paradise. And when it is said unto you, Rise up, rise up God will raise those of you who believe, and those to whom knowledge is given, to superior degrees of honour, and God is fully apprised of that which ye do O true believers, when ye go to speak with the apostle, give alms previously to your discoursing with him, ¶ this will be better for you, and more pure But if ye find not what to give, verily God will be gracious and merciful unto you Do ye fear to give alms previously to your discoursing with the prophet, lest ye should impoverish yourselves? Therefore if ye do it not and God is gra-

* "Hast thou considered those to whom clandestine assemblies have been forbidden and who resort to them in spite of the prohibition? —Savary

† That is the Jews and hypocritical Moslems who caballed privately together against Mohammed, and made signs to one another when they saw the true believers and this they continued to do notwithstanding they were forbidden

‡ It seems they used instead of *Al salâm aleica*, i. e. *Peace be upon thee*, to say, *Al sâlm aleica* i. e. *Mischief on thee* &c

§ "The clandestine assemblies are prompted by Satan" —Savary

¶ In this passage the Moslems are commanded to give place, in the public assemblies, to the prophet and the more honourable of his companions and not to press and crowd upon him as they used to do, out of a desire of being near him, and hearing his discourse

• To show your sincerity and to honour the apostle. It is doubted whether this be a counsel or a precept but however it continued but a very little while in force, being agreed on all hands to be abrogated by the following passage, *Do ye fear to give alms* &c

cious unto you, *by dispensing with the said precept for the future*, be constant at prayer, and pay the legal alms, and obey GOD and his apostle *in all other matters* for GOD well knoweth that which ye do Hast thou not observed those who have taken for their friends a people against whom GOD is incensed? ^f They *are* neither of you, nor of them ^g and they swear to a lie ^h knowingly GOD hath prepared for them a grievous punishment, for it is evil which they do They have taken their oaths for a cloak, and they have turned *men* aside from the way of GOD ^{*} wherefore a shameful punishment awaiteth them, neither their wealth nor their children shall avail them at all against GOD These *shall be* the inhabitants of *hell* fire, they shall abide therein for ever On a *certain* day GOD shall raise them all then will they swear unto him, as they swear *now* unto you, imagining that it will be of service to them Are they not liars? Satan hath prevailed against them, and hath caused them to forget the remembrance of GOD These *are* the party of the devil, and *shall* not the party of the devil *be* doomed to perdition? Verily they who oppose GOD and his apostle *shall be placed among* the most vile. GOD hath written, Verily I will prevail, and my apostles for GOD *is* strong and mighty Thou shalt not find people who believe in GOD and the last day to love him who opposeth GOD and his apostle, although they be their fathers, or their sons, or their brethren, or their nearest relations In the hearts of these hath GOD written faith, and he hath strengthened them with his spirit and he will lead them into gardens, beneath which rivers flow, to remain therein for ever GOD is well pleased in them, and they are well pleased in him. These are the party of GOD and shall not the party of GOD prosper?

CHAPTER LIX.

INTITLED THE EMIGRATION ¹ REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHATEVER *is* in heaven and earth celebrateth the praise of GOD and he *is* the mighty, the wise *It was* he who caused those who believed not, of the people who receive the scripture, to depart from their habitations at the first emigration ¹ Ye did not think that they would go

^f ¹ ^e The Jews

^g Being hypocrites, and wavering between the two parties

^h ¹ ^e They have solemnly professed Islâm which they believe not in their hearts

^{*} Under the shelter of their perjuries, they turn aside others from the divine law—"Savary

The original word signifies the quitting or removing from one's native country, or settlement, to dwell elsewhere, whether it be by choice or compulsion

¹ The people here intended were the Jews of the tribe of al Nadir who dwelt in Medina, and when Mohammed fled thither from Mecca, promised him to stand neuter between him and his opponents, and made a treaty with him to that purpose When he had gained the battle of Bedr they confessed that he was the prophet described in the law but upon his receiving that disgrace at Ohod, they changed their note and Caab Ebn al Ashraf with forty force went and made a

forth * and they thought that their fortresses would protect them against God. But *the chastisement of God* came upon them, from whence they did not expect, and he cast terror into their hearts. They pulled down their houses with their own hands,^k and the hands of the true believers. Wherefore take example from them, O ye who have eyes. And if God had not doomed them to banishment, he had surely punished them in this world,^l† and in the world to come they shall suffer the torment of *hell* fire. This, because they opposed God and his apostle and whoso opposeth God verily God *will be severe in punishing him*. What palm trees ye cut down or left standing on their roots, *were so cut down or left* by the will of God, and that he might disgrace the wicked doers. And *as to the spoils* of these people which God hath granted wholly to his apostle,^m ye did not push forward any horses or camels against the same,ⁿ but God giveth unto his apostles dominion over whom he pleaseth for God *is almighty*. *The spoils* of the inhabitants of the towns which God hath granted to his apostle *are due* unto God and to the apostle, and to him who is of kin to the apostle, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller, that they may not be *for ever divided* in a circle among such of you as are rich. What the apostle shall give you, that accept and what he shall forbid you, *that* abstain from and fear God, for God *is* severe in chastising. *A part also belongeth* to the

league with Abu Sofian which they confirmed by oath. Upon this, Mohammed got Caab despatched and in the fourth year of the Hejra, set forward against al Nadir and besieged them in their fortress which stood about three miles from Medina for six days, at the end of which they capitulated and were allowed to depart on condition that they should entirely quit that place and accordingly some of them went into Syria, and others to Khaibar and Hira.*

This was the *first emigration* mentioned in the passage before us. The other happened several years after in the reign of Omar, when that Khalif banished those who had settled at Khaibar and obliged them to depart out of Arabia.^o

Dr Prideaux speaking of Mohammed's obliging those of al Nadir to quit their settlements says that a party of his men pursued those who fled into Syria, and having overtaken them put them all to the sword, excepting only one man that escaped. *With such cruelty*, continues he, *did those barbarians first set up to fight for that imposture they had been deluded into*.¹ But a learned gentleman has already observed that this is all grounded on a mistake which the doctor was led into by an imperfection in the printed edition of Eimacinus, where after mentioning the expulsion of the Nadirites are inserted some incoherent words relating to another action, which happened the month before, and wherein seventy Moslems instead of putting others to the sword were surprised and put to the sword themselves together with their leader al Mondar Ebn Omar, Caab Ebn Zeid alone escaping.

"It was He who made to descend from their fortress the unbelieving Jews, assembled for the first time. You did not think that they could be forced from thence"—*Savary*.

^k Doing what damage they could, that the Moslems might make the less advantage of what they were obliged to leave behind them.

^l By delivering them up to slaughter and captivity as he did those of Koreidha.

[†] He would have exterminated them.—*Savary*.

^m It is remarkable that in this expedition the spoils were not divided according to the law given for that purpose in the Koran² but were granted to the apostle and declared to be entirely in his disposition and the reason was because the place was taken without the assistance of horse, which became a rule for the future.⁴

ⁿ For the settlement of those of al Nadir being so near Medina, the Moslems went all on foot thither, except only the prophet himself.⁵

^o Al Beidawi, Jallaloddin &c. Vide Abulf vit. Moh cap 35. ¹ Idem, Interpp

¹ Frid Life of Moh p 82. ² Vide Gagner, not. in Abulf vit Moh p 72. ³ Chap 8, p 143. ⁴ Vide Abulf vit. Moh. p 91. ⁵ Al Beidawi.

poor Mohajerin,^o who have been dispossessed of their houses and their substance, seeking favour from God, and *his* good will, and assisting God and his apostle. These are the men of veracity * And they who quietly possessed the town of *Medina*, and *professed* the faith *without molestation*, before them,^p love him who hath fled unto them, and find in their breasts no want of that which is given the *Mohajerin*,¹ but prefer *them* before themselves, although there be indigence among them. And whoso is preserved from the covetousness of his own soul, those shall surely prosper And they who have come after them^r say, O LORD, forgive us and our brethren who have preceded us in the faith, and put not into our hearts ill will against those who have believed O LORD, verily thou *art* compassionate and merciful Hast thou not observed them who play the hypocrites? They say unto their brethren who believe not, of those who have received the scriptures,^q Verily, if ye be expelled *your habitations*, we will surely go forth with you, and we will not pay obedience, in your respect, unto any one for ever and if ye be attacked, we will certainly assist you But GOD is witness that they *are* liars. Verily if they be expelled, they will not go forth with them and if they be attacked, they will not assist them,^t and if they do assist them, they will surely turn their backs and they shall not be protected Verily ye *are* stronger *than they*, by reason of the terror cast into their breasts from GOD This, because they *are* not people of prudence They will not fight against you in a body, except in fenced towns, or from behind walls. Their strength in war among themselves is great ^u thou thinkest them *to be* united, but their hearts are divided This, because they *are* people who do not understand Like those who lately preceded them,^x they have tasted the evil consequence of their deed, and a painful torment *is prepared* for them *hereafter* Thus have the hypocrites deceived the Jews like the devil, when he saith unto a man, Be thou an infidel, and when he is become an infidel, he saith, Verily I *am* clear of thee, for I fear GOD, the LORD of all creatures Wherefore the end of them both shall be that they *shall dwell* in hell fire,

* Wherefore Mohammed distributed those spoils among the Mohajerin or those who had fled from Mecca, only, and gave no part thereof to the Ansars, or those of Medina, except only to three of them, who were in necessitous circumstances *

^q Those who aid God and the prophet are the true believers — *Savary*

^p That is, the Ansars, who enjoyed their houses, and the free exercise of their religion before the Hejra, while the converts of Mecca were persecuted and harassed by the idolaters

^r ^s And bear them no grudge or envy on that account

^t The persons here meant seem to be those who fled from Mecca after Mohammed began to gain strength and his religion had made a considerable progress.

^u That is, the Jews of the tribe of al Nadir

^x And it happened accordingly for Ebn Obba and his confederates wrote to the Nadirites to this purpose, but never performed their promise ^y

^z ^a It is not their weakness or cowardice which makes them decline a field battle with you, since they show strength and valour enough in their wars with one another but both fail them when they enter into the lists with God and his apostle

^b Viz, the idolaters who were slain at Bedr; or the Jews of Kainokâ, who were plundered and sent into exile before those of al Nadir

abiding therein for ever and this *shall be* the recompence of the unjust. O true believers, fear GOD, and let a soul look what it sendeth before for the morrow ⁷ and fear GOD, for GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. And be not as those who have forgotten GOD, and whom he hath caused to forget their own souls: these are the wicked doers. The inhabitants of *hell* fire and the inhabitants of paradise shall not be held equal. The inhabitants of paradise are they who shall enjoy felicity. If we had sent down this Koran on a mountain, thou wouldest certainly have seen the same humble itself, and cleave in sunder for fear of GOD. These similitudes do we propose unto men, that they may consider. He is GOD, besides whom there is no GOD, who knoweth that which is future, and that which is present: he is the most Merciful, he is GOD, besides whom there is no GOD: the King, the Holy, the Giver of peace, the Faithful, the Guardian, the powerful the Strong, the most High. Far be GOD exalted above *the idols* which they associate *with him!* He is GOD, the Creator, the Maker, the Former. He hath most excellent names ^a. Whatever is in heaven and in earth praiseth him: and he is the Mighty, the Wise.

CHAPTER LX.

INTITLED, SHE WHO IS TRIED • REVEALED AT MEDINA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

O TRUE believers, take not my enemy and your enemy for *your* friends,^b showing kindness towards them, since they believe not in the truth which hath come unto you, having expelled the apostle and yourselves *from your native city*, because ye believe in GOD, your LORD. If ye go forth to fight in defence of my religion, and out of a desire to please me, and privately

⁷ That is: For the next life, which may be called *the morrow* as this present life may be called to *day*.

^a See chap 7 p 136 note ^a.

^b The chapter bears this title because it directs the women who desert and come over from the infidels to the Moslems to be examined, and tried whether they be sincere in their profession of the faith.

^c This passage was revealed on account of Hateb Ebn Abi Baltaa, who understanding that Mohammed had a design to surprise Mecca wrote a letter to the Koreish, giving them notice of the intended expedition and advised them to be on their guard: which letter he sent by Sarah a maid-servant belonging to the family of Hâshem. The messenger had not been gone long before Gabriel discovered the affair to the prophet who immediately sent after her, and having intercepted the letter asked Hateb how he came to be guilty of such an action? to which he replied, that it was not out of infidelity or a desire to return to idolatry, but merely to induce the Koreish to treat his family, which was still at Mecca with some kindness, adding, that he was well assured his intelligence would be of no service at all to the Meccans, because he was satisfied God would take vengeance on them. Whereupon Mohammed received his excuse and pardoned him, but it was thought proper to forbid any such practices for the future ^a.

^a Al Beidâwi. Vide Abulf. Vit. Moh. p 103.

show friendship unto them ,*^c verily I well know that which ye conceal, and that which ye discover and whoever of you doth this, hath already erred from the straight path. If they get the better of you, they will be enemies unto you, and they will stretch forth their hands and their tongues against you with evil and they earnestly desire that ye should become unbelievers. Neither your kindred nor your children will avail you at all on the day of resurrection, which will separate you from one another and God seeth that which ye do Ye have an excellent pattern in Abraham, and those who were with him, when they said unto their people, Verily we are clear of you, and of the *idols* which ye worship, besides God we have renounced you, and enmity and hatred is begun between us and you for ever, until ye believe in God alone except Abraham's saying unto his father, Verily I will beg pardon for thee ^d but I cannot obtain aught of God in thy behalf O LORD, in thee do we trust, and unto thee are we turned, and before thee shall we be assembled *hereafter* O LORD, suffer us not to be put to trial by the unbelievers ^e and forgive us, O LORD, for thou art mighty and wise Verily ye have in them an excellent example, unto him who hopeth in God and the last day and whoso turneth back, verily God is self sufficient, and praiseworthy Peradventure God will establish friendship between yourselves and such of them as ye now hold for enemies ^f for God is powerful, and God is inclined to forgive, and merciful As to those who have not borne arms against you on account of religion, nor turned you out of your dwellings, God forbiddeth you not to deal kindly with them, and to behave justly towards them ^g for God loveth those who act justly But as to those who have borne arms against you on account of religion, and have dispossessed you of your habitations, and have assisted in dispossessing you, God forbiddeth you to enter into friendship with them and whosoever of you entereth into friendship with them, those are unjust doers. O true believers, when believing women come unto you as refugees, try them ^h God well knoweth their faith. And if ye know them to be true believers, send them not back to

* "If ye fight against them in defence of my law and to merit my rewards will ye retain friendship for them —*Savary*

^c The verb here used has also a contrary signification according to which the word may be rendered *and yet openly show friendship unto them*.

^d For in this Abraham's example is not to be followed See chap 9

^e Suffer them not to prevail against us lest they thence conclude themselves to be in the right, and endeavour to make us deny our faith by the terror of persecution ^g

^f And this happened accordingly on the taking of Mecca when Abu Sofian and others of the Koreish, who had till then been inveterate enemies to the Moslems, embraced the same faith, and became their friends and brethren. Some suppose the marriage of Mohammed with Omm Habiba, the daughter of Abu Sofian, which was celebrated the year before to be here intended ^h

^g This passage it is said was revealed on account of Koteila bint Abdal Uzza, who having, whilst she was an idolatress, brought some presents to her daughter Asma bint Abi Becr, the latter not only refused to accept them, but even denied her admittance ^h

^h (When such women sought an asylum at Medina, Mohammed obliged them to swear that they were prompted only by the desire of embracing Islamism and that hatred of their husbands, or love of some Mussulman, had not had any influence on their conduct) —*Savary*.

the infidels they are not lawful for the *unbelievers to have in marriage*, neither are the *unbelievers* lawful for them. But give their *unbelieving husbands* what they shall have expended for their dowers.^a Nor shall it be any crime in you if ye marry them, provided ye give them their dowries.¹ And retain not the patronage of the *unbelieving women* but demand back that which ye have expended for the dowsy of such of your wives as go over to the *unbelievers*, and let them demand back that which they have expended for the dowsy of those who come over to you. This is the judgment of God, which he establisheth among you and God is knowing and wise. If any of your wives¹ escape from you to the *unbelievers*, and ye have your turn by the coming over of any of the *unbelievers' wives* to you,² give unto those *believers* whose wives shall have gone away, out of the dowers of the latter, so much as they shall have expended for the dowers of the former and fear God, in whom ye believe. O prophet, when believing women come unto thee, and plight their faith unto thee,¹ that they will not associate anything with God, nor steal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children,^m nor come with a calumny which they have forged between their hands and their feet,ⁿ nor be disobedient to thee in that which shall be reasonable then do thou plight thy faith unto them, and ask pardon for them of God, for God is inclined to forgive, and merciful. O true believers, enter not into friendship with a people against whom God is incensed,^o they despair of the life to come^p as the infidels despair of the resurrection of those who dwell in the graves

^a For according to the terms of the pacification of al Hodeibiya,³ each side was to return whatever came into their power belonging to the other wherefore when the Moslems were by this passage, forbidden to restore the married women who should come over to them they were at the same time commanded to make some sort of satisfaction by returning their dowsy

It is related that after the aforesaid pacification, while Mohammed was yet at al Hodeibiya Sobeia bint al Hareth, of the tribe of Aslam having embraced Mohammedism, her husband Mosafer the Makhzumite came and demanded her back upon which this passage was revealed and Mohammed pursuant thereto administered to her the oath hereafter directed, and returned her husband her dower, and then Omar married her⁴

¹ For what is returned to their former husbands is not to be considered as their dower

² Literally *any thing of your wives* which some interpret *any part of their dowsy*

³ Or as the original verb may be translated *and ye take spoils* in which case the meaning will be that those Moslems whose wives shall have gone over to the infidels, shall have a satisfaction for their dower out of the next booty. This law they say, was given because the idolaters, after the preceding verse had been revealed, refused to comply therewith or to make any return of the dower of those women who went over to them from the Moslems,⁵ so that the latter were obliged to indemnify themselves as they could

¹ See the Prelim Disc sect ii p 34 Some are of opinion that this passage was not revealed till the day of the taking of Mecca when, after having received the solemn submission of the men, he proceeded to receive that of the women⁶

^m See chap 81

ⁿ Jallalo ddn understands these words of their laying their spurious children to their husbands.

^o i. e. The infidels in general, or the Jews in particular⁷

^p By reason of their infidelity, or because they well know they cannot expect to be made partakers of the happiness of the next life, by reason of their rejecting of the prophet foretold in the law and whose mission is confirmed by miracles⁸

³ See chap 48 p 417, &c. ⁴ Al Beidawi ⁵ Idem ⁶ Idem. ⁷ See chap 1 p 1 ⁸ Al Beidawi.

CHAPTER LXI

INTITLED BATTLE ARRAY, REVEALED AT MECCA *

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHATEVER *is* in heaven and in earth celebrateth the praise of God, for he *is* mighty *and* wise O true believers, why do ye say that which ye do not? * *It is* most odious in the sight of God, that ye say that which ye do not Verily God loveth those who fight for his religion in battle array, as though they *were* a well-compacted building Remember when Moses said unto his people, O my people, why do ye injure me, "since ye know that I am the apostle of God *sent* unto you? And when they had deviated *from the truth*, God made their hearts to deviate *from the right way*, for God directeth not wicked people And when Jesus the son of Mary said, O children of Israel, verily I *am* the apostle of God *sent* unto you confirming the law which *was delivered* before me and bringing good tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, *and* whose name *shall be* Ahmed † And when he produced unto them evident miracles, they said This *is* manifest sorcery † But who *is* more unjust than he who forgoeth a lie against God, when he is invited unto Islam? And God directeth not the unjust people. They seek to extinguish God's light with their mouths but God will perfect his light, though the infidels be averse *thereto* *It is* he who hath sent his apostle with the direction, and the religion of truth, that he may exalt the same above every religion, although the idolaters be averse *thereto* O true believers, shall I show you a merchandise which will deliver you from a painful torment *hereafter*? ‡ Believe in God and his apostle, and defend God's true religion with your substance, and in your own persons. This *will be* better for you if ye knew *it*. He will forgive you your sins, and will introduce you into gardens through which rivers flow, and agreeable habitations in gardens of perpetual abode This *will be* great felicity And *ye shall obtain* other things which ye desire, *namely*, assistance from God and a speedy victory And do thou bear good tidings to the true believers. O

* Or as some rather judge at Medina which opinion is confirmed by the explanation in the next note

† The commentators generally suppose these words to be directed to the Moslems, who notwithstanding they had solemnly engaged to spend their lives and fortunes in defence of their faith yet shamefully turned their backs at the battle of Ohod † They may however be applied to hypocrites of all sorts whose actions contradict their words

"O believers! why do you yet not fulfil the promise made unto God?"—*Savary*

* *Viz* by your disobedience, or by maliciously aspersing me? †

‡ For Mohammed also bore the name of Ahmed, both names being derived from the same root, and nearly of the same signification The Persian paraphrast, to support what is here alleged quotes the following words of Christ, *I go to my Father, and the Paraclete shall come* ‡ the Mohammedan doctors unanimously teaching that by the Paraclete (or, as they choose to read: the *Periclyte*, or *Illustrious*), their prophet is intended, and no other ‡

† "He is an impostor —*Savary*

‡ "O believers, shall I teach unto you a means of averting the rigour of torments —*Savary*

* See chap 3 pp 36 50 &c

† See chap 33 p 350

‡ See John xvi 7, &c

• See the Prelim Disc sect. iv p 53

true believers, be ye the assistants of God, as Jesus the son of Mary said to the apostles, *Who will be my assistants with respect to God?*¹ The apostles answered, *We will be the assistants of God*. So a part of the children of Israel believed, and a part believed not² but we strengthened those who believed, above their enemy, wherefore they became victorious over them.

CHAPTER LXII.

INTITLED, THE ASSEMBLY, REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHATEVER is in heaven and earth praiseth God, the King, the Holy the Mighty, the Wise. *It is* he who hath raised up amidst the illiterate *Arabians* an apostle from among themselves,³ to rehearse his signs unto them, and to purify them, and to teach them the scriptures and wisdom, whereas before they were certainly in a manifest error,⁴ and others of them have not yet attained unto them, *by embracing the faith, though they also shall be converted in God's good time* for he is mighty and wise. This is the free grace of God he bestoweth the same on whom he pleaseth and God is endued with great beneficence. The likeness of those who were charged with the observance of the law, and then observed it not, is as the likeness of an ass laden with books.⁵ How wretched is the likeness of the people who charge the signs of God with falsehood!† and God directeth not the unjust people. Say, O ye who follow the Jewish religion, if ye say that ye are the friends of God above other men, wish for death,⁶ if ye speak truth. But they will never wish for it, because of that which their hands have sent before them⁷ and God well knoweth the unjust. Say, Verily death, from which ye fly, will surely meet you then shall ye be brought before him who knoweth as well what is concealed as what is discovered, and he will declare unto you that which ye have done. O true believers, when ye are called to prayer on the day of the assembly,⁸ hasten to the

¹ See chap 3, p 42

² Either by rejecting him or by affirming him to be God, and the Son of God.⁴

³ See the Prelim Disc sect. ii p 30

⁴ "Before his time the Arabs were involved in the profoundest darkness —

Savary

⁵ Because they understand not the prophecies contained in the law which bear witness to Mohammed, no more than the ass does the books which he carries

† "Woe unto those who abjure the holy religion"—*Savary*

⁶ a. a. Make it your request to God that he would translate you from this trouble some world to a state of never fading bliss.

⁷ See chap 2, p. 12.

⁸ That is, Friday which being more peculiarly set apart by Mohammed for the public worship of God is therefore called *Yawm al jomâ*, i. e. the day of the assembly or congregation, whereas it was before called *al Arûba*. The first time this day was particularly observed, as some say, was on the prophet's arrival at Medina, into which city he made his first entry on a Friday: but others tell us that Caab

commemoration of God and leave merchandising This *will be* better for you, if ye knew it And when prayer is ended, then disperse yourselves through the land *as ye list*, and seek *gain* of the liberality of God ^d and remember God frequently, that ye may prosper But when they see any merchandising, or sport, they *fl*ck thereto, and leave thee standing up *on the pulpit* Say, The *reward* which is with God is better than any sport or merchandise and God is the best provider *

CHAPTER LXIII.

INTITLED, THE HYPOCRITES, REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHEN the hypocrites come unto thee they say, We bear witness that thou *art* indeed the apostle of God And God knoweth that thou *art* indeed his apostle but God beareth witness that the hypocrites *are* certainly liars They have taken their oaths for a protection, and they turn *others* aside from the way of God it is surely evil which they do This *is testified of them*, because they believed, and afterwards became unbelievers wherefore a seal is set on their hearts, and they shall not understand When thou beholdest them, their persons please thee ^f and if they speak, thou hearest their discourse *with delight* They resemble pieces of timber set up *against a wall* ^g They imagine every shout to be against them ^h They are enemies, wherefore beware of them God curse them how are they turned *aside from the truth* ! † And when it is said unto them, Come, that

Ebn Lowa, one of Mohammed's ancestors gave the day its present name, because on that day the people used to be assembled before him ⁶ One reason given for the observation of Friday, preferably to any other day of the week, is because on that day God finished the creation

^d By returning to your commerce and worldly occupations, if ye think fit for the Mohammedans do not hold themselves obliged to observe the day of their public assembly with the same strictness as the Christians and Jews do their respective Sabbath, or particularly to abstain from work after they have performed their devotions Some however, from a tradition of their prophet are of opinion that works of charity, and religious exercises, which may draw down the blessing of God are recommended in this passage

* It is related that one Friday, while Mohammed was preaching, a caravan of merchants happened to arrive with their drums beating according to custom, which the congregation hearing, they all ran out of the mosque to see them, except twelve only ⁷

^g "Say the treasures which God offers unto you are more precious than any momentary advantages God is the most magnificent of dispensers"—*Savary*

^f The commentators tell that Abdallah Ebn Obba, a chief hypocrite was a tall man of a very graceful presence, and of a ready and eloquent tongue and used to frequent the prophet's assembly attended by several like himself and that these men were greatly admired by Mohammed, who was taken with their handsome appearance, and listened to their discourse with pleasure.⁸

^h Being tall and big, but void of knowledge and consideration ⁹

^h Living under continual apprehensions, because they are conscious of their hypocrisy towards God, and their insincerity towards the Moslems

† "They have beauty for their portion They speak with elegance Their stature is straight and majestic, but they shudder at the slightest sound They are

⁶ Al Beidāwī

⁶ Vide Gol. Alfrag p 15.

⁷ Al Beidāwī Jallalo ddin.

⁸ Al Beidāwī

⁹ Idem.

the apostle of GOD may ask pardon for you, they turn away their heads, and thou seest them retire big with disdain. *It shall be equal unto them, whether thou ask pardon for them, or do not ask pardon for them* GOD will by no means forgive them, for GOD directeth not the prevaricating people. *These are the men who say to the inhabitants of Medina, Do not bestow any thing on the refugees who are with the apostle of GOD, that they may be obliged to separate from him.* Whereas unto GOD belong the stores of heaven and earth but the hypocrites do not understand. They say, Verily, if we return to Medina, the worthier shall expel thence the meanerⁱ Whereas superior worth *belongeth* unto GOD and his apostle, and the true believers but the hypocrites know it not.* O true believers, let not your riches or your children divert you from the remembrance of GOD for whosoever doth this, they will surely be losers And give alms out of that which we have bestowed on you, before death come unto one of you, and he say, O LORD, wilt thou not grant me respite for a short term that I may give alms, and become *one* of the righteous? For GOD will by no means grant further respite to a soul, when its determined time is come and GOD is fully apprised of that which ye do

CHAPTER LXIV

INTITLED MUTUAL DECEIT, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHATEVER is in heaven and earth celebrateth the praises of GOD his is the kingdom, and unto him is the praise due for he is almighty It is he who hath created you,† and one of you is predestined to be an unbeliever, and another of you is predestined to be a believer and GOD beholdeth that which ye do He hath created the heavens and the earth with truth, and he hath fashioned you, and given you beautiful forms and unto him must ye all go He knoweth whatever is in heaven and earth and he knoweth that which ye conceal, and that which ye discover, for GOD knoweth the innermost part of men's breasts Have ye not been acquainted with the story of those who disbelieved heretofore, and tasted the evil consequence of their behaviour? And for them is prepared in the life to come a tormenting

your enemies beware of their perfidy The Almighty shall fight against them because that they have abandoned the faith"—Savary

ⁱ These, as well as the preceding were the words of Ebn Obba to one of Medina who in a certain expedition, quarrelling with an Arab of the desert about water received a blow on the head with a stick, and made his complaint thereof to him¹⁰

* 'Power belongeth unto GOD He imparteth it to his prophet, and to the faithful and the impious know it not'—Savary

^k The commentators are not agreed whether this chapter was revealed at Mecca, or at Medina, or partly at the one place, and partly at the other

† He hath created all men from nothing"—Savary

punishment. *This shall they suffer*, because their apostles came unto them with evident *proofs of their mission*, and they said, shall men direct us? Wherefore they believed not, and turned their backs. But God standeth in need of no person for God is self sufficient, and worthy to be praised. The unbelievers imagine that they shall not be raised again. Say, Yea, by my LORD, ye shall surely be raised again then shall ye be told that which ye have wrought, and this is easy with God. Wherefore believe in God and his apostle, and the light which we have sent down for God is well acquainted with that which ye do. On a *certain* day he shall assemble you, at the day of the *general* assembly that *will be* the day of mutual deceit.¹* And whoso shall believe in God, and shall do that which is right, from him will he expiate his evil deeds, and he will lead him into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to remain therein for ever. This *will be* great felicity. But they who shall not believe, and shall accuse our signs of falsehood, those *shall be* the inhabitants of *hell* fire, wherein they shall remain *for ever*, and a wretched journey *shall it be thither*! No misfortune happeneth but by the permission of God, and whoso believeth in God, he will direct his heart and God knoweth all things. Wherefore obey God, and obey the apostle, but if ye turn back, verily *the duty incumbent* on our apostle is only public preaching. God! there is no God but he wherefore in God let the faithful put their trust. O true believers, verily of your wives and your children ye have an enemy^m wherefore beware of them. But if ye pass over *their offences*, and pardon, and forgive them,ⁿ God is likewise inclined to forgive, and merciful† Your wealth and your children are only a temptation, but with God is a great reward. Wherefore fear God, as much as ye are able, and hear, and obey‡ and give alms, for the good of your souls, for whoso is preserved from the covetousness of his own soul, they shall prosper. If ye lend unto God an acceptable loan, he will double the same unto you, and will forgive you for God is grateful, and long suffering, knowing both what is hidden, and what is divulged, the Mighty, the Wise§

¹ When the blessed will deceive the damned by taking the places which they would have had in paradise had they been true believers and contrariwise¹

* 'On the day of the universal assembling ye shall all appear before his tribunal. Fraud shall be unmasked —Savary

^m For these are apt to distract a man from his duty especially in time of distress² a married man caring for the things that are of this world, while the unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord³

ⁿ Considering that the hindrance they may occasion you proceeds from their affection and their ill bearing your absence in time of war &c

† 'O believers, your wives and your children are oftentimes your enemies, distrust their caresses but if the voice of nature or if condescension should induce you to yield to their wishes God is indulgent and merciful —Savary

‡ 'Fear God with all your hearts Listen! Obey! —Savary

§ 'If ye enter into a glorious covenant with God he will multiply his favours, he will pardon your offences he is grateful and beneficent. He knoweth that which is unveiled and that which is hidden in the shades of mystery he is mighty and wise' —Savary

¹ Al Beidâwî Jallaloddin Yahya.

² Lidzm.

³ See 1 Cor vii 25 &c.

CHAPTER LXV

INTITLED, DIVORCE, REVEALED AT MEDINA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

O PROPHET, when ye divorce women, put them away at their appointed term,^o and compute the term *exactly* and fear GOD, your LORD Oblige them not to go out of their apartments, neither let them go out, *until the term be expired*, unless they be guilty of manifest uncleanness. These are the statutes of GOD and whoever transgresseth the statutes of GOD assuredly injureth his own soul. Thou knowest not whether GOD will bring something new to pass,* *which may reconcile them* after this. And when they shall have fulfilled their term, either retain them with kindness, or part from them honourably and take witnesses from among you, men of integrity, and give *your* testimony as in the presence of GOD This admonition is given unto him who believeth in GOD and the last day and whoso feareth GOD, unto him will he grant a *happy* issue *out of all his afflictions*, and he will bestow on him an ample provision from whence he expecteth it not and whoso trusteth in GOD, he *will be* his sufficient support, for GOD will surely attain his purpose Now hath GOD appointed unto every thing a determined period.† *As to* such of your wives as shall despair having their courses, *by reason of their age*, if ye be in doubt *thereof*, let their term *be* three months and *let the same be the term* of those who have not yet had their courses. But *as to* those who are pregnant, their term *shall be*, until they be delivered of their burden^p And whoso feareth GOD, unto him will he make his command easy This *is* the command of GOD, which he hath sent down unto you And whoso feareth GOD, he will expiate his evil deeds from him, and will increase his reward. Suffer the *women whom ye divorce* to dwell in *some part of the houses* wherein ye dwell, *according to the room and conveniences of the habitations* which ye possess and make them not uneasy, that ye may reduce them to straits. And if they be with child, expend on them

^o That is, when they shall have had their courses thrice after the time of their divorce, if they prove not to be with child, or if they prove with child, when they shall have been delivered ⁴ Al Beidawī supposes husbands are hereby commanded to divorce their wives while they are clean, and says that the passage was revealed on account of Ebn Omar who divorced his wife when she had her courses upon her, and was therefore obliged to take her again — (When a Mohammedan has sworn that he will divorce his wife he ceases to have intercourse with her As soon as she hears of the oath, she covers herself with a veil, retires to her apartment, and ceases to let her husband see her When the four months allowed for reconciliation are expired, all ties are dissolved, the wife recovers her liberty, and receives at her departure the dowry which was fixed by the marriage contract The daughters go with the mother, the sons remain with the father — *Savary*)

* "Thou knowest not what are the designs of GOD with respect to the future —

† "His will shall infallibly be executed He has assigned to each cause a certain effect — *Savary*

^p See chap 2, p 27

⁴ See chap 2, p 27

what shall be needful, until they be delivered of their burden And if they suckle *their children* for you give them their hire,^a and consult among yourselves, according to what shall be just and reasonable And if ye be put to a difficulty *herein*, and another woman shall suckle *the child* for him, let him who hath plenty expend *proportionably in the maintenance of the mother and the nurse*, out of his plenty and let him whose income is scanty expend *in proportion* out of that which God hath given him God obligeth no man to more than he hath given him *ability to perform* God will cause ease to succeed hardship * How many cities have turned aside from the command of their LORD and his apostles[†] Wherefore we brought them to a severe account, and we chastised them with a grievous chastisement and they tasted the evil consequence of their business, and the end of their business was perdition God hath prepared for them a severe punishment wherefore fear God, O ye who are endued with understanding True believers, now hath God sent down unto you an admonition, an apostle who may rehearse unto you the perspicuous signs of God, that he may bring forth those who believe and do good works, from darkness into light And whoso believeth in God, and doth that which is right, him will he lead into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to remain therein for ever now hath God made an excellent provision for him *It is* God who hath created seven heavens, and as many *different stories* of the earth † the *divine* command descendeth between them,[‡] that ye may know that God is omnipotent, and that God comprehendeth all things by *his* knowledge

CHAPTER LXVI.

INTITLED, PROHIBITION, REVEALED AT MEDINA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

O PROPHET, why holdest thou that to be prohibited which God hath allowed thee, seeking to please thy wives,^a since God is inclined to forgive, and

^a Which ought at least to be sufficient to maintain and clothe them during the time of suckling See chap 2 p 28

* "He will cause competence to succeed unto poverty —Savary

† It is God who hath created the seven heavens, and the seven earths he causeth them to obey his voice to the end that ye may know that his power is boundless, and that the universe is filled with his wisdom —Savary

(According to Zamakhshari God created seven heavens and seven earths, at the distance of five hundred days journey from each other The whole of them are inhabited. The Supreme Being governs this universe —Savary)

‡ Penetrating and pervading them all, with absolute efficacy

^a There are some who suppose this passage to have been occasioned by Mohamed's protesting never to eat honey any more, because, having once eaten some in the apartment of Hafsa, or of Zainab, three other of his wives, namely, Ayesha Sawda and Safia all told him they smelt he had been eating of the juice which distils from certain shrubs in those parts and resembles honey in taste and consistence, but is of a very strong savour, and which the prophet had a great aversion to^b

^b Al Zamakn. al Beidawi

merciful? God hath allowed you the dissolution of your oaths [†] and God *is* your master, and he *is* knowing and wise When the prophet entrusted as a secret unto one of his wives a certain accident, and when she disclosed the same, and God made it known unto him, he acquainted *her* with part of *what she had done*, and forbore to *upbraid her with the other part* thereof.* And when he had acquainted her therewith, she said, Who hath discovered this unto thee? He answered, The knowing, the sagacious God hath dis-

But the more received opinion is that the chapter was revealed on the following occasion Mohammed having lain with a slave of his, named Mary, of Coptic extract (who had been sent him as a present by al Mokawkas, governor of Egypt), on the day which was due to Ayesha, or to Hafsa, and as some say, on Hafsa's own bed while she was absent and this coming to Hafsa's knowledge, she took it extremely ill, and reproached her husband so sharply, that, to pacify her he promised, with an oath never to touch the maid again [‡] and to free him from the obligation of this promise was the design of the chapter

I cannot here avoid observing as a learned writer⁷ has done before me that Dr Prideaux has strangely misrepresented this passage For having given the story of the prophet's amour with his maid Mary, a little embellished, he proceeds to tell us, that in this chapter Mohammed brings in God allowing him, and all his Moslems to lie with their maids when they will notwithstanding their wives (whereas the words relate to the prophet only, who wanted not any new permission for that purpose because it was a privilege already granted him,⁸ though to none else) and then to show what ground he had for his assertion, adds that the first words of the chapter are *O prophet why dost thou forbid what God hath allowed thee that thou mayest please thy wives* ⁹ *God hath granted unto you to lie with your maid servants* ⁹ Which last words are not to be found here, or elsewhere in the Koran and contain an allowance of what is expressly forbidden therein ¹ though the doctor has thence taken occasion to make some reflections which might as well have been spared I shall say nothing to aggravate the matter but leave the reader to imagine what this reverend divine would have said of a Mohammedan, if he had caught him tripping in the like manner

Having digressed so far I will adventure to add a word or two in order to account for one circumstance which Dr Prideaux relates concerning Mohammed's concubine Mary viz that after her master's death no account was had of her or the son which she had born him but both were sent away into Egypt, and no mention made of either ever after among them and then he supposes (for he seldom is at a loss for a supposition) that Ayesha out of the hatred which she bore her procured of her father who succeeded the impostor in the government to have her thus disposed of² But it being certain by the general consent of all the eastern writers that Mary continued in Arabia till her death which happened at Medina about five years after that of her master and was buried in the usual burying place there called al Bakī and that her son died before his father it has been asked whence the doctor had this?³ I answer That I guess he had it partly from Abu Ifaragius according to the printed edition of whose work the Mary we are speaking of is said to have been sent with her sister Shirin (not with her son) to Alexandria by al Mokawkas ⁴ though I make no doubt but we ought in that passage to read *min* from instead of *ila* to (notwithstanding the manuscript copies of this author used by Dr Locock the editor and also a very fair one in my own possession, agree in the latter reading,) and that the sentence ought to run thus, *quam (viz Mariam) und cum sorore Shirina ab Alexandria miserat al Mokawkas*

[†] By having appointed an expiation for that purpose ⁵ or as the words may be translated, *God hath allowed you to use an exception in your oaths*, that is, to add the words *if it please God*, in which case a man is excused from guilt if he perform not his oath ⁶ The passage though directed to all the Moslems in general seems to be particularly designed for quieting the prophet's conscience in regard to the oath above mentioned, but al Beidawi approves not this opinion because such an oath was to be looked upon as an inconsiderate one and required no expiation

^{*} "At first he mildly admonished her and then he declared unto her the whole of that which she had divulged"—Savary

⁶ Al Zamakh al Beidawi Jallalo ddin, Yahya.

⁷ Gagnier, not ad Abulf

Vit Moh p 160

⁸ See chap 33 p 347 348

⁹ Prid Life of Moh p 113

¹ See chap 17, p 230 chap 4 p 63, and chap 24, p 287 &c ² Prid Life of Moh p 114 ³ Gagnier ubi supra.

⁴ Abu Ifarag Hist Dyn p 165 ⁵ See chap 5, p 93. ⁶ Al Beidawi

covered *it* unto me.^a If ye both be turned unto God (for your hearts have swerved) *it is well* but if ye join against him, verily God is his patron, and Gabriel, and the good man among the faithful, and the angels also *are his assistants*.^{ax} If he divorce you, his LORD can easily give him in exchange other wives better than you, *women resigned unto God*, true believers, devout, penitent, obedient, given to fasting, *both such as have been known by other men, and virgins*. O true believers, save your souls, and *those of your families*, from the fire whose fuel is men and stones, over which are *set* angels fierce and terrible,^y who disobey not God in what he hath commanded them, but perform what they are commanded. O unbelievers, excuse not yourselves this day, ye shall surely be rewarded for what ye have done.^z O true believers, turn unto God with a sincere repentance peradventure your LORD will do away from you your evil deeds, and will admit you into gardens, through which rivers flow, on the day *whereon* God will not put to shame the prophet, or those who believe with him their light shall run before them, and on their right hands^a and they shall say, LORD make our light perfect, and forgive us for thou *art* almighty. O prophet, attack the infidels *with arms*, and the hypocrites *with arguments* and treat them with severity their abode shall be hell, and an ill journey *shall it be thither*. GOD propoundeth as a similitude unto the unbelievers, the wife of Noah, and the wife of Lot they were under two of our righteous servants, and they deceived them both^b wherefore *their husbands* were of no advantage unto them at all, in the sight of God^c and it shall be said *unto them, at the last day*, Enter ye into

^a When Mohammed found that Hafsa knew of his having injured her or Ayesha by lying with his concubine Mary on the day due to one of them he desired her to keep the affair secret promising, at the same time that he would not meddle with Mary any more, and foretold her as a piece of news which might soothe her vanity, that Abu Becr and Omar should succeed him in the government of his people Hafsa, however, could not conceal this from Ayesha, with whom she lived in strict friendship, but acquainted her with the whole matter whereupon the prophet perceiving probably by Ayesha's behaviour that his secret had been discovered upbraided Hafsa with her betraying him, telling her that God had revealed it to him, and not only divorced her but separated him from all his other wives for a whole month, which time he spent in the apartment of Mary. In a short time notwithstanding he took Hafsa again by the direction as he gave out, of the angel Gabriel who commended her for her frequent fasting and other exercises of religion, assuring him likewise that she should be one of his wives in paradise.⁷

^{* ax} If ye are rebellious unto the prophet his protectors are the Lord, Gabriel, and the true believers and the angels will avenge him —Savary

^z This sentence is directed to Hafsa and Ayesha the pronouns and verbs of the second person being in the dual number

^y See chap 74 and the Prelim Disc sect iv p 66

^a These words will be spoken to the infidels at the last day

^b See chap 57, p 439

^c Who were both unbelieving women, but deceived their respective husbands by their hypocrisy Noah's wife, named Waila endeavoured to persuade the people her husband was distracted and Lot's wife whose name was Wabela (though some writers give this name to the other, and that of Waila to the latter,) was in confederacy with the men of Sodom, and used to give them notice when any strangers came to lodge with him, by a sign of smoke by day, and of fire by night.⁸

^e For they both met with a disastrous end in this world,⁹ and will be doomed to eternal misery in the next. In like manner, as Mohammed would insinuate, the

⁷ Al Beidawi, al Zamakh., &c. p. 179 and 183.

⁸ Jallalo'ddin, al Zamakh.

⁹ See chap. 11.

hell fire, with those who enter *therein* God also propoundeth as a similitude unto those who believe, the wife of Pharaoh,^d when she said, LORD, build me a house with thee in paradise, and deliver me from Pharaoh and his doings, and deliver me from the unjust people and Mary the daughter of Imran, who preserved her chastity, and into whose womb we breathed of our spirit,^e and who believed in the words of her LORD and his scriptures, and was a devout and obedient person^f

CHAPTER LXVII

INTITLED THE KINGDOM • REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

[*XXIX.] *BLISS*ED be he in whose hand is the kingdom, for he is almighty[†] Who hath created death and life, that he might prove you, which of you is most righteous in *his* actions and he is mighty, *and* ready to forgive Who hath created seven heavens, one above another, thou canst not see in a creature of the most Merciful any unfitness or disproportion Lift up thine eyes again *to heaven* and look whether thou seest any flaw then take two other views, and thy sight shall return unto thee dull and fatigued Moreover we have adorned the lowest heaven with lamps and have appointed them to be darted at the devils,^h for whom we have prepared the torment of burning fire, and for those who believe not in their LORD *is also prepared the torment of hell*, in all journey *shall it be thither* When they shall be thrown therunto, they shall hear it by a lillean ass,ⁱ and it

infidels of his time had no reason to expect any mitigation of their punishment, on account of their relation to himself and the rest of the true believers

^d *Viz* Asia the daughter of Mozâhem The commentators relate that because she believed in Moses her husband cruelly tormented her fastening her hands and feet to four stakes, and laying a large millstone on her breast, her face, at the same time, being exposed to the scorching beams of the sun these pains, however were alleviated by the angels shading her with their wings and the view of the mansion prepared for her in paradise, which was exhibited to her on her pronouncing the prayer in the text at length God received her soul or as some say, she was taken up alive into paradise where she eats and drinks¹⁰

See chap 19 p 249 &c

* Who preserved her virginity Gabriel transmitted unto her the breath of the Lord.—*Savary*

^f On occasion of the honourable mention here made of these two extraordinary women the commentators introduce a saying of their prophet *That among men there had been many perfect but no more than four of the other sex had attained perfection to wit, Asia the wife of Pharaoh, Mary the daughter of Imrân, Khadyjah the daughter of Khawlat (the prophet's first wife), and Fâtéma the daughter of Mohammed.*

^e It is also entitled by some *The Saving* or *The Delivering*, because say they, it will save him who reads it from the torture of the sepulchre

† Blessed is he who holdeth the reins of the universe and whose power hath no bounds.—*Savary*

^h See chap 15, p 210

ⁱ See chap 31, p 337

shall boil, and almost burst for fury * So often as a company of *them* shall be thrown therein, the keepers thereof shall ask them, *saying*, Did not a warner come unto you? They shall answer, Yea, a warner came unto us but we accused *him* of imposture, and said, GOD hath not revealed any thing, ye *are* in no other than a great error and they shall say, If we had *hearkened*, or had rightly considered, we should not have been among the inhabitants of burning fire and they shall confess their sins, but far be the inhabitants of burning fire *from obtaining mercy*! Verily they who fear their LORD in secret shall receive pardon and a great reward Either conceal your discourse, or make it public, he knoweth the innermost parts of *your* breasts shall not he know *all things* who hath created *them*, since he *is* the sagacious, the knowing? *It is* he who hath levelled the earth for you therefore walk through the regions thereof, and eat of his provision, unto him *shall be* the resurrection Are ye secure that he who *dwelleth* in heaven will not cause the earth to swallow you up? and behold, it shall shake Or are you secure that he who *dwelleth* in heaven will not send against you an *impetuous whirlwind*, driving the sands *to overwhelm you*? then shall ye know how *important* my warning *was* Those also who *were* before you disbelieved, and how *grievous* was my displeasure! Do they not behold the birds above them, extending and drawing back their wings? None sustaineth them, except the Merciful, for he regardeth *all* things Or who *is* he that *will be as* an army unto you, to defend you against the Merciful? Verily the unbelievers *are* in no other than a *mis*-take Or who *is* he that will give you food if he withholdeth his provision? yet they persist in perverseness, and flying *from the truth* Is he, therefore, who goeth grovelling upon his face better directed than he who walketh upright in a straight way?† Say, *It is* he who hath given you being, and endued you with hearing, and sight, and understanding, yet how little gratitude have ye!‡ Say, *It is* he who hath sown you in the earth, and unto him shall ye be gathered together They say, When *shall* this menace *be put in execution*, if ye speak truth? Answer, The knowledge of *this matter is* with GOD alone for I am only a public warner But when they shall see the same nigh at hand, the countenance of the infidels shall grow sad and it shall be said *unto them*, This is what ye have been demanding Say, What think ye? Whether God destroy me and those *who are* with me or have mercy on us, who will protect the unbelievers from a painful punishment? Say, He is the Merciful, in him do we believe, and in him do we put our trust Ye shall hereafter know who is in a manifest error Say, what think ye? If your water be in the morning swallowed up by the earth, who will give you clear and running water?

* "They shall hear the cries of despair The fire shall but burn with greater fury Could they be destroyed its fury would destroy them"—*Savary*

† This comparison is applied by the expositors to the infidel and the true believer

‡ "How few are there who thank him for these benefits!"—*Savary*

CHAPTER LXVIII

INTITLED, THE PEN, REVEALED AT MI CCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

N¹ BY the pen, and what they write,^m thou, *O Mohammed*, through the grace of thy LORD *art* not distracted * Verily *there is prepared* for thee an everlasting reward for thou *art* of a noble disposition ⁿ† Thou shalt see, and *the infidels* shall see, which of you *are* bereaved of your senses Verily thy LORD well knoweth him who wandereth from his path, and he well knoweth those who are *rightly* directed wherefore obey not those who charge *thee* with imposture. They desire that thou shouldst be easy *with them*, and they will be easy *with thee*.^o But obey not any *who* is a common swearer, a despicable *fellow*, a defamer, going about with slander, who forbiddeth that which is good, *who is also* a transgressor, a wicked person, cruel, *and* besides this, of spurious birth ^p although he be possessed of wealth and *many* children when our signs are rehearsed unto him, he saith, *They are fables of the ancients* We will stigmatize him on the nose ‡^q Verily we have tried *the Meccans*,^r as we *formerly* tried the

¹ This letter is sometimes made the title of the chapter, but its meaning is confessedly uncertain They who suppose it stands for the word *Nûn* are not agreed as to its signification in this place for it is not only the name of the letter *N* in Arabic, but signifies also *an inkhorn*, and a *fish* some are of opinion the former signification is the most proper here as consonant to what is immediately mentioned of *the pen*, and *writing* and considering that the blood of certain *fish* is good ink not inconsistent with the latter signification which is however preferred by others saying that either the whole species of *fish* in general is thereby intended, or the fish which swallowed Jonas (who is mentioned in this chapter), or else that vast one called Behemoth fancied to support the earth in particular Those who acquiesce in none of the foregoing explications have invented others of their own and imagine this character stands for the *table of God's decrees* or *one of the rivers in paradise* &c.¹

^m Some understand these words generally and others of the pen with which God's decrees are written on the preserved table and of the angels who register the same

* "I swear by the pen and that which the angels write it is not Satan, it is Heaven which inspireth thee —*Savary*

ⁿ In that thou hast borne with so much patience and resignation the wrongs and insults of thy people, which have been greater than those offered to any apostle before thee²

† "Thou professest the sublime religion —*Savary*

‡ "If thou wilt let them alone in their idolatry and other wicked practices, they will cease to revile and persecute thee

^q The person at whom this passage was particularly levelled, is generally supposed to have been Mohammed's inveterate enemy, al Walid Ebn al Mogheira, whom to complete his character he calls *bastard*, because al Mogheira did not own him for his son till he was eighteen years of age³ Some however, think it was al Akhnas Ebn Shorak, who was really of the tribe of Thakif, though reputed to be of that of Zahra.⁴

§ "We will imprint a fiery mark upon his nose" —*Savary*

^p Which being the most conspicuous part of the face, a mark set thereon is attended with the utmost ignominy It is said that this prophetic menace was actually made good, al Walid having his nose slit by a sword, at the battle of Bedr, the mark of which wound he carried with him to his grave⁵

^r By afflicting them with a grievous famine See chap 23, p 284

¹ Al Zamakh al Beidawi, Yahya.
² Idem

³ Al Beidawi.

⁴ Idem, Jallalo ddin.

⁵ Idem

owners of the garden,* when they swore that they would gather the fruit thereof[†] in the morning, and added not the exception *if it please God* wherefore a surrounding *destruction* from thy LORD encompassed it, while they slept, and in the morning it became like a garden whose fruits had been gathered[‡] And they called *the one to the other* as they rose in the morning, *saying*, Go out early to your plantation, if ye intend to gather the fruit thereof so they went on, whispering to one another, No poor man shall enter *the garden* upon you, this day And they went forth early, with a determined purpose.[†] And when they saw *the garden blasted and destroyed*, they said, We have certainly mistaken our way *but when they found it to be their own garden, they cried*, Verily we are not permitted[‡] to reap the fruit thereof The worthier of them said, Did I not say unto you, Will ye not give praise unto GOD? They answered, Praise be unto our LORD! Verily we have been unjust doers And they began to blame one another,[‡] and they said, Woe be unto us! verily we have been transgressors peradventure our LORD will give us in exchange a better garden than this and we earnestly beseech our LORD to pardon us Thus *is the chastisement of this life* but the chastisement of the next *shall be* more grievous, if they had known *it, they would have taken heed* Verily for the pious *are prepared*, with their LORD, gardens of delight Shall we deal with the Moslems, as with the wicked?[‡] What aileth you that ye judge thus? Have ye a book *from heaven*, wherein ye read that ye are therein promised that which ye shall choose? Or have ye received oaths which shall be binding upon us to the day of resurrection, that ye shall enjoy what ye imagine? Ask them, which of them *will be* the voucher of this Or have they companions[‡] *who will vouch for them?* Let them produce their companions, therefore if they speak truth On a *certain day* the leg

This garden was a plantation of palm trees about two parasangs from Sanaa, belonging to a certain charitable man who when he gathered his dates, used to give public notice to the poor, and to leave them such of the fruit as the knife missed or was blown down by the wind or fell beside the cloth spread under the tree to receive it after death his sons who were then become masters of the garden, apprehending they should come to want if they followed their father's example agreed to gather the fruit early in the mornin^g, when the poor could have no notice of the matter but when they came to execute their purpose they found to their great grief and surprise that their plantation had been destroyed in the night[‡]

* We have punished the Meccans like unto the owners of the garden — *Savary*
[†] Literally *that they would cut it* the manner of gathering dates being to cut the clusters off with a knife Marracci supposes they intended to cut down the trees, and destroy the plantation which as he observes, renders the story ridiculous and absurd

[‡] Or, as the original may also be rendered, *like a dark night*, it being burnt up and black

[†] Already they reckoned upon an assured harvest — *Savary*

[‡] The same expression is used chap 56 p 437

[‡] For one advised this expedition another approved of it, a third gave consent by his silence but the fourth was absolutely against it[‡]

[‡] This passage was revealed in answer to the infidels, who said, *If we shall be raised again as Mohammed and his followers imagine they will not excel us but we shall certainly be in a better condition than they in the next world, as we are in this*[‡]

[‡] Or as some interpret the word *idols*, which can make their condition in this next life equal to that of the Moslems?

[‡] Al Beidāwī Jallāla d-din.

[‡] Al Beidāwī.

[‡] Idem

shall be made bare,^{*b} and they shall be called upon to worship, but they shall not be able^c Their looks *shall be* cast down ignominy shall attend them for that they were invited to the worship of God, while they were in safety, *but would not hear* Let me alone, therefore, with him who accuseth this new revelation of imposture. We will lead them gradually to *destruction*, by ways which they know not^d and I will bear with them for a long time, for my stratagem is effectual[†] Dost thou ask them any reward for *thy preaching*? But they are laden with debts. Are the secrets of futurity with them, and do they transcribe the same *from the table of God's decrees*?[‡] Wherefore patiently wait the judgment of thy LORD and be not like him who was swallowed by the fish,[§] when he cried *unto God*, being inwardly vexed Had not grace from his LORD reached him, he had surely been cast forth on the naked *shore*, covered with shame but his LORD chose him, and made him *one* of the righteous. It wanteth little but that the unbelievers strike thee down with their *malicious* looks, when they hear the admonition of *the Korân*, and they say, He is certainly distracted but it is no other than an admonition unto all creatures.

CHAPTER LXIX.

INTITLED, THE INFALLIBLE REVEALED AT MLCCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THE infallible!^a What is the infallible? And what shall cause thee to understand what the infallible is? § The tribes of Thamud and Ad demed as a falsehood the *day* which shall strike^b *men's hearts with terror* But Thamud were destroyed by a terrible noise and Ad were destroyed by a

* "The wicked shall one day be unmasked — *Savary*

^b This expression is used to signify a grievous and terrible calamity thus they say, *War has made bare the leg* when they would express the fury and rage of battle^c

^c Because the time of acceptance shall be past Al Beidawi is uncertain whether the words respect the day of judgment, or the article of death but Jallalo'ddin supposes them to relate to the former, and adds that the infidels shall not be able to perform the act of adoration, because their backs shall become stiff and inflexible

^d s. e. By granting them long life and prosperity in this world, which will deceive them to their ruin

† If I prolong their days, it is but a snare which I spread for them — *Savary*

[‡] See chap 52, p 425

§ 'Know they the mysteries of nature? Nevertheless, they write' — *Savary*

^a That is, Be not impatient and pettish, as Jonas was. See chap 21, p 271

^b The original word al Hakkat is one of the names or epithets of the day of judgment. As the root from which it is derived signifies not only to be or come to pass of necessity, but also to verify some rather think that day to be so called because it will verify, and show the truth of what men doubt of in this life, viz the resurrection of the dead, their being brought to account, and the consequent rewards and punishments¹

§ "The inevitable day! How terrible will be that day! who can depict it unto

¹ Arab *al Kâridt*, or the striking, which is another name or epithet of the last day

roaring and furious wind, which God caused to assail them for seven nights and eight days successively, thou mightest have seen people during the same, lying prostrate, as though they *had been* the roots of hollow palm trees,* and couldst thou have seen any of them remaining?† Pharaoh also, and those who *were* before him, and the *cities* which were overthrown,‡ were guilty of sin, and they *severally* were disobedient to the apostle of their LORD, wherefore he chastised them with an abundant chastisement. When the water of the *deluge* arose, we carried you in the *ark* which swam *thereon*, that we might make the same a memorial unto you, and the retaining ear might retain it † And when one blast shall sound the trumpet, and the earth shall be moved *from its place*, and the mountains also, and shall be dashed in pieces at one stroke on that day the inevitable *hour of judgment* shall suddenly come, and the heavens shall cleave in sunder, and shall fall in pieces, on that day and the angels *shall be* on the sides thereof,‡ and eight shall bear the throne of thy LORD above them, on that day^m On that day ye shall be presented *before the judgment seat of God*, and none of your secret actions shall be hidden. And he who shall have his book delivered into his right hand shall say, Take ye, read this my book, verily I thought that I should be brought to this my account he shall lead a pleasing life, in a lofty garden, the fruits whereof shall be near to gather Eat and drink with easy digestion, because of the *good works* which ye sent before you, in the days which are past § But he who shall have his book delivered into his left hand shall say, O that I had not received this book, and that I had not known what this my account *was*! O that *death* had made an end of me! My riches have not profited me, and my power is passed from me And God shall say to the keepers of hell, Take him, and bind him, and cast him into hell to be burned then put him into a chain of the length of seventy cubits because he believed not in the great God, and was not solicitous to feed the poor wherefore this day he shall have no friend here, nor any food, but the filthy corruption *flouring from the bodies of the damned*, which none shall eat but the sinners. I swear^o by that which ye see, and that which ye see not, that *this is* the discourse of an honourable apostle, and not the discourse of a poet how little do ye

See chap 54, p 430

* The guilty were overthrown on the earth like unto uprooted palm trees The scourge spared not one of them —Savary

† Viz Sodom and Gomorrah See chap 9, p 157, note 1

‡ "Let it be a memorial unto the earth, let your hearts preserve the remembrance of it —Savary

¹ These words seem to intimate the death of the angels, at the demolition of their habitation beside the ruins whereof they shall lie like dead bodies

§ "An angel shall guard the entrance thereof —Savary

^m The number of those who bear it at present being generally supposed to be but four, to whom four more will be added at the last day, for the grandeur of the occasion ²

§ "Sate thyself with the pleasures which are offered unto thee They are the reward of the good which thou hast done upon earth —Savary

^o : e Wrap him round with it, so that he may not be able to stir

^o Or, *I will not swear* See chap 56, p 437, note ^d (This is the reading adopted by Savary)

believe! Neither *is it* the discourse of a soothsayer how little are ye admonished! *It is* a revelation from the LORD of all creatures. If *Mohammed* had forged any part of *these* discourses concerning us, verily we had taken him by the right hand, and had cut in sunder the vein of his heart,* neither would we have withheld any of you from *chastising* him. And verily this *book is* an admonition unto the pious, and we well know that there are *some* of you who charge *the same* with imposture, but it *shall* surely be an occasion of grievous sighing unto the infidels, for it *is* the truth of a certainty Wherefore praise the name of thy LORD, the great God.

CHAPTER LXX.

INTITLED THE STEPS, REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

ONE demanded and called for vengeance to fall on the unbelievers ^{P†} there shall be none to avert the same from *being afflicted by* God the possessor of the steps ^q *by which* the angels ascend unto him, and the spirit *Gabriel also*, in a day whose space is fifty thousand years [†] wherefore bear

* "We should have seized him on the spot, and should have cut the vein of the heart No one should have had the power to suspend our vengeance —*Savary*

^P The person here meant is generally supposed to have been al Nodai Ebn al Hareth, who said O God, *if what Mohammed preaches be the truth from thee ruin down upon us a shower of stones or send some dreadful judgment to punish us* ³ Others however, think it was Abu Jahl, who challenged Mohammed to cause a fragment of heaven to fall on them ⁴

† "The prophet hath been questioned concerning the punishments which are to come' —*Savary*

^q By which prayers and righteous actions ascend to heaven, or by which the angels ascend to receive the divine commands or the believers will ascend to paradise Some understand thereby the different orders of angels, or the heavens which rise gradually one above another

^r This is supposed to be the space which would be required for their ascent from the lowest part of the creation to the throne of God if it were to be measured, or the time which it would take a man to perform a journey and this is not contradictory to what is said elsewhere ⁵ (if it be to be interpreted of the ascent of the angels) that the length of the day wherein they ascend is 1000 years, because that is meant only of their ascent from earth to the lower heaven including also the time of their descent

But the commentators generally, taking the day spoken of in both these passages to be the day of judgment, have recourse to several expedients to reconcile them some of which we have mentioned in another place ⁶ and as both passages seem to contradict what Mohammedan doctors teach that God will judge all creatures in the space of half a day,⁷ they suppose those large numbers of years are designed to express the time of the previous attendance of those who are to be judged,⁸ or else to the space wherein God will judge the unbelieving nations, of which, they say there will be fifty the trial of each nation taking up 1000 years, though that of the true believers will be over in the short space above mentioned ⁹

† 'God is the author of them He possesseth the celestial steps By them the angels and Gabriel will ascend towards his throne on the day of judgment, the duration of which shall be fifty thousand years.' —*Savary*

³ Al Zamakh, al Beidawi

⁴ Prelim Disc sect 4, p 60

⁵ Al Zamakh.

⁶ Al Beidawi

⁷ See *ibid* p 63.

⁸ Chap 32 p 339

⁹ See *ibid* p 61 62

the insults of the Meccans with becoming patience, for they see *their punishment* afar off, but we see it nigh at hand. On a certain day the heaven shall become like molten brass,* and the mountains like wool of various colours, *scattered abroad by the wind*, and a friend shall not ask a friend *concerning his condition, although* they see one another. The wicked shall wish to redeem himself from the punishment of that day, by *giving up* his children, and his wife, and his brother, and his kindred who shewed kindness unto him, and all who *are* in the earth, and that *this* might deliver him by no means for hell fire, dragging *them* by *their* scalps, shall call him who shall have turned his back, and fled *from the faith*, and shall have amassed *riches*, and covetously hoarded *them*.

Verily man is created extremely impatient ^a when evil toucheth him, *he is* full of complaint, but when good befalleth him, *he becometh* niggardly except those who are devoutly given, and who persevere in their prayers, and those of whose substance a due and certain portion *is ready to be given* unto him who asketh, and him who is forbidden *by shame* to ask and those who sincerely believe the day of judgment, and who dread the punishment of their LORD (for *there is* none secure from the punishment of their LORD) and who abstain from the carnal knowledge of *women* other than their wives, or the *slaves* which their right hands possess (for *as to them* they shall be blameless, but whoever coveteth *any woman* besides these *they are* transgressors) and those who faithfully keep what they are intrusted with, and their covenant, and who are upright in their testimonies, and who carefully observe *the requisite rites* in their prayers these *shall dwell* amidst gardens, highly honoured. What aileth the unbelievers that they run before thee in companies, on the right hand and on the left? Doth every man of them wish to enter into a garden of delight? By no means verily we have created them of that which they know ^t I swear^u by the LORD of the east and of the west,^x that we are able to *destroy them*, and to substitute better than them *in their room*, neither *are* we to be prevented, *if we shall please so to do*. Wherefore suffer them to wade in vain disputes, and to amuse themselves with sport until they meet their day with which they have been threatened, [†] the day *whereon* they shall come forth hastily from *their* graves, as though they were *troops* hastening to *their* standard their looks *shall be* downcast, ignominy shall attend them. This *is* the day with which they have been threatened.

* 'Like molten silver'—Savary

^u See chap 17, p 228

^t Viz of filthy seed which bears no relation or resemblance to holy beings wherefore it is necessary for him who would hope to be an inhabitant of paradise, to perfect himself in faith and spiritual virtues to fit himself for that place ¹

^a Or *I will not swear*, &c. See chap 56, p 437 note ^d (Savary prefers this reading)

^x The original words are in the plural number, and signify the different points of the horizon at which the sun rises and sets in the course of the year See chap 37, p 366, note ¹

[†] "Suffer them to waste their lives in frivolous disputes The day with which they are threatened shall come on them unawares"—Savary

CHAPTER LXXI.

INTITLED NOAH, * REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

VERILY we sent Noah unto his people, *saying*, Warn thy people, before a grievous punishment overtake them. Noah said, O my people, verily I *am* a public warner unto you, wherefore serve GOD, and fear him, and obey me: he will forgive you *part* of your sins,¹ and will grant you respite until a determined time for GOD's determined time, when it cometh, shall not be deferred, if ye were men of understanding, *ye would know this*. He said, LORD, verily I have called my people night and day, but my calling only increaseth their aversion: and whensoever I call them to the true faith, that thou mayest forgive them, they put their fingers in their ears, and cover themselves with their garments, and persist in their infidelity, and proudly disdain my counsel†. Moreover I invited them openly, and I spake to them again in public, and I also secretly admonished them in private, and I said, Beg pardon of your LORD, for he is inclined to forgive: and he will cause the heaven to pour down rain plentifully upon you, and will give you increase of wealth and of children,² and he will provide you gardens, and furnish you with rivers. What aileth you, that ye hope not for benevolence in GOD,³ since he hath created you variously?‡ Do ye not see how GOD hath created the seven heavens one above another, and hath placed the moon therein for a light, and hath appointed the sun for a taper?§ GOD hath also produced and caused you to spring forth from the earth: hereafter he will cause you to return into the same, and he will again take you thence, by bringing you forth from your graves. And GOD hath spread the earth as a carpet for you, that ye may walk therein through spacious paths. Noah said, LORD, verily they are disobedient unto me, and they follow him whose riches and children do no other than increase his perdition. And they devised a dangerous plot against Noah, and the chief men said

* "Peace be with him —Savary

¹ i. e. Your past sins, which are done away by the profession of the true faith.

† "They cover their faces with their garments. They persist in error. They manifest only pride and obstinacy —Savary

² It is said, that after Noah had for a long time preached to them in vain, GOD shut up the heaven for forty years, and rendered their women barren.³

³ i. e. That GOD will accept and amply reward those who serve him? For some suppose Noah's people made him this answer, *If what we now follow be the truth, we ought not to forsake it: but if it be false, how will GOD accept, or be favourable unto us, who have rebelled against him?*⁴

⁴ That is, as the commentators expound it, by various steps or changes, from the original matter, till ye became perfect men.⁵

‡ "He hath hung the moon in the firmament to reflect the light, and the sun to impart it" —Savary

⁵ Al Zamakh

⁶ Idem.

⁷ See chap. 22, p. 274, and chap. 23, p. 281, &c.

to the others, Ye shall by no means leave your gods, neither shall ye forsake Wadd, nor Sowa, nor Yaghuth, and Yauk, and Nae^o And they seduced many, (for thou shalt only increase error in the wicked) because of their sins they were drowned, and cast into the fire *of hell*, and they found none to protect them against God And Noah said, LORD, leave not any families of the unbelievers on the earth ^a for if thou leave them, they will seduce thy servants, and will beget none but a wicked and unbelieving *offspring* LORD, forgive me and my parents,^o and every one who shall enter my house,ⁱ being a true believer, and the true believers of both sexes, and add unto the unjust doers nothing but destruction.

CHAPTER LXXII

ENTITLED THE GENII, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

SAY, It hath been revealed unto me that a company of genii attentively heard *me reading the Korân*,^o and said, Verily we have heard an admirable discourse, which directeth unto the right institution wherefore we believe therein, and we will by no means associate any *other* with our LORD He (may the majesty of our LORD be exalted ⁱ) hath taken no wife, nor *hath he begotten* any issue Yet the foolish among us^h hath spoken that which is extremely false of God, but we verily thought that neither man nor genius would by any means have uttered a lie concerning God And there are certain men who fly for refuge unto certain of the genii,ⁱ but they increase their folly and transgression and they also thought, as ye thought,^h that God would not raise any one to life And we *formerly attempted to pry into what was transacting in heaven*, but we found the same filled with a strong guard of *angels*, and with flaming darts And we sat on *some of the*

^o These were five idols worshipped by the antediluvians and afterwards by the ancient Arabs See the Prelim Disc sect 1 p 13

^a They say Noah preferred not this prayer for the destruction of his people till after he had tried them for nine hundred and fifty years, and found them incorrigible reprobates

His father Lamech and his mother, whose name was Shamkha the daughter of Enosh, being true believers

ⁱ The commentators are uncertain whether Noah's dwelling house be here meant, or the temple he had built for the worship of God, or the ark

^o See chap 46, p 509, note ^o

^h Viz Fblis, or the rebellious genii

ⁱ For the Arabs, when they found themselves in a desert in the evening (the genii being supposed to haunt such places about that time) used to say, *I fly for refuge unto the Lord of this valley that he may defend me from the foolish among his people.*^o

^o It is uncertain which of these pronouns is to be referred to mankind, and which to the genii some expositors taking that of the third person to relate to the former, and that of the second person to the latter, and others being of the contrary opinion.

seats thereof to hear *the discourse of its inhabitants*, but whoever listeneth now, findeth a flame laid in ambush for him, to guard the celestial confines¹ And we know not whether evil be *hereby* intended against those who are in the earth, or whether their LORD intendeth to direct them aright. *There are* some among us who are upright, and *there are* some among us who are otherwise we are of different ways. And we verily thought that we could by no means frustrate God in the earth, neither could we escape him by flight wherefore, when we had heard the direction contained in the *Koran*, we believed therein. And whoever believeth in his LORD, need not fear any diminution of *his reward* nor any injustice *There are some* Moslems among us, and *there are others* of us who swerve from righteousness.^m And whoso embraceth Islam, they earnestly seek true direction but those who swerve from righteousness shall be fuel for hell If they tread in the way of *truth*, we will surely water them with abundant rain,ⁿ that we may prove them thereby but whoso turneth aside from the admonition of his LORD, him will he send into a severe torment Verily the places of worship are set apart unto God wherefore invoke not any other therein together with God When the servant of God^o stood up to invoke him, it wanted little but that *the genu* had pressed on him in crowds, to hear him rehearse the *Korân* Say, Verily I call upon my LORD only, and I associate no other god with him Say, Verily I am not able, of myself, to procure you either hurt, or a right institution. Say, Verily none can protect me against God, neither shall I find any refuge besides him * I can do no more than publish what hath been revealed unto me from God, and his messages. And whosoever shall be disobedient unto God and his apostle, for him is the fire of hell prepared, they shall remain therein for ever Until they see the vengeance with which they are threatened, they will not cease their opposition but then shall they know who were the weaker in a protector, and the fewer in number Say, I know not whether the punishment with which ye are threatened be nigh, or whether my LORD will appoint for it a distant term He knoweth the secrets of futurity, and he doth not communicate his secrets unto any, except an apostle in whom he is well pleased and he causeth a guard of angels to march before him, and behind him, that he may know that they have executed the commissions of their LORD,^p he comprehendeth whatever is with them, and counteth all things by number

¹ See chap 15 p 210

^m See the Prelim Disc sect iv p 52 &c

ⁿ i. e., We will grant them plenty of all good things Some think by these words rain is promised to the Meccans, after their seven years drought, on their embracing Islam

^o Viz, Mohammed

^p "I shall find no shelter from his wrath — Savary

^p That is to say, Either that the prophet may know that Gabriel and the other angels, who bring down the revelation have communicated it to him pure and free from any diabolical suggestions, or that God may know that the prophet has published the same to mankind *

CHAPTER LXXIII.

INTITLED, 'THE WRAPPED UP, REVEALED AT MECCA'

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

O THOU wrapped up,^r arise to prayer, and continue therein during the night, except a small part,^s that is to say, during one half thereof or do thou lessen the same a little or add thereto^t And repeat the Koran with a distinct and sonorous voice for we will lay on thee a weighty word^u Verily the rising by night^v is more efficacious for steadfast continuance in devotion, and more conducive to decent pronunciation^w for in the day-time thou hast long employment And commemorate the name of thy LORD, and separate thyself unto him, renouncing worldly vanities. He is the LORD of the east, and of the west, there is no GOD but he Wherefore take him for thy patron and patiently suffer the contumelies which the

^r Some will have the last verse, beginning at these words, *Verily thy Lord knoweth, &c.*, to have been revealed at Medina

^s When this revelation was brought to Mohammed he was wrapped up in his garments, being affrighted at the appearance of Gabriel, or, as some say, he lay sleeping unconcernedly, or, according to others, prying wrapped up in one part of a large mantle, or rug, with the other part of which Ayesha had covered herself to sleep^t

This epithet of *wrapped up*, and another of the same import given to Mohammed in the next chapter, have been imagined by several learned men^u pretty plainly to intimate his being subject to the falling sickness, a malady generally attributed to him by the Christians,^v but mentioned by no Mohammedan writer Though such an inference may be made, yet I think it scarcely probable much less necessary,¹

^u For a half is such, with respect to the whole Or as the sentence may be rendered, *Pray half the night, within a small matter &c.* Some expound these words as an exception to nights in general, according to whom the sense will be *Spend one half of every night in prayer, except some few nights in the year*²

^v Set apart either less than half the night as one third for example, or more, as two thirds Or the meaning may be, Either take a small matter from a lesser part of the night than one half, e. g. from one third, and so reduce it to a fourth, or add to such lesser part, and make it a full half

^w Viz, the precepts contained in the Koran which are heavy and difficult to those who are obliged to observe them and especially to the prophet, whose care it was to see that his people observed them also⁴

^x Or, *The person who riseth by night, or the hours or particularly the first hours of the night &c.*

^y "At the beginning of the night, we have more strength of conception, and more facility of expression — Savary

^z For the night time is most proper for meditation and prayer, and also for reading God's word distinctly and with attention, by reason of the absence of every noise and object which may distract the mind

Marracci, having mentioned this natural explication of the Mohammedan commentators, because he finds one word in the verse which may be taken in a sense tending that way, says the whole may with greater exactness be expounded of the fitness of the night season for amorous diversions and discourse, and he paraphrases it in Latin thus *Certe in principio noctis major robur et vim habet homo ad feminas premendas et subagendas, et ad clarioribus verbis amores suos propalandos*⁵ A most effectual way this, to turn a book into ridicule!

¹ Al Zamakh, al Beidawi ² Hotting Hist Orient lib 1, c 3 Marracci in Alc p 763 Vide Gagner, not ad Abulf vit Moham p 9 ³ See Prideaux, Life of Moh p 16, and the authors there cited. ⁴ See Ockley's Hist of the Saracens, vol 1, p 300, &c ⁵ Al Beidawi. ⁶ Idem ⁷ Idem, Jallalo'ddin. ⁸ Marracci in Alc p 759

infidels utter against thee, and depart from them with a decent departure. And let me alone with those who charge *the Koran* with falsehood, who enjoy the blessings of this life, and bear with them for a while verily with us *are heavy fetters, and a burning fire, and food ready to choke him who swalloweth it,*^{*} and painful torment. On a certain day the earth shall be shaken, and the mountains *also*, and the mountains shall become a heap of sand poured forth.* Verily we have sent unto you an apostle, to bear witness against you, as we sent an apostle unto Pharaoh, but Pharaoh was disobedient unto the apostle, wherefore we chastised him with a heavy chastisement. How, therefore, will ye escape, if ye believe not, the day which shall make children become grey headed *through terror*? The heaven *shall be rent in sunder thereby* the promise thereof shall surely be performed. Verily this *is* an admonition, and whoever is willing to be *admonished* will take the way unto his LORD Thy LORD knoweth that thou continuest *in prayer and meditation sometimes* near two third parts of the night and *sometimes* one half thereof, and *at other times* one third part thereof, and a part of *thy companions*, who are with thee, *do the same*. But God measureth the night and the day, he knoweth that ye cannot *exactly* compute the same wherefore he turneth favourably unto you.[†] Read, therefore, so much of the Korân as may be easy unto you He knoweth that there will be some infirm among you, and others travel through the earth, that they may obtain *a competency* of the bounty of God, and others fight in the defence of God's faith. Read, therefore, so much of the same as may be easy And observe the stated times of prayer, and pay the legal alms, and lend unto God an acceptable loan,[‡] for whatever good ye send before your souls, ye shall find the same with God This *will be better*, and will merit a greater reward.[§] And ask God forgiveness, for God is ready to forgive and merciful.

* As thorns and thistles, the fruit of the infernal tree al Zakkûm, and the corruption flowing from the bodies of the damned

† "The earth shall one day be shaken, and the mountains, crumbled to dust, shall be the sport of the winds. —Savary

‡ By making the matter easy to you, and dispensing with your scrupulous counting of the hours of the night which ye are directed to spend in reading and praying for some of the Moslems, not knowing how the time passed, used to watch the whole night, standing and walking about till their legs and feet swelled in a sad manner The commentators add, that this precept of dedicating a part of the night to devotion is abrogated by the institution of the five hours of prayer[§]

§ "Form with the Lord a glorious covenant —Savary

¶ i. e. The good which ye shall do in your life time will be much more meritorious in the sight of God than what ye shall defer till death, and order by will.[¶]

CHAPTER LXXIV

INTITLED, THE COVERED REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

O THOU covered,^a arise and preach,^b and magnify thy LORD And cleanse thy garments and fly *every* abomination ^c and be not liberal in hopes to receive more in return and patiently wait for thy LORD When the trumpet shall sound, verily that day *shall be* a day of distress and uneasiness unto the unbelievers. Let me alone with him whom I have created,^d on whom I have bestowed abundant riches, and children dwelling in his presence,^e and for whom I have disposed *affairs* in a smooth and easy manner,^f and who desireth that I will yet add *other blessings unto him* By no means because he is an adversary to our signs.^g I will afflict him with grievous calamities ^h for he hath devised and prepared *contumelious expressions to ridicule the Korân* May he be cursed how *maliciously* hath he prepared *the same* ! And again, may he be cursed how *maliciously* hath he prepared *the same* ! Then he looked, and frowned, and put on an austere countenance then he turned back, and was elated with pride, and he said, this *is* no other than a piece of magic borrowed from others these *are* only the words of a man I will cast him to be burned in hell And what shall make thee to understand what hell *is* ? It leaveth not *any thing unconsumed*, neither doth it suffer *any thing* to

* It is related from Mohammed's own mouth, that being on mount Harâ and hearing himself called he looked on each hand and saw nobody, but looking upwards he saw the angel Gabriel on a throne between heaven and earth at which sight being much terrified he returned to his wife Khadija and bid her cover him up and that then the angel descended and addressed him in the words of the text From hence some think this chapter to have been the first which was revealed but the more received opinion is that it was the 96th Others say that the prophet having been reviled by certain of the Koreish, was sitting in a melancholy and pensive posture, wrapped up in his mantle when Gabriel accosted him and some say he was sleeping See the second note to the preceding chapter

^b It is generally supposed that Mohammed is here commanded more especially to warn his near relations the Koreish, as he is expressly ordered to do in a subsequent revelation ^g

By the word *abomination* the commentators generally agree idolatry to be principally intended

^d The person here meant is generally supposed to have been al Walid Ebn al Mogheira ^e a principal man among the Koreish

^f Being well provided for, and not obliged to go abroad to seek their livings, as most others of the Meccans were ¹

^g By facilitating his advancement to power and dignity which were so considerable that he was surnamed Rihana Koreish, ^{1 e} *The sweet odour of the Koreish*, and al Wahid, ^{1 e} *The only one, or The incomparable* ²

^h On the revelation of this passage it is said that Walid's prosperity began to decay, and continued daily so to do to the time of his death ³

¹ Or as the words may be strictly rendered, *I will drive him up the crag of a mountain*, which some understand of a mountain of fire agreeably to a tradition of their prophet, importing that al Walid will be condemned to ascend this mountain, and then to be cast down from thence, alternately for ever, and that he will be *seventy years in climbing up and as many in falling down.* ⁴

^a See chap 26, p 307, and the Prelim. Disc. sect. ii. p 31
Beidâwî, Jallâlî ddin. ¹ Al Beidawî. ² Idem ³ Idem

^b Al Zamakh, al
⁴ Idem.

escape it scorcheth men's flesh over the same *are nineteen angels appointed* We have appointed none but angels to preside over *hell* fire ¹ and we have expressed the number of them only for an occasion of discord to the unbelievers, ² that they to whom the scriptures have been given may be certain of the *veracity of this book*,¹ and the true believers may increase in faith, and that those to whom the scriptures have been given, and the true believers, may not doubt *hereafter*, and that those in whose hearts *there is* an infirmity, and the unbelievers, may say, What mystery doth GOD intend by this *number*? Thus doth GOD cause to err whom he pleaseth, and he directeth whom he pleaseth None knoweth the armies of thy LORD^m besides him, and thisⁿ *is* no other than a memento unto mankind Assuredly By the moon, and the night when it retreateth, and the morning when it reddeneth, *I swear* that this *is* one of the most terrible calamities, giving warning unto men, as well as unto him among you who desueth to go forward, as *unto him who chooseth* to remain behind * Every soul *is* given in pledge for that which it shall have wrought ° except the companions of the right hand, ^p *who shall dwell* in gardens, and shall ask one another questions concerning the wicked, *and shall also ask the wicked themselves, saying*, What hath brought you into hell? They shall answer, We were not of those who were constant at prayer, neither did we feed the poor, and we waded in vain disputes with the fallacious reasoners, and we denied the day of judgment, until death^q overtook us and the intercession of the interceders shall not avail them What aileth them, therefore, that they turn aside from the admonition of the *Korān*, as though they *were* timorous asses flying from a lion? But every man among them desireth that he may have expanded scrolls delivered to him *from God*^r By no means They fear not the life to come By no means verily this *is* a sufficient warning Whoso is willing to be warned him shall it warn but they shall not be warned, unless GOD shall please He *is* worthy to be feared, and he *is* inclined to forgiveness

¹ The reason of which is said to be that they might be of a different nature and species from those who are to be tormented lest they should have a fellow feeling of and compassionate their sufferings, or else because of their great strength, and severity of temper ⁶

² Or *For a trial of them* because they might say this was a particular borrowed by Mohammed of the Jews

¹ And especially the Jews this being conformable to what is contained in their books ⁶

^m ^e All his creatures or particularly the number and strength of the guards of hell

ⁿ The antecedent seems to be *hell*

^{*} "I swear by the moon by the night when she foldeth her veils by the dawn when it advanceth encompassed by light that hell is a tremendous abyss that it threateneth the human race that it warneth him who walketh in the right path, and him who retraceth his footsteps — *Savary*

[°] See chap 52, p 425

^p ^e The blessed ⁷ who shall redeem themselves by their good works Some say these are the angels, and others such as die infants ⁸

^q Literally *That which is certain*

^r For the infidels told Mohammed that they would never obey him as a prophet, till he brought each man a writing from heaven to this effect, viz *From God to such a one Follow Mohammed*.⁹

⁸ Al Beidāwī
Beidāwī

⁹ Jallalo ddin

⁷ See chap 56 p 435. note ^m

⁸ Al

CHAPTER LXXV

INTITLED THE RESURRECTION, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

VERILY I swear^a by the day of resurrection, and I swear by the soul which accuseth *itself*^b doth man think that we will not gather his bones together? Yea *we are* able to put together the *smallest* bones of his fingers. But man chooseth to be wicked, *for the time which is* before him.^c He asketh, When *will* the day of resurrection be? But when the sight shall be dazzled, and the moon shall be eclipsed, and the sun and the moon shall be in conjunction,^d on that day man shall say, Where *is* a place of refuge? By no means *there shall be* no place to fly unto With thy LORD *shall be* the sure mansion of rest on that day on that day shall a man be told that which he hath done first and last^e Yea, a man *shall be* an evidence against himself and though he offer his excuses *they shall not be received* Move not thy tongue, O Mohammed, in repeating the revelations brought thee by Gabriel, before he shall have finished the same, that thou mayest quickly commit them to memory for the collecting the *Korân* in thy mind, and the *teaching thee the true* reading thereof, are incumbent on us. But when we shall have read the same *unto thee by the tongue of the angel*, do thou follow the reading thereof and afterwards *it shall be* our part to explain *it unto thee* By no means *shalt thou be thus hasty for the future* But ye love that which hasteneth away,^f and neglect the life to come Some countenances on that day *shall be* bright, looking towards their LORD, and some countenances, on that day, *shall be* dismal they shall think that a crushing calamity shall be brought upon them Assuredly When a man's soul shall come up to his throat, *in his last agony*, and the standers by shall say, Who bringeth a charm to recover him? and shall think it *to be his* departure out of this world and one leg shall be joined with the other leg^g on that day unto thy LORD shall he be driven For

^a Or, *I will not swear* See chap 56 p 437 note ^d (Savary prefers this reading)

^b Being conscious of having offended and of failing of perfection, notwithstanding its endeavours to do its duty or the pious soul which shall blame others at the last day for having been remiss in their devotions &c Some understand the words of the soul of Adam, in particular who is continually blaming himself for having lost paradise by his disobedience¹

^c But he denieth the evidence which striketh his sight —Savary

^d Rising both in the west,² which conjunction is no contradiction to what is mentioned just before, of the moon's being eclipsed, because those words are not to be understood of a regular eclipse but metaphorically of the moon's losing her light, at the last day in a preternatural manner Some think the meaning rather to be, that the sun and the moon shall be joined in the loss of their light³

^e Or the good which he hath done and that which he hath left undone &c.

^f The fleeting pleasures of this life The words intimate the natural hastiness and impatience of man⁴ who takes up with a present enjoyment, though short, and bitter in its consequences rather than wait for real happiness in futurity

^g And when he shall stretch forth his legs together, as is usual with dying persons The words may also be translated, and when one affliction shall be joined with another affliction.

¹ Al Beidāwī 17, p 228.

² See the Prelim. Disc. p 57

³ Al Beidāwī

⁴ See chap.

he believed not,^a neither did he pray, but he accused *God's apostle* of imposture, and turned back *from obeying him* then he departed unto his family, walking with a haughty mien. Wherefore, woe be unto thee, woe ! And again, woe be unto thee, woe ! Doth man think that he shall be left at full liberty, *without control* ? Was he not a drop of seed, which was emitted ! Afterwards he became a little coagulated blood, and *God* formed him, and fashioned him with just proportion, and made of him two sexes, the male and the female. Is not he *who hath done this* able to quicken the dead ? *

CHAPTER LXXVI.

INTITLED, MAN, REVEALED AT MECCA *

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

DID there not pass over man a *long* space of time, during which he was a thing not worthy of remembrance ?^b Verily we have created man of the mingled seed of both sexes, that we might prove him and we have made him to hear and to see.^c We have surely directed him in the way, whether *he be* grateful, or ungrateful. Verily we have prepared for the unbelievers chains, and collars, and burning fire. But the just shall drink of a cup of *wine*, mixed with the *water of Cafur*,^d a fountain whereof the servants of God shall drink, they shall convey the same by channels *whithersoever they please*. These fulfil their vow, and dread the day, the evil whereof will disperse itself far abroad, and give food unto the poor, and the orphan, and the bondman, for his sake, *saying*, We feed you for God's sake only we desire no recompence from you, nor any thanks verily we dread, from our LORD, a dismal and calamitous day.^e Wherefore God shall

Or, *He did not give alms* or *He was not a man of veracity* Some suppose Abu Jahl and others one Adi Ebn Rabia to be particularly inveighed against in this chapter

* "Did not God form you from a little blood ? Hath he not given just proportions to your bodies ? Did he not bring from nothing the first pair ? Can the creator of the human race be deficient in power to revive the dead ? — *Savary*

It is somewhat doubtful, whether this chapter was revealed at Mecca or at Medina

^b Some take these words to be spoken of Adam whose body according to the Mohammedan tradition was at first a figure of clay and was left forty years to dry before God breathed life into it,¹ others understand them of man in general, and of the time he lies in the womb

^c That he might be capable of receiving the rules and directions given by God for his guidance;² and of meriting reward or punishment for his observance or neglect of them.

^d Is the name of a fountain in paradise so called from its resembling *camphor* (which the word signifies) in odour, and whiteness. Some take the word for an appellative, and think the wine of paradise will be mixed with *camphor*, because of its agreeable coolness and smell.³

^e It is related that Hasan and Hosein, Mohammed's grandchildren on a certain time being both sick the prophet, among others, visited them, and they wished Ali to make some vow to God for the recovery of his sons, whereupon Ali, and Fatema, and Fidda, their maid-servant, vowed a fast of three days in case they did well as it happened they did. This vow was performed with so great strictness, that the

^a See the notes to chap 2, pp. 4, 5.

^b Al Baidawi.

^c Idem.

deliver them from the evil of that day, and shall cast on them the brightness of countenance, and joy, and shall reward them, for their patient persevering, with a garden and silk garments therein shall they repose themselves on couches, they shall see therein neither sun nor moon,¹⁴ and the shades thereof shall be near spreading above them, and the fruits thereof shall hang low, so as to be easily gathered.¹⁵ And their attendants shall go round about unto them, with vessels of silver, and goblets, the bottles shall be bottles of silver shining like glass, they shall determine the measure thereof by their wish. And therein shall they be given to drink of a cup of wine, mixed with the water of Zenjebil,¹⁶ a fountain in paradise named Salsabil,¹⁷ and youths, which shall continue for ever in their bloom, shall go round to attend them, when thou seest them, thou shalt think them to be scattered pearls and when thou lookest, there shalt thou behold lights, and a great kingdom. Upon them shall be garments of fine green silk, and of brocades, and they shall be adorned with bracelets of silver and their Lord shall give them to drink of a most pure liquor, and shall say unto them, Verily this is your reward and your endeavour is gratefully accepted. Verily we have sent down unto thee the Koran, by a gradual revelation. Wherefore patiently wait the judgment of thy Lord, and obey not any wicked person or unbeliever among them. And commemorate the name of thy Lord, in the morning and in the evening and during some part of the night worship him, and praise him a long part of the night.¹⁸ Verily these men love the transitory life, and leave behind them the heavy day of judgment. We have created them, and have strengthened their joints, and when we please we will substitute others like unto them, in their stead. Verily this is an admonition and whoso willeth, taketh the way unto his Lord but ye shall not will, unless God willeth, for God is knowing and wise. He leadeth whom he pleaseth unto his mercy, but for the unjust hath he prepared a grievous punishment.

first day having no provisions in the house Ali was obliged to borrow three measures of barley of one Simeon a Jew of Khaibar, one measure of which Fâtema ground the same day, and baked five cakes of the meal, and they were set before them, to break their fast with after sunset but a poor man coming to them they gave all their bread to him, and passed the night without tasting any thing except water. The next day Fâtema made another measure into bread for the same purpose, but an orphan begging some food they chose to let him have it, and passed that night, as the first and the third day they likewise gave their whole provision to a famished captive. Upon this occasion Gabriel descended with the chapter before us, and told Mohammed that God congratulated him on the virtues of his family.¹⁹

¹⁴ Because they shall not need the light of either.²⁰ The word Zamharir, here translated moon, properly signifies *extreme cold* for which reason some understand the meaning of the passage to be, that in paradise there shall be felt no excess either of heat, or of cold.

¹⁵ 'They repose on the nuptial couch, they shall not be incommoded by the splendour of the sun or of the moon'—*Savary*

¹⁶ The word signifies *ginger*, which the Arabs delight to mix with the water they drink, and therefore the water of this fountain is supposed to have the taste of that spice.²¹

¹⁷ Signifies water which flows gently and pleasantly down the throat.

¹⁸ "Adore him during the night. Make known his praise in the midst of the darkness"—*Savary*

¹⁹ Al Beidâwi.

²⁰ See Rev xxi 9.

²¹ Al Beidâwi, Jallale dîn.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

INTITLED THOSE WHICH ARE SENT, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

By the *angels* which are sent *by God*, following one another in a continual series, and those which move swiftly, with a rapid motion, and by those which disperse *his commands*, by divulging them *through the earth* and by those which separate *truth from falsehood*, by distinguishing the *same*, and by those which communicate the *divine* admonitions, to excuse, or to threaten 'verily that which ye are promised ^k is inevitable * When the stars, therefore, shall be put out, and when the heaven shall be cloven in sunder, and when the mountains shall be winnowed, and when the apostles shall have a time assigned to them *to appear and bear testimony against their respective people*, to what a day shall *that appointment* be deferred! to the day of separation and what shall cause thee to understand what the day of separation is? On that day, woe be unto them who *accused the prophets* of imposture! Have we not destroyed the *obstinate unbelievers* of old? We will also cause those of the latter times to follow them Thus do we deal with the wicked Woe be on that day, unto them who *accused the prophets* of imposture! Have we not created you of a contemptible drop of *seed*, which we placed in a sure repository, until the fixed term of *delivery*? And we were able *to do this* for we are most powerful On that day, woe be unto those who *accused the prophets* of imposture! Have we not made the earth to contain the living and the dead, and placed therein *stable and lofty mountains*, and given you fresh water to drink? Woe be, on that day, unto those who *accused the prophets* of imposture! *It shall be said unto them*, Go ye to the *punishment* which ye denied as a falsehood go ye into the shadow of the *smoke of hell*, which *shall ascend* in three columns, and shall not shade you *from the heat* neither shall it be of service against the flame, but it shall cast forth sparks *as big as towers*, resembling yellow camels in colour [†] Woe be, on that day

¹ Some understand the whole passage of the *verse* of the Koran which *continued to be sent down* parcel after parcel, during the space of several years, and which *rescend* (for so the verb *asafimay* may also be translated) and abolish all former dispensations *divulging and making known* the ways of salvation *distinguishing* truth from falsehood and *communicating admonition* &c Some interpret the first three verses of the *winds sent in a continual succession blowing with a violent gust, and dispersing* rain over the earth and others give different explanations

^k *Viz* the day of judgment

* "By the messengers which follow each other, by the frightful tempests by the winds which bring fruitfulness, by the verses of the Koran by the angels who bear warnings, the punishments which are announced to you will come —*Savary*

¹ Being of a fiery colour Others, however suppose these sparks will be of a dusky hue like that of *black camels* which always inclines a little to the yellow the word translated *yellow* signifying sometimes *black* Some copies, by the variation of a vowel have *cables* instead of *camels*

[†] 'Go ye under the trees which have only three branches to cover you. That shade shall bring unto you no coolness, neither shall it afford unto you a refuge from the flames They shall dart up on all sides in pyramids lofty as the roofs of palaces. Their colour shall be like unto that of red camels' —*Savary*

unto those who accused *the prophet* of imposture! This *shall be* a day whereon they shall not speak to *any purpose*, neither shall they be permitted to excuse themselves. Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture! This *shall be* the day of separation, we will assemble *both you and your predecessors*. Wherefore, if ye have any cunning stratagem, employ stratagems against me. Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture! But the pious *shall dwell* amidst shades and fountains, and fruits of the *kinds* which they shall desire, *and it shall be said unto them*, Eat and drink with easy digestion, *in recompence* for that which ye have wrought, for thus do we reward the righteous doers * Woe be, on that day, unto those who accuse *the prophets* of imposture! Eat, *O unbelievers*, and enjoy *the pleasures of this life*, for a little while verily *ye are* wicked men Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture! And when it is said unto them, Bow down, they do not bow down Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture! In what new revelation will they believe, after this?

CHAPTER LXXVIII

INTITLED, THE NEWS, REVEALFD AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

[* XXX.] CONCERNING what do *the unbelievers* ask questions of one another? Concerning the great news of *the resurrection*, about which they disagree. Assuredly they shall hereafter know *the truth thereof*. Again, Assuredly they shall hereafter know *the truth thereof*. Have we not made the earth for a bed, and the mountain for stakes to fix the same?† And have we not created you of two sexes, ‡ and appointed you sleep for rest, and made the night a garment to cover you, and destined the day to the gaining your livelihood, and built over you seven solid heavens, and placed therein a burning lamp? And do we not send down from the clouds pressing forth rain, water pouring down in abundance, that we may thereby produce corn, and herbs, and gardens planted thick with trees? Verily the day of separation is a fixed period the day whereon the trumpet shall sound, and ye shall come in troops to judgment, and the heavens shall be opened, and shall be full of gates for the angels to pass through, and the mountains shall pass away, and become as a vapour, verily hell shall be a place of ambush, a receptacle for the transgressors, who shall remain therein for ages they shall not taste any refreshment therein, or any drink, except boiling water, and filthy corruption § a fit recompence for their deeds! For

* "Eat and drink at pleasure. Enjoy the reward of your virtue"—*Savary*.

† "Have we not spread out the earth like unto a carpet? Have we not raised the mountains to serve for a support unto it."—*Savary*

‡ See chap 16, p 215, and chap 31, p 335

§ "We have drawn man and woman from nothing"—*Savary*

§ "Boiling and putrid water shall be their only drink"—*Savary*

they hoped that they should not be brought to an account, and they disbelieved our signs, accusing them of falsehood. But every thing have we computed, and written down. Taste, therefore, we will not add unto you *any other* than torment.^a But for the pious *is prepared* a place of bliss, gardens planted with trees, and vineyards, and *damsels* with swelling breasts, of equal age *with themselves*, and a full cup. They shall hear no vain discourse there nor any falsehood. *This shall be their* recompence from thy LORD, a gift *fully* sufficient *from* the LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatever *is* between them, the Merciful. *The inhabitants of heaven or of earth* shall not dare to demand audience of him the day whereon the spirit *Gabriel* and the other angels shall stand in order, they shall not speak *in behalf of themselves or others*, except he *only* to whom the Merciful shall grant permission, and who shall say that which is right.* This *is* the infallible day. Whoso, therefore, willet, let him return unto his LORD. Verily we threaten you with a punishment nigh at hand the day whereon a man shall behold *the good or evil deeds* which his hands have sent before him, and the unbelievers shall say, Would to GOD I were dust!

CHAPTER LXXIX.

INTITLED THOSE WHO TEAR FORTH, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

By the *angel*, who tear forth *the souls of some* with violence, and by those who draw forth *the souls of others* with gentleness,^a by those who glide swimmingly *through the air with the commands of God* and those who precede and usher *the righteous to paradise*, and those who subordinately govern the affairs of *this world* on a certain day, the disturbing *blast of the trumpet* shall disturb *the universe*, and the subsequent *blast* shall follow it. On that day *men's* hearts shall tremble their looks *shall be* cast down. *The infidels* say, Shall we surely be made to return whence we came?^b After we shall have become rotten bones, *shall we be again raised to life?* They

^a This, say the commentators, is the most severe and terrible sentence in the whole Koran, pronounced against the inhabitants of hell they being hereby assured that every change in their torments will be for the worse.

* In that day Gabriel shall remain standing the angels shall keep their ranks. They shall speak to no one without the permission of the Highest, and they shall say only that which is fitting — *Savary*.

^c These are the angel of death and his assistants who will take the souls of the wicked in a rough and cruel manner, from the inmost part of their bodies as a man drags up a thing from the bottom of the sea, but will take the souls of the good in a gentle and easy manner, from their lips, as when a man draws a bucket of water at one pull.¹

There are several other interpretations of this whole passage some expounding all the five parts of the oath of the stars, others of the souls of men others of the souls of warriors in particular and others of war-horses a detail of which, I apprehend would rather tire than please.

^b & c Shall we be restored to our former condition?

say, This then *will be* a return to loss.* Verily it *will be* but one sounding of the trumpet,² and, behold, they *shall appear alive* on the face of the earth.³ Hath not the story of Moses reached thee? When his LORD called unto him in the holy valley Towā,⁴ saying, Go unto Pharaoh, for he is insolently wicked and say, Hast thou a *desire* to become just and holy, and I will direct thee unto thy LORD, that thou mayest fear to *transgress*. And he showed him the very great sign of the rod turned into a serpent, but he charged Moses with imposture, and rebelled against God. Then he turned back hastily, and he assembled the magicians, and cried aloud, saying, I am your supreme LORD. Wherefore God chastised him with the punishment of the life to come, and also of this present life. Verily herein is an example unto him who feareth to rebel. Are ye more difficult to create, or the heaven which God hath built? He hath raised the height thereof, and hath perfectly formed the same and he hath made the night thereof dark, and hath produced the light thereof. After this, he stretched out the earth,⁵ whence he caused to spring forth the water thereof, and the pasture thereof, and he established the mountains, for the use of yourselves, and of your cattle. When the prevailing the great day shall come, on that day shall a man call to remembrance what he hath purposely done and hell shall be exposed to the view of the spectator. And whoso shall have transgressed, and shall have chosen this present life, verily hell shall be his abode, but whoso shall have dreaded the appearing before his LORD, and shall have refrained his soul from lust, verily paradise shall be his abode. They will ask thee concerning the last hour, when *will be* the fixed time thereof? By what means canst thou give any information of the same? Unto thy LORD *belongeth the knowledge* of the period thereof and thou art only a warner, who fearest the same. The day whereon they shall see the same, it shall seem to them as though they had not tarried in the world longer than an evening, or a morning thereof.[†]

CHAPTER LXXX.

INTITLED, HE FROWNED, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

The prophet frowned, and turned aside, because the blind man came unto him,¹ and how dost thou know whether he shall peradventure be cleansed.

* "Assuredly this resurrection is chimerical."—Savary

² Viz, the second or third blast, according to different opinions

Or they shall appear at the place of judgment. The original word al Sâbira is also one of the names of hell.

³ See chap. 20, p. 256

⁴ Which had been created before the heavens but without expansion.

[†] "It shall seem unto men, as if that they had abode but an evening, or a morning, in the tomb."—Savary

⁵ This passage was revealed on the following occasion. A certain blind man,

from his sins, or whether he shall be admonished, and the admonition shall profit him? *The man* who is wealthy, thou receivest respectfully, whereas *it is not to be charged* on thee, that he is not cleansed but him who cometh unto thee earnestly, seeking *his salvation*, and who feareth God, dost thou neglect. By no means *shouldst thou act thus* Verily the *Korân* is an admonition (and he who is willing retaineth the same,) *written* in volumes honourable, exalted, and pure, by the hands of scribes honoured, and just.^x May man be cursed? What hath seduced him to infidelity? Of what thing doth God create him? Of a drop of seed doth he create him, and he formeth him with proportion, and then facilitateth *his passage out of the womb* afterwards he causeth him to die, and layeth him in the grave, hereafter, when it shall please him, he shall raise him to life. Assuredly, He hath not hitherto fully performed what God hath commanded him. Let man consider his food, *in what manner it is provided*. We pour down water by showers, afterwards we cleave the earth in clefts, and we cause corn to spring forth therein, and grapes, and clover, and the olive, and the palm, and the gardens planted thick with trees, and fruits, and grass, for the use of yourselves and of your cattle. When the stunning sound of the trumpet shall be heard, on that day shall a man fly from his brother, and his mother, and his father, and his wife, and his children. Every man of them, on that day, shall have business of *his own* sufficient to employ *his thoughts*. On that day *the faces of some shall be* bright, laughing, and joyful and upon *the faces of others*, on that day, *shall there be* dust, darkness shall cover them. These are the unbelievers, the wicked.

CHAPTER LXXXI

INTITLED, THE FOLDING UP, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHEN the sun shall be folded up,^y † and when the stars shall fall, and when the mountains shall be made to pass away, and when the camels ten named Abdallah Ebn Omm Mactûm came and interrupted Mohammed while he was engaged in earnest discourse with some of the principal Koreish, whose conversion he had hopes of, but the prophet taking no notice of him, the blind man not knowing he was otherwise busied, raised his voice, and said, *O apostle of God, teach me some part of what God hath taught thee* but Mohammed vexed at this interruption, frowned and turned away from him, for which he is here reprehended. After this, whenever the prophet saw Ebn Omm Mactûm, he showed him great respect, saying, *The man is welcome on whose account my Lord hath reprimanded me*, and he made him twice governor of Medina.^z

^x Being transcribed from the *preserved table*, highly honoured in the sight of God, kept pure and uncorrupted from the hands of evil spirits, and touched only by the angels. Some understand hereby the books of the prophets, with which the *Korân* agrees in substance.⁴

(The Mohammedans are faithful to this precept they transcribe the *Korân* with the greatest exactness, and preserve it with the profoundest veneration).—*Savary*

^y “Perish the wicked! Who hath had the power to render him unfaithful?”—*Savary*

Savary

^z As a garment that is to be laid by

† “When the sun shall be covered with darkness”—*Savary*

³ Jallalo ddin, al Baidâwi.

⁴ Al Zamakh.

months gone with young shall be neglected,^a and when the wild beasts shall be gathered together,^a and when the seas shall boil^b and when the souls shall be joined *again to their bodies*, and when the girl who hath been buried alive shall be asked for what crime she was put to death,^c and when the books shall be laid open, and when the heavens shall be removed,^d and when hell shall burn fiercely, and when paradise shall be brought near, *every* soul shall know what it hath wrought. Verily I swear^e by the stars which are retrograde, which move swiftly, *and* which hide themselves,^f and by the night, when it cometh on, and by the morning, when it appeareth,^g that these *are* the words of an honourable messenger,^g endued with strength, of established dignity in the sight of the possessor of the throne, obeyed *by the angels under his authority*, and faithful and your companion *Mohammed* is not distracted. He had already seen him in the clear horizon^h and he suspected notⁱ the secrets revealed unto him. Neither *are* these the words of an accursed devil.^k Whither, therefore, are you going? This is no other than an admonition unto all creatures, unto him among you who shall be willing to walk uprightly but ye shall not will, unless GOD willeth, the LORD of all creatures.

^a See the Prelim Disc sect iv p 59

^a See *ibid* pp 59 and 61

^b See *ibid* p 59

^c For it was customary among the ancient Arabs to bury their daughters alive as soon as they were born for fear they should be impoverished by providing for them or should suffer disgrace on their account See chap 16 p 218

^d Or plucked away from its place, as *the skin is plucked off* from a camel which is flaying, for that is the proper signification of the verb here used Marracci fancies the passage alludes to that in the Psalms⁴ where, according to the versions of the Septuagint and Vulgate God is said to have *stretched out the heaven like a skin*.

^e Or *I will not swear* &c. See chap 56, p 437 note^d (Savary prefers this reading)

^f Some understand hereby the stars in general, but the more exact commentators five of the planets *viz* the two which accompany the sun, and the three superior planets which have both a retrograde and a direct motion, and hide themselves in the rays of the sun or when they set

^g "By the night, when it spreads its shades, by the dawn, when it expands in new born fires —Savary

^g i. e., Gabriel

^h See chap 53, p 427

ⁱ Some copies, by a change of one letter only instead of *dhananin* read *dantinn*, and then the words should be rendered, *He is not tenacious of, or grudges not to communicate to you the secret revelations* which he has received

^k Who has overheard, by stealth the discourse of the angels The verse is an answer to a calumny of the infidels, who said the Koran was only a piece of divination or magic, for the Arabs suppose the soothsayer or magician, receives his intelligence from those evil spirits who are continually listening to learn what they can from the inhabitants of he. 11

CHAPTER LXXXII

INTITLED, THE CLEAVING IN SUNDER, REVEALED AT MECCA.*

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHEN the heaven shall be cloven in sunder, and when the stars shall be scattered, and when the seas shall be suffered to join their waters, and when the graves shall be turned upside down every soul shall know what it hath committed, and *what* it hath omitted. O man, what hath seduced thee against thy gracious LORD, who hath created thee, and put thee together, and rightly disposed thee? In what form he pleased hath he fashioned thee Assuredly But ye deny the *last* judgment as a falsehood. Verily *there are appointed* over you guardian *angels*,¹ honourable in the sight of God, writing down *your actions*, who know that which ye do The just *shall* surely be in a place of delight but the wicked *shall* surely be in hell, they shall be cast therein to be burned, on the day of judgment, and they *shall* not be absent therefrom *for ever* What shall cause thee to understand what the day of judgment is? Again, What shall cause thee to understand what the day of judgment is? *It is a day* whereon one soul shall not be able to obtain any thing in behalf of *another* soul and the command, on that day, shall be God's.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

INTITLED, THOSE WHO GIVE SHORT MEASURE OR WEIGHT;
REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

Woe be unto those who give short measure or weight who, when they receive by measure from *other* men, take the full, but when they measure unto them, or weigh unto them, defraud! Do not these think they shall be raised again, at the great day, the day whereon mankind shall stand before the LORD of all creatures? By no means.[†] Verily the register of *the actions* of the wicked is surely in Sejjun.^m And what shall make thee

* (Zamakhshari says, that the believer who shall read this chapter shall receive a divine favour for every drop of water which falls from the clouds, and another for each grave upon the face of the earth)—*Savary*

¹ See chap 50, p 421, and the Prelim Disc. sect. iv p 51

[†] "Thou canst not doubt of it"—*Savary*

^m Sejjun is the name of the general register, wherein the actions of all the wicked, both men and geni, are distinctly entered Sejn signifies a *prison* and this book, as some think, derives its name from thence, because it will occasion those whose deeds are there recorded to be *imprisoned* in hell Sejjun or Sayin is also the name of the dungeon beneath the seventh earth the residence of Eblis and his host, where it is supposed, by some, that this book is kept, and where the souls of the wicked will be detained till the resurrection^e If the latter explication be admitted, the words, *And what shall make thee to understand what Sejjun is* should be enclosed within a parenthesis

^e Jallalo ddin, al Beidawi. See the Prelim Disc. sect iv pp 55 56.

to understand what *Sejjin* is? *It is a book distinctly written* Woe be on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture, who denied the day of judgment as a falsehood! and none denieth the same as a falsehood, except every unjust and flagitious person who, when our signs are rehearsed unto him, saith, *They are fables of the ancients.* By no means but rather their lusts have cast a veil over their hearts. By no means Verily they *shall be* shut out from their LORD on that day, and they shall be sent into hell to be burned then shall it be said *unto them by the infernal guards,* This is what ye denied as a falsehood * Assuredly But the register of *the actions of the righteous is* Ilhiyyun ⁿ and what shall cause thee to understand what Ilhiyyun is? *It is a book distinctly written* those who approach near *unto God* are witnesses thereto ^o Verily the righteous *shall dwell* among delights seated on couches they shall behold *objects of pleasure,* thou shalt see in their faces the brightness of joy They shall be given to drink of pure wine, sealed, the seal whereof *shall be* musk ^p and to this let those aspire, who aspire to happiness [†] and the water mixed therewith *shall be* of Tasnim,^q a fountain whereof those shall drink who approach near *unto the divine presence* ^r They who act wickedly laugh the true believers to scorn and when they pass by them, they wink at one another and when they turn aside to their people, they turn aside making scurrilous jests, and when they see them they say, Verily these *are* mistaken men But they are not sent to be keepers over them ^s Wherefore one day the true believers, *in their turn* shall laugh the infidels to scorn ^t *lying* on couches they shall look down upon them in hell Shall not the infidels be rewarded for that which they have done?

* At the day of judgment God shall envelop them in a veil and shall plunge them into hell ^Behold, will he say unto them, the torments which you treated as a chimera! —*Savary*

ⁿ The word is a plural and signifies high places Some say it is the general register wherein the actions of the righteous, whether angels men or geni, are distinctly recorded Others will have it to be a place in the seventh heaven, under the throne of God, where this book is kept, and where the souls of the just as many think will remain till the last day ^r If we prefer the latter opinion, the words *And what shall make thee to understand what Ilhiyyun is* ^p should likewise be enclosed in a parenthesis

^o Or *Are present with* and keep the same

^p The vessels containing the same shall be sealed with musk, instead of clay Some understand by the seal of this wine, its farewell, or the flavour it will leave in the mouth after it is drunk

[†] Let those who aspire to this happiness exert themselves to merit it —*Savary*

^q Tasnim is the name of a fountain in paradise, so called from its being conveyed to the highest apartments

^r For they shall drink the water of Tasnim, pure and unmixed, being continually and wholly employed in the contemplation of God, but the other inhabitants of paradise shall drink it mixed with their wine ^s

^t The infidels are not commissioned by God to call the believers to account, or to judge of their actions.

^u When they shall see them ignominiously driven into hell It is also said that a door shall be shown the damned, opening into paradise, and they shall be bidden to go in, but when they come near the door, it shall suddenly shut, and the believers within shall laugh at them.

CHAPTER LXXXIV

INTITLED, THE RENDING IN SUNDER, REVEALED AT MECCA.*

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

WHEN the heaven shall be rent in sunder, and shall obey its LORD and shall be capable *thereof*, and when the earth shall be stretched out,^y and shall cast forth that which *is* therein,^w and shall remain empty, and shall obey its LORD, and shall be capable *thereof* O man, verily labouring thou labourest to *meet* thy LORD, and thou shalt meet him ^x And he who shall have his book given into his right hand shall be called to an easy account, and shall turn unto his family^y with joy but he who shall have his book given him behind his back^z shall invoke destruction *to fall upon him*, and he shall be sent into hell to be burned, because he rejoiced insolently amidst his family *on earth* Verily he thought he should never return *unto God* yea verily, But his LORD beheld him Wherefore I swear^a by the redness of the sky after sun set, and by the night, and the *animals* which it driveth together,^a and by the moon when she is in the full, ye shall surely be transferred *successively* from state to state ^b What *aileth* them, therefore, that they believe not *the resurrection*, and that, when the Korân is read unto them, they worship not? ^c Yea the unbelievers accuse *the same* of imposture but God well knoweth the *malice* which they keep hidden *in their breasts* Wherefore denounce unto them a grievous punishment, except those who believe and do good works for them *is prepared* a never failing reward

* There are some who take this chapter to have been revealed at Medina

^y Like a skin every mountain and hill being levelled

^w As the treasures hidden in its bowels and the bodies which lie in their graves

^x Or, *And thou shalt meet thy labour*, whether thy works be good, or whether they be evil.

^y ^z His relations or friends, who are true believers or rather, to his wives and servants, of the damsels and youths of paradise who wait to receive him ¹⁰

^a That is, into his left hand, for the wicked will have that hand bound behind their back and their right hand to their neck

^a Or, *I will not swear* See chap 56 p 437 note ^d (Savary adopts this reading)

^b "By the night, and that which it enfoldeth in its shades — Savary

^c ^e From the state of the living, to that of the dead, and from the state of the dead, to a new state of life in another world

Or *humble not themselves*

CHAPTER LXXXV

INTITLED, THE CELESTIAL SIGNS, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

By the heaven *adorned* with signs,^d by the promised day *of judgment*, by the witness, and the witnessed,^e cursed were the contrivers of the pit,^f of fire supplied with fuel, when they sat round the same, and were witnesses of what they did against the true believers,^g and they afflicted them for no other reason, but because they believed in the mighty, the glorious God, unto whom *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth and God *is* witness of all things Verily for those who persecute the true believers of either sex, and afterwards repent not, *is prepared* the torment of hell, and they *shall suffer* the pain of burning^h† But for those who believe, and do that which is right, *are destined* gardens beneath which rivers flow this *shall be* great felicity Verily the vengeance of thy LORD *is* severe He createth, and he restoreth *to life* he *is* inclined to forgive and gracious, the possessor of the glorious throne, who effecteth that which he pleaseth. Hath not the story of the host of Pharaohⁱ and

^d The original word properly signifies *towers* which some interpret of real towers¹ wherein it is supposed the angels keep guard² and others, of the stars of the first magnitude but the generality of expositors understand thereby the twelve signs of the zodiac wherein the planets make their several stations³

^e The meaning of these words is very uncertain and the explications of the commentators consequently vary One thinks *the witness* to be Mohammed, and *that which is borne witness of* to be *the resurrection* or *the professors of the Mohammedan faith* or else that these latter are *the witness* and the professors of every other religion those who will be *witnessed against* by them Another supposes *the witness* to be the *guardian angel* and his charge the person *witnessed against* Another expounds the words of the day of Arafat, the 9th Dhulhajja and of the day of slaying the victims which is the day following or else of Friday the day of the weekly assembling of the Mohammedans at their mosques and of the people who are assembled on those days &c⁴

^f Literally, *the lords of the pit* These were the ministers of the persecution raised by Dhu Nowas, king of Yaman who was of the *Jewish* religion, against the inhabitants of Najrân for they having embraced *Christianity* (at that time the true religion, by the confession of Mohammed himself) the bigoted tyrant commanded all those who would not renounce their faith to be cast into a pit or trench filled with fire, and there burnt to ashes⁵ Others however tell the story with different circumstances⁶

^g "By the signs which are in the heavens by the promised day, by the witness and the day of witnessing⁷ the dwellers of the cavern have perished They kept up there a guilty fire while that they were seated around it, they devised plots against the believers"—*Savary*

^h Or, as some choose to understand the words *And shall be witnesses against themselves at the day of judgment of their unjust treatment of the true believers*

ⁱ Which pain, it is said, the persecutors of the *Christian* martyrs above mentioned felt in this life, the fire bursting forth upon them from the pit, and consuming them⁸

† "Those who have burned the believers of both sexes, and who have not repented thereof shall be plunged into the flames of hell"—*Savary*

¹ See chap 7, p 127

² Yahya. ³ See chap 15, p 210 and chap 72 p 467 ⁴ Jallalo'ddîn, al Beidawî, Yahya. ⁵ Idem ⁶ Idem Vide Poc Spec p 62 Eceheliens, Hist. Arab part 1 c 10, and Priè Life of Mohammed, p 61 ⁷ Vide D Herbel. Bibl Orient. Art Abou Navas ⁸ The day of resurrection ⁹ Al Beidawî, Yahya.

of Thamud[†] reached thee! Yet the unbelievers cease not to accuse *the divine revelations* of falsehood but God encompasseth them behind, *that they cannot escape*. Verily *that which they reject* is a glorious Korân, *the original whereof is written in a table kept in heaven*.¹

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

INTITLED, THE STAR WHICH APPEARED BY NIGHT, REVEALED
AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

By the heaven, and that which appeareth by night but what shall cause thee to understand what that which appeareth by night *is*? *it is the star of piercing brightness* ^{m*} every soul hath a garden set over it Let a man consider, therefore, of what he is created. He is created of seed poured forth, issuing from the loins, and the breast bonesⁿ Verily *God is able to restore him to life*, the day whereon *all secret thoughts and actions shall be examined into*, and he shall have no power to *defend himself*, nor any protector By the heaven which returneth *the rain*,^o and by the earth which openeth to *let forth vegetables and springs* verily this *is a discourse distinguishing good from evil*, and it *is not composed with lightness*. Verily *the infidels are laying a plot to frustrate my designs* but I will lay a plot for *their ruin* Wherefore, *O prophet*, bear with the unbelievers let them alone a while

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

INTITLED, THE MOST HIGH,^p REVEALED AT MECCA.†

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

PRaise the name of thy LORD, the most high, who hath created, and completely formed *his creatures* and who determineth *them to various*

^k See chap 7 p 123

¹ And preserved from the least change or corruption See the Prelim Disc sect. 3, p 46 and sect. 4, p 71

^m Some take the words to signify any bright star without restriction, but others think some particular star or star to be thereby intended which one supposes to be the morning star, (peculiarly called *al Târek* or *the appearing by night*) another *Saturn*, (that planet being by the Arabs surnamed *al Thakeb*, or *the piercing*, as it was by the Greeks, *Phænon* or *the shining*) and the third the *Pleiades*

^{*} By the heaven, and the nocturnal star who shall depict unto thee this star, the fires of which are penetrating? —*Sivary*

ⁿ i. e. From the loins of the man and the breast bones of the woman^o

^o Or as some expound it, *Which performeth its periodic motion, returning to the point from whence it began the same*. The words seem designed to express the alternate returns of the different seasons of the year

^p Some take the first word of this chapter, viz *Praise*, for its title

[†] "The believer who shall read the chapter intitled the most High, shall receive

*ends,*⁴ and duecteth *them to attain the same* ⁵ and who produceth the pasture for *cattle*, and *afterwards* rendereth the same dry stubble of a dusky hue. We will enable thee to rehearse *our revelations,*⁶ and thou shalt not forget *any part thereof*, except what God shall please,⁷ for he knoweth that which is manifest, and that which is hidden. And we will facilitate unto thee the most easy way⁸ Wherefore admonish *thy people*, if *thy* admonition shall be profitable *unto them*. Whoso feareth God, he will be admonished but the most wretched *unbeliever* will turn away therefrom, who shall be cast to be broiled in the greater fire of *hell*, wherein he shall not die, neither shall he live Now hath he attained felicity, who is purified *by faith*, and who remembereth the name of his LORD, and prayeth But ye prefer this present life yet the life to come *is* better, and more durable Verily this *is written* in the ancient books, the books of Abraham and Moses.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII

INTITLED, THE OVERWHELMING,⁹ REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

HATH the news of the overwhelming *day of judgment* reached thee? The countenances of *some*, on that day, *shall be* cast down, labouring and toiling ¹⁰† they shall be cast into scorching fire to be broiled they shall be given to drink of a boiling fountain they shall have no food, but of dry thorns and thistles,¹¹ which shall not fatten, neither shall they satisfy hunger But the countenances of *others*, on that day, *shall be* joyful, well pleased with their *past* endeavour they *shall be* placed in a lofty garden, wherein thou shalt hear no vain discourse therein *shall be* a running fountain

ten celestial gifts for every letter which is contained in the books sent from heaven to Abraham Moses, and Mohammed So say the Mohammedan theologians'—*Savary*

⁴ Determining their various species properties ways of life &c¹

⁵ Guiding the rational by their reason and also by revelation, and the irrational by instinct &c²

⁶ He hath created and perfected his works Eternal wisdom presideth over his decrees —*Savary*

⁷ See chap 75 p 473

⁸ ¹ e Except such revelations as God shall think fit to abrogate and blot out of thy memory See chap 2, p 14 and chap 75 p 473

⁹ To retain the revelations communicated to thee by Gabriel: or as some understand the words, *We will dispose thee to the profession and strict observance of the most easy religion*, that is of *Islam*

¹⁰ This is a name or epithet, of the last day, because it will suddenly overwhelm all creatures with fear and astonishment It is also a name or epithet, of hell fire

¹¹ ¹ e Dragging their chains, and labouring through hell fire as camels labour through mud, &c. Or, *Employing and fatiguing themselves* in what shall not avail them³

† Hath any one depicted unto thee the gloomy veil? Those of whom the countenance shall be covered by it shall be like unto hirelings exhausted by fatigue —*Savary*

¹² Such as the camels eat when green and tender Some take the original word *al Darî* for the name of a thorny tree (*Savary is of this opinion*)

¹ Al Baidāwī.

² Idem

³ Idem

therein *shall be* raised beds, and goblets placed *before them*, and cushions laid in order, and carpets ready spread Do they not consider the camels,^a how they are created, and the heaven, how it is raised, and the mountains, how they are fixed, and the earth how it is extended? Wherefore warn *thy people*, for thou art a warner only thou art not impowered to act with authority over them But whoever shall turn back,^b and disbelieve, GOD shall punish him with the greater punishment *of the life to come* Verily unto us shall they return then shall it be our part to bring them to account.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

INTITLED, THE DAY BREAK, REVEALED AT MECCA *

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

By the day break, and ten nights,^c by that which is double, and that which is single,^d and by the night when it cometh on *is there* not in this an oath formed with understanding? Hast thou not considered how thy LORD dealt with Ad, *the people of Irem*,^e adorned with lofty buildings,^f

^a These animals are of such use or rather necessity in the east that the creation of a species so wonderfully adapted to those countries is a very proper instance, to an Arabian, of the power and wisdom of God

Some however think the *clouds* (which the original word *abl* also signifies) are here intended *the heaven* being mentioned immediately after

^b Or *Except him who shall turn back and be an infidel and God shall also punish him*, &c By which exception some suppose that power is here given to Mohammed to chastise obstinate infidels and apostates

^c Some are of opinion this chapter was revealed at Medina.

^d That is, The ten nights of Dhu lhajja or the tenth of that month, (whence some understand the day break mentioned just before, of the morning of that day or of the preceding) or the nights of the 10th of Moharram or as others rather think the 10th 11th and 12th of Dhu lhajja. All which are days peculiarly sacred among the Mohammedans

^e These words are variously interpreted Some understand thereby all things in general some all created beings (which are said to have been created by pairs or of two kinds¹) and the creator who is single some of the *primum mobile* and the other orbs, some of the constellations and the planets some of the nights before mentioned taken either together or singly and some of the day of slaying the victims, (the 10th of Dhu lhajja,) and of the day of Arafat, which is the day before, &c

^f "By the union and the separation — *Savary*

^e Irem was the name of the territory or city of the Adites, and of the garden mentioned in the next note, which were so called from Irem, or Aram the grandfather of Ad their progenitor Some think Aram himself to be here meant, and his name to be added to signify the ancient Adites his immediate descendants and to distinguish them from the latter tribe of that name ^b but the adjective and relative joined to the word are, in the original of the feminine gender which seems to contradict this opinion

^f Or *pillars* Some imagine these words are used to express the great size and strength of the old Adites ¹ and then they should be translated *who were of enormous stature*. But the more exact commentators take the passage to relate to the sumptuous palace and delightful gardens built and made by Sheddád the son of Ad For they say Ad left two sons, Sheddád and Sheddíd who reigned jointly after his decease, and extended their power over the greater part of the world but Sheddíd dying, his brother became sole monarch, who having heard of the *celestial paradise* made a garden, in imitation thereof, in the deserts of Aden, and called it Irem after the name of his great-grandfather: when it was finished he set out, with a great attendance, to

¹ See chap. 51 p 424

^a Al Zamakh. ^b Al Baidáwí, Jallalo ddin. ^c Ibidem. See the Prelim Disc. p. 8.

the like whereof hath not been erected in the land,⁵ and with Thamud, who hewed the rocks in the valley^h into houses, and with Pharaoh, the contriver of the stakesⁱ who had behaved insolently in the earth, and multiplied corruption therein?^{*} Wherefore thy LORD poured on them various kinds^k of chastisement for thy LORD is surely in a watch-tower, whence he observeth the actions of men. Moreover man, when his LORD trieth him by prosperity, and honoureth him, and is bounteous unto him, saith, My LORD honoureth me, but when he proveth him by afflictions, and withholdeth his provisions from him, he saith, My LORD despiseth me. By no means^l but ye honour not the orphan, neither do ye excite one another to feed the poor, and ye devour the inheritance of the weak,^m with undistinguishing greediness and ye love riches with much affection. By no means should ye do thus[†] When the earth shall be minutely ground to dust, and thy LORD shall come, and the angels rank by rank, and hell, on that day, shall be brought nighⁿ on that day shall man call to remembrance his evil deeds, but how shall remembrance avail him? He shall say, Would to God that I had heretofore done good works in my life-time!^o On that day none shall punish with his punishment, nor shall any bind with his bonds.^p

take a view of it but when they were come within a days journey of the place, they were all destroyed by a terrible noise from heaven. Al Beidawi adds that one Abdallah Ibn Kelabah (whom after D Herbelot I have elsewhere named Colabah^q) accidentally hit upon this wonderful place as he was seeking a camel.

^r If we suppose the preceding words to relate to the vast stature of the Adites, these must be translated *The like of whom have not been created &c*

^s The learned Greaves, in his translation of Abulfeda's description of Arabia⁹ has falsely rendered these words, which are there quoted, *Quibus petrae vallis responsum dederunt* i.e. *To whom the rocks of the valley returned answer*: which slip being made by so great a man I do not at all wonder that la Roque, and Petis de la Croix, from whose Latin version and with whose assistance, la Roque made his French translation of the aforesaid treatise have been led into the same mistake, and rendered those words *A qui les pierres de la vallée redirent reponses*¹ The valley here meant, say the commentators² is Wadikora lying about one days journey³ (not five and upwards, as Abu lfeda will have it,) from al Hajar

¹ See chap 38 p 372

^{*} Art thou ignorant how God took vengeance on the Adites on the Iremites, whose stature equalled the height of columns, (the earth never bore men like unto them) on the Thamuds who hewed the rocks into valleys and on Pharaoh, who, surrounded by a splendid court, ruled Egypt haughtily"—Savary

^k The original word signifies a mixture and also a scourge of platted thongs: whence some suppose the chastisement of this life is here represented by a scourge, and intimated to be as much lighter than that of the next life, as scourging is lighter than death⁴

^l For worldly prosperity or adversity is not a certain mark either of the favour or disfavour of God

^m Not suffering women or young children to have any share in the inheritance of their husbands or parents See chap 4 p 60

[†] Are not these your faults?"—Savary

ⁿ There is a tradition that at the last day hell will be dragged towards the tribunal by 70 000 halters, each halter being hauled by 70,000 angels; and that it will come with great roaring and fury⁵

^o Or For this my latter life

^p i.e. None shall be able to punish or to bind, as God shall then punish and bind the wicked.⁶

⁹ Prelim. Disc p 5 ⁹ Page 23 It was published by Dr Hudson, in the third vol of the *Geographia veteris Scriptor Gr minor* ¹ Descr de l'Arabie, mise à la suite du Voyage de la Palestine, par La Roque, p 85 ² Jallal, al Beidawi ³ Ebn Hawkal, apud Abulf ubi sub Geogr Nub p 110 ⁴ Al Beidawi. ⁵ Al Beidawi al Jallal. ⁶ Ibidem.

O thou soul which art at rest,^q return unto thy LORD, well pleased *with thy reward*, and well pleasing *unto God* enter among my servants, and enter my paradise.

CHAPTER XC.

INTITLED, THE TERRITORY, REVEALED AT M' CCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

I SWEAR^r by this territory,^s (and thou, *O prophet*, residest in this territory,^{††}) and by the begetter, and that which he hath begotten,^u verily we have created man in misery^x Doth he think that none shall prevail over him?^y He saith, I have wasted plenty of riches^z Doth he think that none seeth him? Have we not made him two eyes, and a tongue, and two lips, and shown him the two highways *of good and evil*? Yet he attempteth not the cliff What shall make thee to understand what the cliff is? ‡ *It is to free the captive, or to feed, in the day of famine, the orphan who is of kin, or the poor man who lieth on the ground Whoso doth this, and is one of those who believe, and recommend perseverance unto each other, and recommend mercy unto each other, these shall be the companions of the right hand.*^a But they who shall disbelieve our signs shall be the companions of the left hand^b above them *shall be arched fire*

^q Some expound this of the soul which having, by pursuing the concatenation of natural causes, raised itself to the knowledge of that Being which produced them, and exists of necessity *rests* fully contented or *acquiesces* in the knowledge of him, and the contemplation of his perfections By this the reader will observe that the Mohammedans are no strangers to *Quietism* (Others however understand the words of the soul which having attained the knowledge of the truth *rests* satisfied, and *reposes securely* thereon, undisturbed by doubts, or of the soul which is *secure* of its salvation and free from fear or sorrow⁷

* "The faithful who shall read this chapter devoutly says Zamakhshari, shall enjoy the protection of heaven at the day of resurrection, God will give them a safe guard against his wrath — *Savary*

Or *I will not swear &c* See chap 56, p 437, note ^d (*Savary* prefers this reading)

^r *Viz* the sacred territory of Mecca

^s Or *Thou shalt be allowed to do what thou pleasest in this territory*, the words in this sense importing a promise of that absolute power which Mohammed attained on the taking of Mecca⁶

[†] "It is thy asylum" — *Savary*

^u Some understand these words generally others of Adam or Abraham, and of their offspring and of Mohammed in particular⁹

^x Or, *to trouble*. This passage was revealed to comfort the prophet under the persecutions of the Koreish¹

^y Some expositors take a particular person to be here intended who was one of Mohammed's most inveterate adversaries as al Walid Ebn al Mogheira² others suppose Abu'l Ashadd Ebn Calda to be the man who was so very strong, that a large skin being spread under his feet, and ten men pulling at it, they could not make him fall, though they tore the skin to pieces³

^z In a vain and ostentatious manner, or, in opposing of Mohammed.⁴

[†] "We have made him experience the one and the other fortune But we have not put him to the last proof. What is that proof?" — *Savary*

^a See chap 56, p 435.

^b See *ibid*

⁷ Al Beidawi
Idem.

⁸ Idem.

⁹ Idem

¹ Idem

² Al Zamakh.

³ Al Beidawi.

CHAPTER XCI.

INTITLED THE SUN, REVEALED AT MECCA *

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

By the Sun, and its rising brightness, † by the moon, when she followeth him, ° by the day, when it showeth his splendour, by the night, when it covereth him with darkness, ‡ by the heaven, and him who built it, by the earth, and him who spread it forth, by the soul, and him who completely formed it, and inspired into the same its *faculty of distinguishing and power of choosing*, wickedness and piety now is he who hath purified the same, happy, but he who hath corrupted the same, is miserable. Thamud accused *their prophet Saleh* of imposture, through the excess of their wickedness when the wretch ^d among them was sent to *slay the camel*, and the apostle of God said unto them, *Let alone the camel of God, and hinder not her drinking*. But they charged him with imposture, and they slew her. Wherefore their Lord destroyed them, for their crime, and made *their punishment equal unto them all* and he feareth not the issue thereof.

CHAPTER XCII.

ENTITLED THE NIGHT, REVEALED AT MECCA §

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

By the night, when it covereth *all things* with darkness, by the day when it shineth forth, || by his who hath created the male and the female verily your endeavour is different ¶ Now whoso is obedient and feareth God, ** and professeth the truth of that *faith* which is most excellent, unto him will we facilitate *the way* to happiness but whoso shall be covetous, and shall be wholly taken up *with this world*, and shall deny the truth of that which is most excellent, unto him will we facilitate *the way* to misery,

* "The Mohammedan says Zamakhshari who shall devoutly read this chapter shall be rewarded as if he had bestowed in alms all that the sun and the moon enlighten in their course"—*Savary*

† "By the sun, and its brilliant fires"—*Savary*

‡ "When she rises just after him, as she does at the beginning of the month: or when she sets after him, as happens when she is a little past the full"

° "By the night, which covereth his luminous countenance"—*Savary*

^d *Viz*, Kedar Ebn Salef See chap 7 p 124 and chap 54, p 430

§ "God will fulfil all the desires of the faithful who shall read this chapter, he will mitigate for them the troubles of life, and will crown all their undertakings with success Such is the opinion of the Mohammedan theologians"—*Savary*

|| "By the day when it shineth with the purest radiance"—*Savary*

¶ "Your zeal shall have a different success"—*Savary*

** "He who giveth alms and who feareth God."—*Savary*

and his riches shall not profit him, when he shall fall headlong *into hell*. Verily unto us *appertaineth* the direction of *mankind* and ours is the life to come, and the present life. Wherefore I threaten you with fire which burneth fiercely, which none shall enter to be burned except the most wretched, who shall have disbelieved, and turned back. But he who strictly bewareth *idolatry and rebellion* shall be removed far from the same, who giveth his substance in alms, and by whom no benefit is bestowed on any, that it may be recompensed, but *who bestoweth the same* for the sake of his LORD, the most High,* and hereafter he shall be well satisfied with his reward †

CHAPTER XCIII.

INTITLED, THE BRIGHTNESS, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

By the brightness of the morning, † and by the night, when it groweth dark ‡ thy LORD hath not forsaken thee, neither doth he hate thee. § Verily the life to come shall be better for thee than this present life and thy LORD shall give thee a reward wherewith thou shalt be well pleased. Did he not find thee an orphan, and hath he not taken care of thee? And did he not find thee wandering in error, and hath he not guided thee into the truth? And did he not find thee needy, and hath he not enriched thee? Wherefore oppress not the orphan neither repulse the beggar. but declare the goodness of thy LORD

* Jallalo ddin thinks this whole description belongs peculiarly to Abu Becr: for when he had purchased Belâl, the Ethiopian (afterwards the prophet's Muedhdhin, or crier to prayers), who had been put to the rack on account of his faith, the infidels said he did it only out of a view of interest, upon which this passage was revealed

† "The pious man shall dwell in a far different abode. He made the sacrifice of that which he possessed, that he might become more pure. He never allowed a benefit to remain unrecompensed. To please God was his sole desire. The enjoyment of paradise shall constitute his felicity"—Savary

‡ The original word properly signifies the bright part of the day, when the sun shines full out, three or four hours after it is risen

† "By the sun in his meridian splendour, by the shades of night."—Savary

§ It is related, that no revelation having been vouchsafed to Mohammed for several days in answer to some questions put to him by the Koreish, because he had confidently promised to resolve them the next day, without adding the exception, *If it please God*, or because he had repulsed an importunate beggar, or else because a dead puppy lay under his seat, or for some other reason, his enemies said that God had left him: whereupon this chapter was sent down for his consolation.

* See chap. 18, p. 240

† Al Baidawi, Jallalo'ddin.

CHAPTER XCIV

INTITLED, HAVE WE NOT OPENED, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

HAVE we not opened thy breast, *¹ and eased thee of thy burden,[†] which galled thy back, and raised thy reputation for thee? Verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease.[‡] Verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease. When thou shalt have ended thy preaching, labour to serve God in return for his favours[§] and make thy supplication unto thy LORD

CHAPTER XCV

INTITLED, THE FIG WHERE IT WAS REVEALED IS DISPUTED

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

BY the fig and the olive,^m and by mount Sinai, and this territory of security,[‡] verily we created man of a most excellent fabric, afterwards we rendered him the vilest of the vile^o except those who believe, and work

* "Have we not expanded thy heart" — *Savary*

¹ By disposing and enlarging it to receive the truth, and wisdom, and prophecy, or by freeing thee from uneasiness and ignorance? This passage is thought to intimate the opening of Mohammed's heart, in his infancy, or when he took his journey to heaven by the angel Gabriel, who, having wrung out the black drop or seed of original sin washed and cleansed the same and filled it with wisdom and faith² but some think it relates to the occasion of the preceding chapter³

² ³ ⁴ Of thy sins committed before thy mission, or of thy ignorance or trouble of mind

[†] "By the side of pain is pleasure by the side of misfortune is happiness" — *Savary*

¹ Or When thou shalt have finished thy prayer labour in preaching the faith¹⁰

^m God say the commentators swear by these two fruits because of their great uses and virtues for the fig is wholesome and easy of digestion and physically good to carry off phlegm and gravel in the kidneys or bladder and to remove obstructions of the liver and spleen and also cures the piles and the gout &c, the olive produces oil which is not only excellent to eat, but otherwise useful for the compounding of ointments¹ the wood of the olive tree moreover is good for cleansing the teeth preventing their growing rotten and giving a good odour to the mouth, for which reason the prophets and Mohammed in particular, made use of no other for toothpicks²

Some however suppose that these words do not mean the fruits or trees above mentioned but two mountains in the Holy Land, where they grow in plenty, or else the temple of Damascus and that at Jerusalem³

[‡] And this faithful land — *Savary*

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righteousness, for they shall receive an endless reward. What, therefore, shall cause thee to deny the *day of judgment after this?*^p Is not God the most wise judge?^q

CHAPTER XCVL

INTITLED, CONGEALED BLOOD REVEALED AT MECCA^r

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

READ, in the name of thy LORD, who hath created *all things*, who hath created man of congealed blood.[†] Read, by thy most beneficent LORD,^{*} who taught the use of the pen, who teacheth man that which he knoweth not. Assuredly Verily man becometh insolent, because he seeth himself abound in riches.[‡] Verily unto thy LORD *shall be the return of all*. What thinkest thou *as to him* who forbiddeth *our servant*, when he prayeth?[§] What thinkest thou, if he follow the *right direction*, or command piety?[¶] What thinkest thou, if he accuse *the divine revelations* of falsehood, and turn his back? Doth he not know that GOD *seeth*? Assuredly Verily, if he forbear *not*, we will drag him by the forelock,[‡] the lying, sinful forelock. And let him call his council[¶] *to his assistance* we also will call the *mighty guards to cast him into hell*. Assuredly Obey him not but *continue to adore God* and draw nigh *unto him*.

the perfect state of happiness wherein man was originally created and his fall from thence, in consequence of Adam's disobedience to a state of misery in this world, and becoming liable to one infinitely more miserable in the next.^b

^p Some suppose these words directed to Mohammed and others to man in general, by way of apostrophe.

^q "Is not the Eternal the most equitable of judges! —Savary

^r The first five verses of this chapter ending with the words *Who taught man that which he knew not* are generally allowed to be the first passage of the Koran which was revealed though some give this honour to the seventy fourth chapter, and others to the first the next they say being the sixty eighth.

^s All men being created of thick or congealed blood,^b except only Adam, Eve and Jesus.[†]

[†] "He formed man by the union of the sexes. —Savary

^{*} These words containing a repetition of the command are supposed to be a reply to Mohammed who in answer to the former words spoken by the angel had declared that he could not read being perfectly illiterate and intimate a promise that God, who had inspired man with the art of writing would graciously remedy this defect in him.^c

[‡] The commentators agree the remaining part of the chapter to have been revealed against Abu Jahl Mohammed's great adversary.

[§] For Abu Jahl threatened that if he caught Mohammed in the act of adoration, he would set his foot on his neck but when he came and saw him in that posture, he suddenly turned back as in a fright and being asked what was the matter said, there was a ditch of fire between himself and Mohammed, and a terrible appearance of troops, to defend him.^d

[¶] "What thinkest thou of him who disturbeth the servant of the Lord when he prayeth, when he accomplisheth the command of Heaven, when he exhorteth to piety? —Savary

[‡] See chap. II, p. 181 note ^m

[¶] The council or assembly of the principal Meccans, the far greater part of whom adhered to Abu Jahl.

^b Vide Marracc. in loc. p. 809. Beidawi. ^c Idem.

^d See chap. 22, p. 274.

[†] Yahya.

^{*} A

CHAPTER XXVII

INTITLED, AL KADR, WHERE IT WAS REVEALED IS DISPUTED

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

VERILY we sent down *the Korân* in the night of al Kadr^a. And what shall make thee understand *how excellent* the night of al Kadr is? The night of al Kadr is better than a thousand months. Therein do the angels descend, and the spirit *Gabriel* also, by the permission of their LORD, *with his decrees* concerning every matter^b. It is peace until the rising of the morn.

CHAPTER XXVIII

INTITLED, THE EVIDENCE, WHERE IT WAS REVEALED IS DISPUTED

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THE unbelievers among those to whom the scriptures were given, and among the idolaters, did not stagger,^d until the *clear evidence*^e had come unto them: an apostle from GOD, rehearsing unto them pure books of revelations wherein are contained right discourses. Neither were they unto whom the scriptures were given divided among themselves, until after the

The word al Kadr signifies *power* and *honour* or *dignity* and also the *divine decree*: and the night is so named either from its excellence above all other nights in the year: or because as the Mohammedans believe, the *divine decrees* for the ensuing year are annually on this night fixed and settled, or taken from the *preserved table* by God's throne and given to the angels to be executed¹. On this night Mohammed received his first revelations, when the Korân, say the commentators, was sent down from the aforesaid table entire and in one volume, to the lowest heaven from whence Gabriel revealed it to Mohammed by parcels, as occasion required.

The Moslem doctors are not agreed where to fix the night al Kadr: the greater part are of opinion that it is one of the ten last nights of Ramadân, and as is commonly believed the seventh of those nights reckoning backwards, by which means it will fall between the twenty third and twenty fourth days of that month².

^b See the preceding note, and chap. 44. p. 402.

^c 'It was consecrated by the coming of angels and of the spirit (Gabriel). They obeyed the orders of the Eternal and brought laws concerning every matter'—*Savary*.

^d 'The virtuous Mohammedans (say the Mussulman theologians), who shall read the chapter of the Evidence, shall at the day of the resurrection, be placed among the most excellent of the creatures which have been pardoned by the hand of the Eternal'—*Savary*.

^e Some intitle this chapter from the first words, *Did not*.

^f 'e Did not waver in their religion: or in their promises to follow the truth, when an apostle should come unto them. For the commentators pretend that before the appearance of Mohammed, the Jews and Christians, as well as the worshippers of idols, unanimously believed and expected the coming of that prophet, until which time they declared they would persevere in their respective religions, and then would follow him: but when he came, they rejected him through envy.'

^g *Viz* Mohammed, or the Korân.

¹ See chap. 44, p. 402.

² Al Zamakh., al Jallalo'ddin.

³ *Ibidem*.

clear evidence had come unto them^f And they were commanded no other *in the scriptures* than to worship God, exhibiting unto him the pure religion, and being orthodox, and to be constant at prayer, and to give alms^g and this is the right religion. Verily those who believe not, among those who have received the scriptures, and among the idolaters, *shall be cast* into the fire of hell, to remain therein *for ever* These are the worst of creatures.* But they who believe, and do good works, these are the best of creatures their reward with their LORD *shall be* gardens of perpetual abode, through which rivers flow, they shall remain therein for ever GOD will be well pleased in them, and they shall be well pleased in him. This *is prepared* for him who shall fear his LORD.

CHAPTER XCIX.

INTITLED, THE EARTHQUAKE, WHERE IT WAS REVEALED IS DISPUTED

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHEN the earth shall be shaken by an earthquake,^h and the earth shall cast forth her burdens,ⁱ and a man shall say, What aileth her?† On that day *the earth* shall declare her tidings, for that thy LORD will inspire her^k On that day men shall go forward in distinct classes, that they may behold their works. And whoever shall have wrought good of the weight of an ant,^l shall behold the same. And whoever shall have wrought evil of the weight of an ant, shall behold the same.

^f But when the promised apostle was sent, and the truth became manifest to them, they withstood the clearest conviction, differing from one another in their opinions, some believing and acknowledging Mohammed to be the prophet foretold in the scriptures, and others denying it^g

^g But these divine precepts in the law and the gospel have they corrupted, changed, and violated.^h

^h "They are the most perverse of mankind"—*Savary*

ⁱ This earthquake will happen at the first, or, as others say, at the second blast of the trumpet.^j

^j *Viz.*, the treasures and dead bodies within it^k

† "Man shall say, What a spectacle! —*Savary*

^k : e Will inform all creatures of the occasion of her trembling, and casting forth her treasures and her dead, by the circumstances which shall immediately attend them Some say the earth will, at the last day, be miraculously enabled to speak, and will give evidence of the actions of her inhabitants^l

^l See chap 4, p 65, note x

^g Al Zamakh., al Beidawi, Jallalo ddin Beidawi See the Prelim. Disc sect iv p 59

^h Idem.

ⁱ Al Zamakh., al

^j See chap 84, p. 484.

^k Al Beidawi See the Prelim Disc. sect. iv p. 68.

CHAPTER CL

INTITLED, THE WAR-HORSES WHICH RUN SWIFTLY, WHERE IT WAS
REVEALED IS DISPUTED

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

By the *war-horses* which run swiftly to the battle, with a panting noise, and by those which strike fire, by dashing *their hoofs against the stones*, and by those which make a sudden incursion on the enemy early in the morning, and therein raise the dust, and therein pass through the midst of the *adverse* troops ^m verily man is ungrateful unto his LORD,* and he is witness thereof and he is immoderate in the love of *worldly* good. Doth he not know, therefore, when that which is in the graves shall be taken forth, and that which is in men's breasts shall be brought to light, that their LORD will, on that day, be fully informed concerning them?

CHAPTER CI

INTITLED, THE STRIKING, REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THE striking ¹ What is the striking? And what shall make thee to understand how *terrible* the striking will be? On that day men shall be like moths scattered abroad,† and the mountains shall become like carded wool of various colours *driven by the wind*. Moreover he whose balance shall be heavy *with good works*, shall lead a pleasing life but as to him whose balance shall be light, his dwelling shall be the pit of hell°. What shall make thee to understand how *frightful* the pit of hell is? It is a burning fire.‡

^m Some will have it that not horses, but the camels which went to the battle of Bedr are meant in this passage°. Others interpret all the parts of the oath of the human soul ¹⁰ but their explications seem a little forced, and therefore I choose to omit them

^{*} "By those who in the morning are exercised in running who make the dust fly under their rapid feet who pass through the hostile battalions, verily man is ungrateful unto the Lord"—*Savary*

[°] This is one of the names or epithets given to the last day, because it will *strike the hearts of all creatures with terror*¹

† "Day of calamities! Terrible day! Who is able to depict it unto thee? In that day men shall be like unto scattered locusts"—*Savary*

[°] The original word *Hāwiyat* is the name of the lowest dungeon of hell, and probably signifies a deep pit or gulf.

‡ Who shall give unto thee an idea of the abyss? It is the most devouring of fires —*Savary*

[°] Ya'ya, ex trad. Alī Ebn Abī Taleb ¹⁰ Al Beidāwī ¹ A Beidāwī, Jallāl'oddin.

CHAPTER CIII.

INTITLED, THE EMULOUS DESIRE OF MULTIPLYING; WHERE IT
WAS REVEALED IS DISPUTED *

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THE emulous desire of multiplying *riches and children* employeth you until ye visit the graves.^p By no means *should ye thus employ your time* hereafter shall ye know *your folly* Again, By no means hereafter shall ye know *your folly* By no means if ye knew *the consequence hereof* with certainty of knowledge, *ye would not act thus* Verily ye shall see hell again, ye shall surely see it with the eye of certainty Then shall ye be examined, on that day, concerning the pleasures *with which ye have amused yourselves in this life.*[†]

CHAPTER CIII.

INTITLED, THE AFTERNOON, REVEALED AT MECCA.‡

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

BY the afternoon,^q verily man *employeth himself in that which will prove of loss* except those who believe, and do that which is right, and who mutually recommend the truth, and mutually recommend perseverance unto each other

* (The believer who shall read this chapter (say the Mohammedan expositors) shall be rewarded as if he had read a thousand verses of the Koran, and God shall not demand of him an account of the benefits which he has received in this life) —
Savary

^p & Until ye die According to the exposition of some commentators the words should be rendered thus *The contending or vying in numbers wholly employeth you so that ye visit even the graves* to number the dead to explain which they relate that there was a great dispute and contention between the descendants of Abd Menáf and the descendants of Sahm, which of the two families were the more numerous, and it being found on calculation that the children of Abd Menáf exceeded those of Sahm, the Sahmites said that their numbers had been much diminished by wars in the time of ignorance, and insisted that the dead as well as the living should be taken into the account, and by this way of reckoning they were found to be more than the descendants of Abd Menáf²

† The care of heaping up occupieth you until ye descend into the tomb! Alas! one day ye will know! Alas! I repeat it to you your eyes will one day be opened Ah! if ye but certainly knew! Ye will see the gulfs of hell; ye will see them opened! Then must ye give an account of your pleasures"—*Savary*

‡ (He who shall read this chapter shall experience the indulgence of the Lord, and shall be reckoned in the number of the faithful who have made truth and patience a law to themselves) —*Savary*

^q Or the time from the sun's declination to his setting, which is one of the five appointed times of prayer The original word also signifies *The age, or time* in general.

² Al Zamakh al Beidawi, Jallalo ddin.

CHAPTER CIV

INTITLED, THE SLANDERER, REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WOE unto every slanderer *and* backbiter ^r who heapeth up riches, and prepareth the same *for the time to come!* He thinketh that his riches will render him immortal By no means. He shall surely be cast into Al Hotama.^s And who shall cause thee to understand what Al Hotama is? *It is* the kindled fire of God,^t which shall mount above the hearts of those who shall be cast therein Verily it *shall be as* an archer vault above them on columns of vast extent.

CHAPTER CV

INTITLED, THE ELEPHANT, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

HAST thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the masters of the elephant?^u Did he not make their treacherous design an occasion of

^r This passage is said to have been revealed against al Akhnas Ebn Shoreik, or al Walid Ebn al Mogheira, or Omeyya Lbn Khalif, who were all guilty of slandering others, and especially the prophet ^s

^s Al Hotama is one of the names of hell, or the name of one of its apartments,^t which is so called because it will *break in pieces* whatever shall be thrown into it

^t And therefore shall not be extinguished by any ^u

^u This chapter relates to the following piece of history, which is famous among the Arabs Abraha Ebn al Sabah, surnamed al Ashram i.e. the *slit nosed*, king or viceroy of Yan'an who was an Ethiopian,⁶ and of the *Christian* religion having built a magnificent church at San'aa, with a design to draw the Arabs to go in pilgrimage thither instead of visiting the temple of Mecca, the Koreish observing the devotion and concourse of the pilgrims at the Caaba began considerably to diminish, sent one Nofail as he is named by some, of the tribe of Kenanah, who, getting into the aforesaid church by night, defiled the altar and walls thereof with his excrements At this profanation Abraha being highly incensed vowed the destruction of the Caaba and accordingly set out against Mecca at the head of a considerable army wherein were several elephants, which he had obtained of the king of Ethiopia, their number being as some say, thirteen though others mention but one The Meccans at the approach of so considerable a host, retired to the neighbouring mountains being unable to defend their city or temple but God himself undertook the protection of both For when Abraha drew near to Mecca, and would have entered it the elephant on which he rode, which was a very large one, and named Mahmud refused to advance any nigher to the town, but knelt down whenever they endeavoured to force him that way, though he would rise and march briskly enough if they turned him towards any other quarter and while matters were in this posture, on a sudden a large flock of birds, like swallows, came flying from the sea coast every one of which carried three stones one in each foot, and one in its bill, and these stones they threw down upon the heads of Abraha's men, certainly killing every one they struck Then God sent a flood, which swept the dead bodies, and some of those who had not been struck with the stones, into the sea: the rest fled towards Yaman, but perished by the way, none of them reaching San'aa, except only Abraha himself, who died soon after his arrival there, being struck with a sort

^s Al Zamakh., al Beidawi, Jallalo ddin
Al Beidawi

^t See the Prelim Disc, pp 7, 8

^u See Prelim Disc. sect iv p 63

drawing them into error,* and send against them flocks of birds, which cast down upon them stones of baked clay,* and render them like the leaves of corn eaten by cattle?†

of plague or putrefaction, so that his body opened, and his limbs rotted off by piecemeal. It is said that one of Abrahah's army, named Abu Yacsûm, escaped over the Red Sea into Ethiopia, and going directly to the king, told him the tragical story and upon that prince asking him what sort of birds they were, that had occasioned such a destruction the man pointed to one of them, which had followed him all the way, and was at that time hovering directly over his head, when immediately the bird let fall the stone and struck him dead at the king's feet.⁷

This remarkable defeat of Abrahah happened in the very year Mohammed was born, and as this chapter was revealed before the Hejra, and within fifty four years, at least after it came to pass, when several persons, who could have detected the lie, had Mohammed forged this story out of his own head, were alive, it seems as if there was really something extraordinary in the matter, which might, by adding some circumstances, have been worked up into a miracle to his hands. Marracci⁸ judges the whole to be either a fable or else a feat of some evil spirits, of which he gives a parallel instance, as he thinks, in the strange defeat of Brennus, when he was marching to attack the temple of Apollo at Delphi.⁹ Dr Prideaux directly charges Mohammed with coining this miracle, notwithstanding he might have been so easily disproved, and supposes, without any foundation, that this chapter might not have been published till Othman's edition of the Koran,¹ which was many years after, when all might be dead who could remember any thing of the above-mentioned war.² But Mohammed had no occasion to coin such a miracle himself, to gain the temple of Mecca any greater veneration the Meccans were but too superstitiously fond of it, and obliged him, against his inclinations and original design, to make it the chief place of his new invented worship. I cannot, however, but observe Dr Prideaux's partiality on this occasion, compared with the favourable reception he gives to the story of the miraculous overthrow of Brennus and his army which he concludes in the following words "Thus was God pleased in a very extraordinary manner to execute his vengeance upon those sacrilegious wretches for the sake of religion in general, how false and idolatrous soever that particular religion was, for which that temple at Delphos was erected."³ If it be answered, that the Gauls believed the religion, to the devotions of which that temple was consecrated to be true, (though that be not certain) and therefore it was an impiety in them to offer violence to it, whereas Abrahah acknowledged not the holiness of the Caaba, or the worship there practised, I reply, That the doctor, on occasion of Cambyzes being killed by a wound he accidentally received in the same part of the body where he had before mortally wounded the Apis, or bull worshipped by the Egyptians, whose religion and worship that prince most certainly believed to be false and superstitious makes the same reflection "The Egyptians says he, "reckoned this as an especial judgment from heaven upon him for that fact, and perchance they were not much out in it for it seldom happening in an affront given to any mode of worship, how erroneous soever it may be, but that religion is in general wounded hereby there are many instances in history, wherein God hath very signally punished the profanations of religion in the worst of times, and under the worst modes of heathen idolatry."⁴

* "Did he not turn their perfidiousness to their own ruin?"—*Savary*

† These stones were of the same kind with those by which the Sodomites were destroyed,⁵ and were no bigger than vetches, though they fell with such force as to pierce the helmet and the man through, passing out at his fundament. It is said also that on each stone was written the name of him who was to be slain by it.

† "The perfidious were rendered like the leaves of the harvest which hath been reaped"—*Savary*

⁷ Al Zamakh., al Beidâwî, Jallalo ddin, Abulf Hist Gen &c See *Prid Life of Moh.* p 61, &c., and D Herbel, *Bibl Orient.* Art Abrahah ⁸ *Refut. in Alcor* p 823 ⁹ See *Prid Connection*, part II book 1, p 25, and the authors there quoted

¹ See the *Prelim Disc* sect iii ² *Prid Life of Moh* v p 63, 64 ³ *Prid. Connection* in the place above cited ⁴ *Ibid* part I book 3 p 173 ⁵ See chap 11 p 184

CHAPTER CVI.

INTITLED KOREISH, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

FOR the uniting of *the tribe of Koreish*,^w their uniting in *sending forth the caravan of merchants and purveyors*^x in winter and summer, ^{*} let them serve the LORD of this house, who suppleth them with food against hunger,^y and hath rendered them secure from fear ^z

CHAPTER CVII.

INTITLED, NECESSARIES, WHERE IT WAS REVEALED IS DISPUTED †

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHAT thinkest thou of him who denieth the *future* judgment as a falsehood? *It is* he who pusheth away the orphan,^a and stirreth not up

^w Some connect these words with the following and suppose the natural order to be, *Let them serve the Lord of this house for the uniting* &c Others connect them with the preceding chapter, and take the meaning to be, that God had so destroyed the army of Abraha *for the uniting of the Koreish* &c And this last opinion is confirmed by one copy, mentioned by al Beidâwî wherein this and the preceding make but one chapter It may not be amiss to observe that the tribe of Koreish the most noble among all the Arabians and of which was Mohammed himself, were the posterity of Fehr, surnamed Koreish the son of Malec, the son of al Nadr who was descended in a right line from Ismael Some writers say that al Nadr bore the surname of Koreish but the more received opinion is that it was his grandson Fehr who was so called because of his intrepid boldness, the word being a diminutive of *harsh* which is the name of a sea monster very strong and daring, though there be other reasons given for its imposition ^z

^{*} It was Hashem the great grandfather of Mohammed, who first appointed the two yearly caravans here mentioned ^y one of which set out in the winter for Yaman, and the other in summer for Syria ^z

^x "It importeth the safety of commerce during the winter and the summer"
—*Savary*

^y By means of the aforesaid caravans of purveyors or, *who supplied them with food in time of famine*, which those of Mecca had suffered ^z

^z By delivering them from Abraha and his troops, or, by making the territory of Mecca a place of security

† "God saith Zamakhsharî will blot out the sins of the believer who shall read this chapter, provided that he have been punctual in obeying the precept of alms ^{*}

—*Savary*

^{*} The person here intended, according to some was Abu Jahl, who turned away an orphan, to whom he was guardian, and who came to him naked, and asked for some relief out of his own money Some say it was Abu Sofian who having killed a camel, when an orphan begged a piece of the flesh, beat him away with his staff, and others think it was al Walid Ebn al Mogheira, &c

^w Vide Gagner, Vie de Mohammed, tom 1, pp 44, 46 ^y See the Prelim.
Disc. p 3 ^z Al Zamakh, Jallalo dîn, al Beidâwî. ^z Idem.

others to feed the poor Woe be unto those who pray, *and* who are negligent at their prayer. who play the hypocrites, and deny necessities ^b to the needy *

CHAPTER CVIII.

INTITLED AL CAWTHAR, REVEALED AT MECCA.*

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

VERILY we have given thee al Cawthar ^d Wherefore pray unto thy LORD, and slay *the victims* ^e Verily he who hateth thee shall be childless.†

^b The original word al Maṭn properly signifies utensils, or whatever is of necessary use as a hatchet a pot, a dish, and a needle, to which some add a bucket and a hand mill, or according to a tradition of Ayesha, fire, water, and salt, and this signification it bore in the time of ignorance, but since the establishment of the Mohammedan religion, the word has been used to denote alms, either legal, or voluntary which seems to be the true meaning in this place

* ' Hast thou remarked the unbeliever who denieth the day of judgment? It is he who devoureth the substance of the orphan He thinketh not of feeding the poor Woe to the hypocrites They pray negligently, and only from ostentation They refuse to stretch out a succouring hand unto their fellow creatures —Savary

^c There are some, however, who think it to have been revealed at Medina

^d This word signifies abundance especially of good, and thence the gift of wisdom and prophecy the Korān, the office of intercessor &c. Or it may imply abundance of children, followers, and the like It is generally however, expounded of a river in paradise of that name whence the water is derived into Mohammed's pond of which the blessed are to drink before their admission into that place ¹ According to a tradition of the prophet s, this river wherein his Lord promised him abundant good, is sweeter than honey, whiter than milk cooler than snow, and smoother than cream its banks are of chrysolites, and the vessels to drink thereof of silver, and those who drink of it shall never thirst ²

Euthymius Zigabenus ³ instead of Cauthar reading Canthur, supposes the word to have the same signification in Arabic as in Greek and translates the two first verses of the chapter thus Ημῖς δίδωμεν σοι τον καθαρον, και θυξαι προς τον κυριον σου, και σφαξον We have given thee the beetle, wherefore pray unto thy Lord and slay it, and then he cries out, O wonderful and magnificent sacrifice, worthy of the legislator!

^e Which are to be sacrificed at the pilgrimage, in the valley of Mina Al Beidāwī explains the words thus Pray with fervency and intense devotion not out of hypocrisy and slay the fatted camels and oxen, and distribute the flesh among the poor for he says this chapter is the counterpart of the preceding exhorting to those virtues which are opposite to the vices there condemned

^f These words were revealed against al As Ebn Wayel who on the death of Al kâsem Mohammed's son called that prophet Abtar, which signifies one who has no children or posterity ⁴

† ' He who hateth thee shall perish

¹ See the Prelim Disc sect 4, p 68

² Al Beidāwī, Jallalo ddin, &c.

³ In Panoplia dogmat inter Syllurgu Saracenic. p 29

⁴ Jallalo ddin.

CHAPTER CIX.

INTITLED, THE UNBELIEVERS, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

SAY O unbelievers,^a I will not worship that which ye worship, nor will ye worship that which I worship. Neither do I worship that which ye worship, neither do ye worship that which I worship. Ye have your religion, and I my religion.

CHAPTER CX.

INTITLED, ASSISTANCE, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHEN the assistance of God shall come, and the victory,^b and thou shalt see the people enter into the religion of God by troops,^c celebrate the praise of thy LORD, and ask pardon of him,^d for he is inclined to forgive

^a It is said that certain of the Koreish once proposed to Mohammed, that if he would worship their gods for a year they would worship his God for the same space of time, upon which this chapter was revealed.^e

(This chapter is one of those which the Mohammedans repeat daily as a prayer)

—*Savary*

^b & ^c When God shall cause thee to prevail over thy enemies, and thou shalt take the city of Mecca

^d Which happened in the ninth year of the Hejra, when, Mohammed having made himself master of Mecca, and obliged the Koreish to submit to him, the rest of the Arabs came into him in great numbers and professed Islam^e

^e Most of the commentators agree this chapter to have been revealed before the taking of Mecca, and suppose it gave Mohammed warning of his death, for they say that when he read it al Abbās wept and being asked by the prophet what was the reason of his weeping answered *Because it biddeth thee to prepare for death*, to which Mohammed replied, *It is as thou sayest*.^f And hence, adds Jallalo ddin, after the revelation of this chapter, the prophet was more frequent in praising and asking pardon of God because he thereby knew that his end approached; for Mecca was taken in the eighth year of the Hejra, and he died in the beginning of the tenth.

^f Jallalo ddin, Al Beidawi ^g See the Prelim. Disc. sect. ii. p 39 ^h Al Beidawi

CHAPTER CXI

INTITLED, ABU LAHEB, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THE hands of Abu Laheb shall perish,¹ and he shall perish.² His riches shall not profit him, neither that which he hath gained.³ He shall go down to be burned into flaming fire,⁴ and his wife *also*,⁵ bearing wood,⁶ *having* on her neck a cord of twisted fibres of a palm-tree.

CHAPTER CXII

INTITLED, THE DECLARATION OF GOD'S UNITY,* WHERE IT WAS REVEALED IS DISPUTED

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

SAY, *God* is one GOD, the eternal GOD he begetteth not, neither is he begotten and there is not any one like unto him.

Abu Laheb was the surname of Abd al Uzza, one of the sons of Abd almotaleb and uncle to Mohammed. He was a most bitter enemy to his nephew, and opposed the establishment of his new religion to the utmost of his power. When that prophet in obedience to the command he had received to *admonish his relations*,⁸ had called them all together and told them that he was a *warner sent unto them before a grievous chastisement* Abu Laheb cried out, *Mayest thou perish! hast thou called us together for this?* and took up a stone to cast at him. Whereupon this passage was revealed.⁹

By the *hands* of Abu Laheb some commentators, by a synecdoche, understand his *person* others by a metonymy his *affairs* in general they being transacted with those members or his hopes in this world, and the next.

¹⁰ He died of grief and vexation at the defeat his friends had received at Bedr surviving that misfortune but seven days.¹¹ They add, that his corpse was left above ground three days till it stank, and then some negroes were hired to bury him.¹²

* "The power of Abu Laheb hath vanished. He himself hath perished"—*Savary*

¹³ And accordingly his great possessions and the rank and esteem in which he lived at Mecca, were of no service to him, nor could protect him against the vengeance of God. Al Beidawi mentions also the loss of his son Otba who was torn to pieces by a lion, in the way to Syria, though surrounded by the whole caravan.

¹⁴ Arab *nār dhāt laheb*, alluding to the surname of Abu Laheb, which signifies the *father of flames*.

¹⁵ Her name was Omm Jemil, she was the daughter of Harb and sister of Abu Sofian.

¹⁶ For fuel in hell, because she fomented the hatred which her husband bore to Mohammed, or, *bearing a bundle of thorns and brambles*, because she carried such and strewed them by night in the prophet's way.¹⁷

¹⁸ This chapter is held in particular veneration by the Mohammedans, and declared, by a tradition of their prophet, to be equal in value to a third part of the whole Korân. It is said to have been revealed in answer to the Koreish, who asked Mohammed concerning the distinguishing attributes of the God he invited them to worship.¹⁹

⁸ See the Prelim. Disc. sect. II. p. 31. ⁹ Al Beidawi: Jallalo ddin, &c. ¹⁰ Abulf. Vit. Mohammed, p. 57. ¹¹ Al Beidawi. ¹² Idem Jallalo ddin. ¹³ Idem.

CHAPTER CXIII

INTITLED THE DAY BREAK, WHERE IT WAS REVEALED IS
DISPUTED

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

SAY, I fly for refuge unto the LORD of the day-break,^{**} *that he may deliver me* from the mischief of *those things* which he hath created,[†] and from the mischief of the night, when it cometh on,^{††} and from the mischief of *women* blowing on knots,[‡] and from the mischief of the envious, when he envieth

CHAPTER CXIV

INTITLED, MEN, WHERE IT WAS REVEALED IS DISPUTED,

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

SAY, I fly for refuge unto the LORD of men, the king of men, the GOD of men, *that he may deliver me* from the mischief of the whisperer who shily withdraweth,[†] who whispereth evil suggestions into the breasts of men, from genii and men

* The original word properly signifies a *cleaving* and denotes says al Beidawi, the production of all things in general from the darkness of privation to the light of existence, and especially of those things which proceed from others, as springs, rain plants children, &c., and hence it is used more particularly to signify the breaking forth of the light from darkness, which is a most wonderful instance of the divine power

* Say, I put my trust in the God of the morning —*Savary*

† : From the mischiefs proceeding either from the perverseness and evil choice of those beings which have a power to choose or the natural effects of necessary agents, as fire poison &c the world being good in the whole, though evils may follow from those two causes.[†]

† Or as the words may be rendered, *From the mischief of the moon when she is eclipsed*

† That he may deliver me from the evils with which the human race is surrounded from the influence of the moon shrouded in darkness —*Savary*

‡ That is, of witches who used to tie knots in a cord and to blow on them, uttering at the same time certain magical words over them in order to work on, or debilitate the person they had a mind to injure This was a common practice in former days † what they call in France *Nouer l'equillette* and the knots which the wizards in the northern parts tie, when they sell mariners a wind, (if the stories told of them be true,) are also relics of the same superstition

The commentators relate, that Lobeid a Jew, with the assistance of his daughters bewitched Mohammed, by tying eleven knots on a cord, which they hid in a well whereupon Mohammed falling ill, God revealed this chapter and the following and Gabriel acquainted him with the use he was to make of them and of the place where the cord was hidden according to whose directions the prophet sent Ali to fetch the cord, and the same being brought he repeated the two chapters over it, and at every verse (for they consist of eleven) a knot was loosed till on finishing the last words, he was entirely freed from the charm.[†]

(The Mohammedans have an implicit faith in the efficacy of the words contained in these two chapters They consider them as a sovereign specific against magic lunar influences and the temptations of the evil spirit. They never fail to repeat them evening and morning) —*Savary*

† This chapter was revealed on the same occasion, and at the same time with the former

† : The devil who withdraweth when a man mentioneth God, or hath recourse to his protection.

† That he may deliver me from the temptations of Satan —*Savary*

* Al Beidawi. † Vide Virgil in *Pharmaceutria*. ‡ Al Beidawi, Jallalo ddin.

AN INDEX

OF THE

PRINCIPAL MATTERS CONTAINED IN THE KORAN AND THE NOTES THEREON

AAARON, vide Moses

Al Abbâs, one of Mohammed's uncles, taken at Bedr, and obliged to ransom himself, 146, n, professes Islâm, 147, n, confesses a passage of the Kôrân to be fulfilled in respect to himself, *ib* n, remarkable for his loud voice, 151 n

Abdallahareth, a son of Adam so named

Abdallah Dhu lbajadin, 161, n

Abdallah Ebn Obba Solûl the hypocrite admired for his person and eloquence, 451, n, threatens to drive Mohammed from Medina, 453, raises and inflames a scandalous story of Ayesha, 288, n, is present at an interview between Mohammed and his adversaries, 341 n, occasions a quarrel, 418, n, promises to assist the Nadirites, but fails them, 445, n, endeavours to debauch Mohammed's men at Ohod, 50, n, excused from going on the expedition to Tabûc, 154, n, desires Mohammed's prayers in his last sickness 159, n, and to be buried in the prophet's shirt, *ib*

Abdallah Ebn Omm Maetûm, a blind man, occasions a passage of the Koran 480 n

Abdallah Ebn Rawâha, rebukes Ebn Obba 341 n

Abdallah Ebn Saad one of Mohammed's amanuenses, imagines himself inspired, and corrupts the Kôrân, 108, n apostatizes and is proscribed, but escapes with life, *ib*

Abdallah Ebn Salam, a Jew intimate with Mohammed, his honesty, 45, n, supposed to have assisted in composing the Kôrân, 223, n, confounded by Dr Prideaux with Salman the Persian, *ib*, commended for his knowledge and faith, 79

Abd Menâf, a dispute between his descendants and the Sahmites, 498, n

Abdallahrahmân Fbn Awf, one of Mohammed's first converts, Prelim. Disc 31 n, an instance of his charity 158, n

Abel, vide Cain, his ram sacrificed by Abraham, 369, n

Abraha al Ashram, king of Yaman, his expedition against Mecca, the occasion and success thereof, 499, n.

Abraham, the patriarch, an idolater in his youth, 106, n, how he came to the knowledge of the true God, *ib*, demolishes the idols of the Chaldeans, 268, preaches to his people, 326, his religion commended, 15, 16, 47, 115, disputes with Nimrod, 31, escapes the fire into which he was thrown by Nimrod's order, 269, his praying for his father, 163 447, desires to be convinced of the resurrection, 31, 32 his sacrifice of birds, 32, entertains the angels, 182, 423, receives the promise of Isaac 182, called the friend of God 75, is miraculously supplied by the changing of sand into meal, *ib* n, his sacrifice of his son 369, praises God for Ismael and Isaac 208, commanded, together with Ismael, to build and cleanse the Caaba 16, prays to God to raise up a prophet of their seed, and for the plenty and security of Mecca, *ib*, bequeaths the religion of Islam to his children, *ib*

Abu Amer, vide Amer &c

Ad a potent tribe of Arabs, destroyed for their infidelity 123, 282, 305, 390, 408, 490, vide Hud

Adam, traditions concerning his creation, 4, n, 228 n, worshipped by the angels, 5, 117, 211, 232 243 376, his fall 5 117, repents and prays, 6, meets Eve at Mount Arafat, 5, n, retires with her to Ceylon, *ib*, their stature *ib*, his posterity extracted from his loins by God to acknowledge him for their Lord, 135, n, names his eldest son as directed by the devil, 137, n

Adoption creates no matrimonial impediment, 341

Adulterers, Mohammed's sentence against them, 37, n, 87, n

Adultery, its punishment, 37, 63, what evidence required to convict a woman of it, 61

Adversaries, the dispute of two terminated by David, 373

Ahmed, the name under which Mohammed was foretold by Christ, 449

Al Ahkâf, the habitation of the Adites 406 Aila, or Elath, the Sabbath breakers there changed into apes, 9 134

- Al Akhnas**, a hypocrite, 24, n, 460, n
Alexander, vide **Dhu lkarnein**
Ali is sent to Mecca to publish part of the Korân 148, n, the abstinence and charity of him and his family, 474, n
Allât an idol of the Koreish, 74, n, 427
Alms recommended, 6, 14, 23, 118, 438, the punishment of not giving alms, in the next life 56, n
Amena, Mohammed's mother, he is not permitted to pray for her, 163
Amer and **Arbad** attempt to kill Mohammed, and their punishment, 201, n
Amer (Abu) a Christian monk, and violent enemy to Mohammed 162, n
Amer (Banu) their abstinence on the pilgrimage 118 n
Ammâr Ibn Yâser, tortured on account of his faith, 224 n
Amru Ibn Isha the great introducer of idoltry among the Arabs, 113, n, 167 n
Amru (Banu) build a mosque at Koba, 162 n
Anam the name of **Iokmân's** son, 336, n
Angel of Death vide **Azraîl**
Angels, their original, 117, 376, worship Adam vide Adam, impeccable 243, n of different forms and orders, 377, not the objects of worship 280, nor ought to be hated 13 the number of them which support God's throne, 463, are deputed to take an account of men's actions, 421, some of them appointed to take the souls of men 478 to preside over hell and to keep guard against the devils 472, assist the Moslems at **Bedr**, 36 145 believed by the Arabs to be daughters of God 74, 218, &c, appear to Abraham and Lot, 182 183 423
Animals irrational will be raised at the resurrection and judged, 102, n, created of water 293
Ans Ebn al Nadar his behaviour at **Ohod**, 52 n
Ansars or helpers, who 160, n, three of them excommunicated for refusing to attend Mohammed to **Tabûc**, 164
Ants the valley of 310 their queen's speech to them on the approach of Solomon's army *ib*
Apostles were not believed who wrought miracles 57 those before Mohammed accused likewise of imposture, 57 101, of Christ 42 two of them sent to preach at Antioch 361
Apparel, what kind ought to be worn by those who approach the divine presence, 118
Arabians their acuteness, 115, their customs in relation to divorce, 341, n, to adoption *ib* in burying their daughters alive, 112 481, their chief idols, 137, n, their superstitions in relation to eating 113, 295, &c, and in relation to cattle, &c, 74, 95, used to worship naked, and why, 118, n, their injustice to orphans and women, 75, n., deem the birth of a daughter a misfortune, 218, n., the reconciliation of their tribes deemed miraculous, 145, n, quit their new religion in great numbers on Mohammed's death 89
Arabs of the desert, more obstinate, 160
Al Arâf, what, 116 n
Arâfat, Mount, why so called, 5, n, the procession thereto, 23
Arbad, vide **Amer**
Al Arâm the inundation of, 353, n
Ark of Israel taken by the Amalekites, 30, n
Arrows for divination forbidden, 81
Al As Ebn Wajel, an enemy of Mohammed's 214 254
Asaf Solomon's vizir, 312 n
Asem his charity, 158
Ashadd (Abu l), his extraordinary strength, 490 n
Ashama, king of Ethiopia embraces Mohammedism, 92, n, prayed for after his death by Mohammed *ib* n
Asia, the wife of Pharaoh martyred by her husband for believing, in Moses 458 n, is taken alive into paradise, *ib*, one of the four perfect women, *ib*
Aslam 414 n
Astrology hinted at 57
Al Aswad al Ansi the false prophet 89, n
Al Aswad Ibn Abd Yaghuth al Aswad Ebn al Motalleb two of Mohammed's enemies 214
Awis and Khazai their enmity 48 n
Ayesha, Mohammed's wife, the history of her accusation 288, n
Azer the name given to Terah, Abraham's father 10, n
Azraîl the angel of death, why appointed to that office 4, n, a story of him and Solomon, 338, n
BAAT the chief idol of the Chaldeans, 268, n
Babel the tower is destroyed, 216 n
Bickbiting, vide **Slander**
Bahira 95
Bakhtnashr, vide **Nebuchadnezzar**
Balaam his punishment for cursing the Israelites 13, n
Balkis, queen of Saba, visits Solomon, and her reception 312 her legs hairy, 318, marries Solomon *ib*
Barnabas his apocryphal gospel, some extracts thence 42, n 117, n
Al Barzakh what 285, n.
Becca, the same with Mecca, 47
Beer (Abu), attends Mohammed in his flight from Mecca 154 n, bears testimony to the truth of Mohammed's journey to heaven, 232, n, his wages with **Obba Ebn Khalîf** 330, n, strikes a Jew on the face for speaking irreverently of God, 56, n, gives all he has towards the expedition of **Tabûc**, 158, n, purchases **Belâl**, 492, n, compared to Abraham, 146, n.
Bedr, Mohammed's victory there, 36, 50 &c
Bees made use of as a similitude, 219

- Believers, the sincere ones, described, 281, their reward, 67, their sentence, 119
 ✓ Benjamin, son of Jacob, 195 &c.
 Birds, omens taken from them, 228, n
 Blessed, their future happiness described, 364, 404
 Blood forbidden 20
 Boath, the battle of 48, n
 Bodeil, a dispute concerning his effects, occasions a passage of the Korân, 96, n
 Boheira, the monk, 223
 Bribery to pervert justice, forbidden, 22
 Burden, every soul to bear its own, 358

 CAAB Ebn al Ashraf, a Jew, Mohammed's inveterate enemy, 45, n, 204, n, slain by his means, 45, n, 443, n, mistaken by Dr Prideaux for another person, 45, n
 Caab Ebn Asad, persuades the Jews in league with Mohammed to desert him, 345, n
 Al Caaba, appointed for a place of worship, 16, 276, built and cleansed by Abraham and Ismael, 16, the keys of it returned to Othmân Ebn Telha, 67, n
 Cafur, a fountain in paradise, 474
 Cain and Abel, their sacrifices, 85, kills his brother, *ib* instructed by a raven to bury him, *ib*
 Caleb, vide Joshua
 Calf, the golden, of what and by whom made, 7, n, animated, *ib*, worshipped by the Israelites, *ib*
 Calumny forbidden, 78
 Camels, an instance of God's wisdom, 488 appointed for sacrifice, 277, Jacob abstains from their flesh and milk, 47, n
 Canaan, an unbelieving son of Noah, 179
 Caravans of purveyors sent out by the Korish, 501
 Carrion forbidden to be eaten, 20
 Cattle, their use, 113, 388 superstitions of the old Arabs concerning them, 95, 113
 Al Cawthar, a river in paradise 502
 Ceylon, the isle of, vide Serendib
 Charity recommended, 63
 Chastity recommended, 82
 Children to inherit their parents substance 28, 60
 Christ, vide Jesus
 Christians declared infidels, 83, and enemies of the Moslems *ib* Vide Jews
 Collars to be worn by the unbelievers in the life to come, 200
 Commandments given the Jews, 236, n
 Commerce, from God, 233
 Companions of God, what, 112
 Congealed blood, the matter of which man is created, 494
 Contracts to be performed, 81
 Cow ordered to be sacrificed by the Israelites 9
 Creation, some account of it, 389, 390
 Crimes to be punished with death, 230

 tains sing praises with him, 352, makes breast plates, 30, 270, his repentance for taking the wife of Uriah, 372, ~~his~~ and Solomon's judgment, 270
 Days appointed to commemorate God, 276
 Dead body raised to life by a part of the sacrificed cow, 10
 Debtors to be mercifully dealt with, 34
 Devil, vide Ebhis and Satan, the occasion of his fall, 4, 117
 Devils, included under the name Genn, 111 the patrons of unbelievers, 56, 118, 308 their plot to defame Solomon, 13, were permitted to enter all the seven heavens till the birth of Christ, 210, n
 Dhulkarnein, who he was, 246, n, builds a wall to prevent the incursions of Gog and Magog, 247, &c
 Dhu kefi the prophet, opinions concerning him, 271, n, saves a hundred Israelites from slaughter, 375, n
 Dhu Inûn, vide Jonas
 Dhu Nowâs, king of Yaman, a Jew, persecutes the Christians, 458
 Disputes to be carried on with mildness, 328
 Ditch, (War of the) 342, &c
 Divorce, laws concerning it, 28, 62, 348
 Dogs, &c, allowed to be trained up for hunting, 82
 Al Dorâh, the celestial model of the Caaba 425, n
 Drink of the damned 104, 105
 Dying persons what part of the Korân is usually read to them, 316, n

 EARTH, its creation, 389, 390, remonstrate against the creation of man, 4, n, is kept steady by the mountains, 215, 335
 Earthquake, a sign of the approach of the last day, 496
 ✓ Ebhis refuses to worship Adam at God's command, and why 4, 117, 211, 232, 245. &c, his sentence, *ib*, occasions the fall of Adam, *ib*
 Eden, the meaning of the word in Arabic 157, n
 Edris, supposed to be the same with Enoch 232 n
 ✓ Education makes a man an infidel, 332, n.
 Elephant (War of the) 499
 Elias, vide al Khedr
 Elisha, the prophet, 107
 Enoch, vide Edris
 Entering into houses and apartments abruptly, forbidden, 290, 294
 Envy forbidden, 64
 Esop, vide Lokmân
 Eucharist, seems to have occasioned a fable in the Korân, 97, n.
 Eve, vide Adam
 Evidence, vide Witness.
 Evil, vide Good
 Examination of the sepulchre, 145, n, 112
 ✓ Exhortation to the worship of God, 384, to a good life, 186
 Ezekiel raises the dry bones, 29, n.

✓ DAVID kills Goliath 30, 227 his extraordinary devotion, 372 the birds and moan

- Kara** and his ass restored to life after they had been dead a hundred years, 31, n, called, by the Jews the son of God, and why, 152
- Kar** must accompany good works, 177, the reward of those who fight for it, 69, 140, 150, 153, 227, 411, &c, apostates from it to be put to death, 230, n, partial faith not sufficient, 77, n
- Famine**, afflicts the Meccans, 284, n, ceases at Mohammed's intercession, 402
- Fast** of Ramadan instituted, 22
- Fatema**, Mohammed's daughter, one of the four perfect women, 458, favoured of God like the Virgin Mary, 40, n, her charity, 474, n
- Al Fatha**, the first chapter of the Korân, often repeated by the Mohammedans in their prayers, 1, n
- Fidelity** recommended, 149
- Figs**, their virtues, 493 n
- Fire**, the manner of striking it in the East, 365, n
- Fishing** allowed during the pilgrimage, 94
- Flood**, vide Noah
- Food**, what kinds are forbidden, 20, 81, 110, 113, 225, 295
- Forbidden** fruit, what, 5 n
- Forgiveness**, to whom it belongs, 346
- Al Forkân**, one of the names of the Korân, 296, n.
- Fornication** forbidden, 61, 230, its punishment, 61 63
- Fountain** of molten brass flows for Solomon, 352
- Fountains** of Paradise 475, 483
- Friday** set apart by Mohammed for public worship and why 450, n
- Friendship** with unbelievers, forbidden, 89
- Fruits** of the earth, their production an instance of God's power, 108
- Fugitives** for the sake of religion shall be provided for and rewarded, 73, 279
- GABRIEL**, revealed the Korân to Mohammed 13, assists the Moslems at Bedr 36 n, appears to Zacharias, 40, n, the angel of revelations, 13, n, the enemy of the Jews *ib* appears twice to Mohammed in his proper form, 427, appears to the Virgin Mary, and causes her to conceive, 250, the dust of his horse's feet animates the golden calf, 261, generally appeared to Mohammed in a human form, 99, n, commanded to assist Mohammed against the Koreish, 214, n, orders Mohammed to go against the Koradites 345, n
- Gaming** forbidden, 25, 93
- Ganem** (Banu) builds a mosque with an ill design, which is burnt, 162, n
- Garden**, story of the, 461
- Geni**, what, 109, n some of them converted on hearing the Korân, 467
- God**, proofs of his existence, 332, 334, his omnipresence asserted, 442 his omnipotence, 31, 438, his power and providence, conspicuous in his works, 19, 175, 404, his omniscience asserted, 73, 351, 392 knoweth the secrets of men's hearts, 315, and of futurity, 468; five things known to him alone, 338, n, his goodness set forth, 24, 164, 214, 428, 432, in sending the scriptures and prophets, 24, 111, the author of all good, 220, his word, laws, and sentence unalterable, 110, 332, 421, his mercy set forth, 51, 300, 322, 395, 428, the only giver of victory, 51, 331, his promise to the righteous, 335, who acceptable to him, 150, ruleth the heart of man, 141, his tribunal, 31, his throne, 176, praiseworthy, 220, &c, his attributes, 136, n, ought not to be frequently sworn by, 26, hath no issue, 15, 171, 285, 370, no similitude, 335, 377, rested not the seventh day through weariness, 422; his worship recommended, *ib*, his fear recommended, 168
- Gog and Magog**, 247, 272
- Golah**, vide Jalut
- Good works**, who shall be redeemed by them, 437
- Good and evil**, both from God, 70
- Gospel**, vide Jesus
- Greaves**, (Mr) a mistake of his, 489, n
- Greeks** overcome the Persians, 330
- Gudarz** the name of Nebuchadnezzar, 227
- HABIB**, his martyrdom, 362, n
- Hafedha**, an idol of Ad, 122, n
- Haman**, Pharaoh's chief minister, 316, 320
- Hani**, 95
- Hamza**, Mohammed's uncle, killed at Ohod, 50, n, his body abused, 226, n
- Handha Ebn Safwan**, a prophet, 278, n, 299, n.
- Hareth**, (Abu) a Christian bishop, disputes with Mohammed, 44, n
- Haretha** (Banu) reproached by Mohammed for flying in battle, 343
- Harut and Marut**, two angels, their story and punishment, 13
- Hasan**, the son of Ali, an instance of his moderation and generosity, 51, n
- Hâteb Ebn Abi Baltaa** sends a letter discovering Mohammed's design against Mecca, which is intercepted, 446
- Al Hawiyat**, the name of an apartment in Hell, 497 n
- Heathens**, justice not to be observed with regard to them, according to the Jews, 45
- Heavens**, the Mohammedan belief concerning them, 281, n, guarded by angels, 467
- heaven and earth** manifest God's wisdom, 265, will fall at the last day, 280
- Al Heja**, the habitation of the Thamudites 209
- Hell**, torments described, 275, 436, 476, the portion of unbelievers, 49, 176, prepared for those who choose the pomp of this life, 176; and hoard up money, 153, shall not hurt the believers, 253, n, will be dragged towards God's tribunal at the

- last day, 489, n, and will then be filled, 421, n
- Al Hodeibiya, the trial there, 94, the expedition thither, 415, &c
- Holy Spirit, who is meant thereby, 12, n
- Hon-in, the battle of, 151
- Horcy, an excellent medicine, 219
- Hospitality recommended, 65
- Al Hotama, the name of an apartment in hell, 409
- Hud, the prophet, his story, 122 See Ad
- Hunting and fowling forbidden during the pilgrimage, 81, 94
- Husband his superiority over the wife, 27, his duty to her, 26, &c, difference between them to be reconciled by friends, 65, 76 See Divorce, Wives, Marriage, &c
- Hypocrites described, 451, &c, their sentence, 157
- Jacob bequeaths the religion of Islâm to his children, 16, grows blind by weeping for the loss of Joseph, 197, recovers his sight by means of Joseph's garment, and goes into Egypt, 198
- Jadd Ebn Kais, 155, n
- Jahl (Abu) a great enemy of Mohammed, 274, his injustice to an orphan, 501 n, his advice concerning Mohammed, 142, n, slain at Bedr, 144, n
- Al Jallas Ebn Soweid, 157, n
- Jalut, or Goliath, sent against the Israelites, 227, n, slain by David, 30
- Al Jassâsa, the beast which will appear at the approach of the last day, 315, n
- Jawâs Ebn Omeyya, 415, n
- Idolaters compared to brutes, 299, to a spider, 328, not to be prayed for while such, 163, their sentence, 119
- Idolatry, the heinousness thereof, 25, unpardonable if not repented of, 67
- Idols, their insignificance, 20, 287, 333, 364, will appear as witnesses against their worshippers, 168, 169, worshipped by the antediluvians, 467
- Jesus, promised to Mary, 40, his miraculous birth, 41, &c, compared to Adam, 43, speaks in his mother's womb, 41, and in his cradle, to the apostle of the Jews, to, animates a bird of clay when a child, to; performs several miracles, but not by his own power, to raises three persons to life, to causes a table with provisions to descend from heaven, 97, his miracles deemed sorcery, to rejected by the Jews, 42, sends two of his disciples to Antioch, who work miracles, 361, a curse denounced against those who believe not on him, 43, the Jews lay a plot for his life, but are disappointed, 42, not really crucified, 78, whether he died or not, 42, not God, nor equal to God, 84, 152, but an apostle only, 30, 92, 400, Word of God, 40, various opinions concerning him, 251, will descend on earth before the resurrection, and kill antichrist. &c. Prelim Disc. 57 58, 400.
- Jethro, vide Shoaib
- Jews, vide Israelites Particularly applied to, 6, 15, accused of having corrupted the scriptures and of stifling passages, 6, n 44, 66, accuse the Virgin Mary of fornication, 78, plot against Jesus, 42 their unbelief, 12, 70, covetous of life, 13, reproved for warring against one another, 11, proof required by them of a prophet's mission, 57, their punishments at different times for neglect of their religion, 84, metamorphosed into apes and swine for their infidelity, 9, 84, 97, n, pretend their punishment in hell shall be short, 11, 38, their law confirmed by Jesus and the Korân, 88, their laws concerning food, 114, dispute with the Mohammedans concerning God's favour, 275, Mohammed refuses to decide a controversy between them, 88, league with the Koreish against Mohammed, 67, demand that Mohammed cause a book to descend from heaven, 78, a controversy between a Jew and a Mohammedan, 68, Jews and Christians accused of condemning one another, 15, and of corrupting the scriptures, 44, guilty of two extremes as to their opinion of Christ, 79, none of them shall die before he believes in Christ, to their different behaviour to the Moslems, 92, to be protected on payment of tribute, 152
- Ilhiz, a sort of food used among the Arabs in time of scarcity, 284, n
- Ilhiyyûn, the meaning of the word, 483
- Ilyasin, who, 369, n
- Imâm, the meaning of the word, 16, n
- Immodesty condemned, 290
- Imunity declared to the idolaters for four months, 148
- Imposture charged on all the prophets, 283
- Imrân, father of the Virgin Mary, 35, whether Mohammed confounded him with the father of Moses and Miriam, 38, n
- Infidels, how they will appear at the last day, 101, will drink boiling water, 105, would have believed had the Korân been revealed to some great man, 398, if not convinced by the Korân, will not be convinced by miracles, 109, n, have some notion of a future state, 314, their blasphemy, 370, to be made war upon, 22, 25, those who die such not to be prayed for, 159, 163, forbidden to approach Mecca, 151
- Inheritances, laws relating thereto, 60, 80
- Injury, to forgive the same is meritorious, 396.
- Intercalation of a month forbidden, 153.
- Job, his story, 271, 375
- John, the son of Zacharias, his character, 40, his murder revenged on the Jews, by Nebuchadnezzar, 227, the miracle of his blood, to
- Jonâda first practises the intercalation of a month among the Arabs, 153.

INDEX.

- Jonas, his story, 173, 370; called Dhu'nūn, 271
- Joseph, his story, 187, &c.
- Joshua and Caleb sent as spies into the land of Canaan, 83, n
- Journey, Mohammed's to heaven, 226
- Jowādh (Abu'l) the hypocrite, finds fault with Mohammed's distribution of the spoils at Honein, 156
- Jrem, the city of Ad, 488
- Iron, its usefulness, 440, some utensils of that metal brought by Adam down from paradise, *ib*
- Isaac promised, 182, his birth, 183
- Islam, the proper name of the Mohammedan religion, 27, n, the only true religion, 48, the only religion till the death of Abel, 167, n
- Ismael, vide Abraham
- Israelites, their males slain by Pharaoh, 6, pass the Red Sea, 130, God's goodness to them, 130, 405, miraculously fed in the wilderness, 133, lust for the herbs of Egypt, 8, worship the golden calf, 7, 11, 132, their punishment, 7, 11, change the word put into their mouth at Jericho, 8, 134, commanded to sacrifice a red cow, 9, &c, demanded to see God, and their punishment, 78, refuse to enter the Holy Land, and their punishment, 84 their transgression, 227, desire a king, 29, cursed by David and Jesus, 92, vide Jews
- Judgment day of Mohammedan tradition concerning it, 38, n, described, 297, 425, 429 the signs of its approach, 273, n, 402, 411, called the hour, 101, unknown to any besides God, 136, will come suddenly, *ib*, and inevitably, 170, 435
- Al Judi the mountain whereon Noah's ark rested, 171
- Just and unjust, the difference between them, 395
- Al Kadr, the name of the night on which the Korān came down from heaven, 495
- Kail sent to Mecca to obtain rain for Ad, 123
- Kārūn, or Corah, his story and fearful end, 323
- Kebla, the part towards which the Mohammedans turn in prayer, 47, n, indifferent, 15, changed from Jerusalem to Mecca, 17
- Kendah, a tribe who used to bury their daughters alive, 112
- Keys of knowledge (the *fi-ye*), 338, n
- Khadiyah, Mohammed's wife, one of the four perfect women, 4, 8, n
- Khaibar, the expedition thither, 414, n
- Khaithama (Abn), a story of him, 164, n
- Khāled Ebn al Walid puts Mohammed's horse to flight at the battle of Ohod, 52, n., demolishes the idol of al Uzza, 380, n, drives Acrema and his men into Mecca, 416, n
- Khantala, vide Handha.
- Khawla bint Thalaba, her case occasions a passage of the Koran, 441
- Khatraj, vide Awa.
- Al Khedr, the prophet, his adventures with Moses, 244 &c.
- Khobaib, his martyrdom, 224, n
- Khozaa, the tribe of, held the angels to be the daughters of God, 266, n
- Kitfir, Joseph's master, 12, n
- Koba, Mohammed founds a mosque there, 162, n
- Kobeis, Abu, a mountain near Mecca, whence Abraham proclaimed the *pū* grimace, 276, n
- Korān, the signification of the word, 187 n, by whom composed, 223, twenty three years in completing, 298, n; could not be composed by any besides God, 169, men and geni desired to produce a chapter like it, 169, 235, no forgery, 464; sent down by God himself, 110, its excellency, 48, n, 324, 392, consonant to scripture, 176, 321, &c, no revelation more evident, 136, contains all things necessary, 221, 273, all differences to be decided by it, 68, its contents partly literal and partly figurative, 385, traduced by the unbelievers, 256, as a piece of sorcery, 166, as a poetical composition, 364, as a pack of fables, 314, the sentence of those who believe not in it, 406; when revealed, 402, not liable to corruption 175, ought not to be touched by the unclean 457
- Koreidha, tribe of, their destruction, 345 n
- Koreish, the tribe of, their nobility, 54, 501, their enmity to Mohammed, 111, n, demand miracles of him, 203, threaten him for abusing their gods, 380 n, propound three questions to him, 235, some of them attempt to kill him, but are struck blind, 361, lose seventy of their principal men at Bedr, 36, 144, persecute Mohammed's followers, 217, plagued with famine, 284, n, and several diseases, 214, their manner of praying, 142, make a truce with Mohammed, 416, n, violate the truce and lose Mecca, 413, n
- Kosai, names his sons from four idols, 187, the Koreish demand him to be raised to life by Mohammed, 141, n.
- Laheh, Abu, Mohammed's uncle, and bitter enemy, 504, n, his and his wife's punishment, *ib*
- Lapwing, gives Solomon an account of the city of Saba, 310, carries a letter from him to the queen, 311, her sagacity in finding water, 310
- Last day, vide Judgment
- Law, given to Moses, 7, confirmed by Jesus, 42, and the Koran, 6
- Laws, relating to inheritances, 60, 80, legacies, 21, 95, to divorce, vide Divorce, to murder, vide Murder, &c.
- Laws of Moses and Jesus set aside by the Koran 87, n.

Jews of God the punishment of those who
 conceal them, 57, n
 Jesus raised 41 n
 Leg made bare, the meaning of that ex-
 pression, 462 n
 Faith, *La* n thought it unlawful to eat
 at 395, n
 Letters, mutual, explained, 116, n
 Life to come, how expressed in Arabic,
 2, n
 Lobaba, Abu, his treachery, 141, n
 Lokman, his history, 335, &c, whether the
 same with Esop, 336
 Lot, his story, 125, 182, 212, 313, his wife's
 infidelity, 457
 Lote tree in heaven, 427
 Lots forbidden, 25, 93

Madian, a city of Hejaz, 125, its inhabi-
 tants destroyed, 307, n.

Magog, vide Gog

Malec, the principal angel who has the
 charge of hell, 401

Malec Ebn al Seif, a Jew, 48, n

Man, his wonderful formation, 377, created
 various ways, 274, shall be rewarded
 according to his deserts, 64, ought to be
 thankful for the good things of this life,
 365, his ingratitude to God, 332, his
 presumption in undertaking to fulfil
 the laws of God, 351, why destroyed,
 186

Manna given to the Israelites, 7

Marriage, laws relating thereto, 62, 291,
 Mohammed's privileges as to marriage,
 347, &c, apt to distract a man from his
 duty, 453

Martyrs, not dead, but living, 18, the
 sufferings of two Mohammedans, 224

Marut, vide Harut

Mary, the Virgin, her story, 249, &c, free
 from original sin, 39 n, miraculously
 fed, 40, n, one of the four perfect
 women, 458, n, calumniated by the
 Jews, 78, a woman of veracity, 92

Al Mas'hr al Harâm, 23

Masud, Ebn, a tradition of his in relation
 to Pharaoh, 386, n

Maturity of age, 60, n

Measure, ought to be just, 126, 483

Mecca, the security and plenty of that city,
 47 See Caaba.

Meccans, their idolatry and superstitions
 condemned, 112, 398, imagined their
 idols interceded for them with God, 166,
 reproached for their ingratitude, 207,
 threatened with destruction, 390, require
 Mohammed to show them the angels, 109,
 n, send their poor out of the city to
 Mohammed, 103, n, hold a council and
 conspire Mohammed's destruction, 142,
 n, applied indecent circumstances to
 God, 218, n, chastised with famine and
 sword, 284, 381, n, promised ruin on
 their embracing Islam, 468, n.

Medina, its inhabitants reproved for de-
 clining the expedition to Tabûc, 164

Munât, an idol of the Meccans, 74, 427

Merwa, vide Safâ.

Westab, one of the accusers of Ayesha,
 288, n.

Midian, vide Madian

Michael, the friend of the Jews, 13, n.

Milk, its production wonderful, 219

Mina, the valley of, 24

Miracles required of Mohammed, 203, n.,
 235

Months, sacred, to be observed, 23, 81, 95,
 153

Moon, split in sunder, 429

Mohajerin, or refugees, who, 161, n

Mohammed promised to Adam, 6, foretold
 by Christ, 449, expected by Jews and
 Christians, 495, sent at forty years of
 age, 167, n, complained of by the
 Koreish to his uncle Abu Taleb, 372, n,
 his revelations ridiculed by the Meccans,
 168, n, his journey to heaven, 226
 enters into a league with those of Medina,
 142 n, discovers the conspiracy of the
 Meccans against his life, *ib* n, gains
 some proselytes of the genn by reading
 the Korân, 409, n, sent as a mercy to
 all creatures, 273, the illiterate prophet,
 133, excuses his inability to work mira-
 cles, 109, 201, his promise to those who
 fly for religion, 329, n, accused of injus-
 tice in dividing the spoils, 54, n, 156,
 flies to Medina, 154, foretells the victory
 at Bedr, 431, n, an account of that
 victory, 36, 138, &c, loses the battle of
 Ohod, where he is in danger of his life,
 50, reported to be slain, 52, n, lays the
 fault on his men for disobeying his
 orders, *ib*, endeavours to quiet their
 murmurs for that misfortune, *ib* &c;
 goes to meet the Koreish at Bedr, ac-
 cording to their challenge, 55, n, fore-
 tells the battle of the ditch, 344, the
 fear of his men at that battle, *ib*, his
 men swear fidelity to him at al Hodeibiya,
 415, n, his generosity, 416, makes a
 truce with the Koreish for ten years, *ib*
 his courage at the battle of Honein, 151,
 n, expostulates with his followers on
 their unwillingness to go on the expedi-
 tion to Tabûc, 154, &c, some account of
 that expedition, 125, n, and conspiracy
 to kill him, 158, n 361, n, another
 attempt on his life from which he is
 miraculously preserved, 83, n, is almost
 prevailed on by the Jews to go into Syria,
 234, reproves the hypocritical Moslems,
 69, his mercy to the disobedient, 54
 his wives demand a better allowance, or
 which he offers them a divorce, 345, they
 choose to stay with him, and he lays
 down some rules for their behaviour,
 346, the Jews reproach him on account
 of the number of his wives, 240, n., his
 privileges in that and some other respects,
 348, &c, his divorced wives or widows
 not to marry again, 349, his amour with
 Mary, an Egyptian slave, 456, disputor

INDEX.

in a Jewish synagogue, 37, n , decides a controversy in favour of a Jew against a Mohammedan, 68, n , reprehended for a rash judgment, 73 , not allowed to pray for reprobate idolaters, 163 , utters blasphemy through inadvertence, 279, n , no revelation vouchsafed him for several days, 240, n 492, n , enjoined to admonish his people, 426, his near relation to the believers, 342 , demands respect and obedience from them, 295, 442 , challenges his opponents to produce a chapter like the Korân, 3 , put out of conceit with honey, 455 , desires nothing for his pains in preaching 300 , acknowledges himself a sinner, 411 , commanded to pray by night, 469 , refuses the adoration of two Christians, 46, n , refuses to eat with an infidel, 298, n , prophesies the defeat of the Persians by the Greeks, 330 , reprehends his companions impatience, 325 , and their imitating the Christians, 93 , speaks by revelation, 427 , his dream at Bedr, 143, 144 , his dream at Medina, 417 , his doctrine compared with that of the other prophets, 407 , is terrified at the approach of Gabriel, 471 , is reprehended for his neglect of a poor blind man, 480 , demolishes the idols of Mecca, 235 , warned to prepare for death, 503

Mohammedans believe in all the scriptures and prophets without distinction, 17 , forbidden to hold friendship with infidels, 49, 89 , the hypocritical threatened, 169 , the lukewarm deceive their own souls, 413 , the sincere, their reward, 321 , their description 417

Moseilama, the false prophet, 89, n

—Moses, his story, 127, &c 255 &c 301, &c 316, &c , his miraculous preservation in his infancy, 256, &c , the impediment in his speech, how occasioned, *ib* n , kills an Egyptian, and flies into Midian, 318 , is entertained by Shoaib, 319 , receives his rod from him, *ib* n , sees the fire in the bush, 309 , is sent to Pharaoh, and receives the power of working miracles, 236 , his transactions in Egypt, 127, &c 172, &c , brings water from the rock, 8, 133, n , cleared from an unjust aspersion by a stone's running away with his clothes, 350, n , treats with God, and receives the tables of the law from him, 7, 131 , breaks the tables, and is wroth with Aaron, on account of the golden calf, 132 , threatens the people, *ib* , part of his law rehearsed, 114 , reproved for his vanity, 244, n , his expedition in search of al Khedr, *ib* , his and Aaron's relics in the ark, 30 , his law now corrupted, 37, n

Moslems, vide Mohammedans

Murder, laws concerning it, 21, 72, 86, 230, 279

Musulman, whence the word comes, 16, n

Mysteries, how expressed in Arabic, 2, n

Al Nadir (the) 443, n

Nabuchadnezzar, *ib* n , part of it to be seen, *ib* n

Nimrod disputes with Abraham, 31 , his tower, 216, n , attempts to ascend to heaven, 269, n ; his persecution of Abraham, and his punishment, *ib* n

Noah, his story, 121, 171, 305, 326, 464, &c. his prayer, 430 , his wife's infidelity, 457

Al Nodar, one of Mohammed's adversaries, his opinion of the Koran, 100, n ; introduces a Persian romance as preferable to *ib*, 335, n

Oath, an inconsiderate one, how to be expiated, 93 , an extraordinary one, 488

Oaths, cautions concerning them, 26, not to be violated, 222

Obba Ebn Khalf disputes against the resurrection, 214, n , his wager with Abu Beccr, 330, n , is wounded by Mohammed, 298, n

Oda Ebn Kais, an enemy of Mohammed, 214

Offerings to God recommended, 277 , a large one made by Mohammed, *ib* n

Og, fables concerning him 84

Ohod, the battle fought there, 50, n 52.

Okail (Abu) his charity, 158, n

Okba Ebn Abi Moait, professes Islâm and apostatizes, 298 n , publicly abuses Mohammed, *ib* , taken and beheaded at Bedr, *ib*

Olive trees grow at Mount Sinai, 282

Olivet (mount), Christ taken thence by a whirlwind, 43, n

Omar, his deciding a dispute between a Jew and a Mohammedan, 68 , compared to Noah, 146, n

Omm Salma, one of Mohammed's wives, 242, n

Omeyya Ebn Abi'salt, 135, n

Opprobrious language forbidden, 418, 419

Orphans not to be injured, 59, 492 , a curse on those who defraud them, 60 , to be instructed in religion, *ib*

Ostrich's egg, a fine woman's skin compared to it, 367

Othmân Ebn Affân, sent by Mohammed to the Koreish, is imprisoned, 415, n , contributes largely to the expedition of Tabûc, 158, n

Othmân Ebn Matûn, his conversion occasioned by a passage of the Korân, 221, n

Othman Ebn Telha, has the keys of the Caaba returned to him by Mohammed, 67, n , embraces Mohammedism, *ib*

Oven, whence the first waters of the deluge poured forth, 178, n , 282.

Ozair vide Ezra.

Parables, 32, 207, 220, 241, 292, 373

Paraclete, the Mohammedan opinion concerning the person thereby meant, 449, n

Paradise described, 403, 411, 433, &c.

INDEX.

- ants, 4, the
 anted to the penitent,
 149
 Parents, to be honoured, 229, 408, make
 their children infidels, 232, n.
 Patience recommended, 59, 387, the sign
 of a true believer, 122, n., 391, 410
 Patriarchs before Moses, neither Jews nor
 Christians 17
 Pen with which God's decrees are written,
 460
 Penitents, their reward, 162
 Pentateuch, vide Law
 Persians overcome by the Greeks, 330, n
 Peter (St) his stratagem to convert those
 of Antioch, 361, n
 Pharaoh, his story, 127, 172, &c 316, &c
 384, the common title of the kings of
 Egypt, 127, a punishment used by him,
 372, his presumption, 399
 Phineas Ebn Azura, a Jew, his dishonesty,
 45, n, his indecent expressions con-
 cerning God, 56, 90, n
 Pico de Adam, vide Serendib
 Pilgrimage to Mecca, commanded, 23, di-
 rections concerning it, 23, 47, 276 &c
 Pledges to be given, where no contract in
 writing, 34
 Plurality of worlds, the belief thereof
 imputed to Mohammed, 1, n
 Poets censured, 308
 Pomp of this life, of no value, 322
 Polygamy, vide Marriage
 Prayer, commanded and enforced, 6, 14,
 264, 328, 331, &c, directions concerning,
 58, 73, 82, 234, 237, not to be
 entered on by him who is drunk, 65,
 before reading the Korân, 222, &c, for
 the penitent, 383
 Predestination, 52, 228
 Pre existence of souls, a doctrine not un-
 known to the Mohammedans, 135, n
 Pride, abominable in the sight of God, 230
 Prideaux (Dr) charges the Mohammedans
 with cruelty without foundation, 444, n,
 confounds Salmân with Abdallah Ebn
 Salam, 223, n, his partiality as to the
 story of Abraham's overthrow, 500, n,
 confounds Caab Ebn al Ash'af, the Jew,
 with Caab Ebn Zohair, the poet, 45, n,
 misled by Elmacinus, 444, n, misquotes
 a passage of the Korân, 456, n, mis-
 taken in asserting Mohammed might
 marry his nieces, 348, n
 Prodigality, a crime, 229
 Prophets, their enemy will have God for
 his, 13, rejected and persecuted before
 Mohammed, 101, 169, not chosen for
 their nobility or riches, 111, vide Sinai
 Prosperity or adversity, no mark of God's
 favour or disfavour, 489
 Punishments and blessings of the next life,
 119, &c.
 Quails given by the Israelites, 7, what
 kind of birds they were, ib n.
 Quarrels between the true believers to be
 composed, 418, to be avoided on the
 pilgrimage, 23
 Quietism, Mohammedans no strangers to it.
 590, n
 RAFE (Abu), a Christian, offers to worship
 Mohammed, 46
 Rahûn, vide Serendib
 Raina, a word used by the Jews to Moham-
 med, by way of derision, 14
 Al Rakim, what, 238
 Ramadân (the month) appointed for a fast,
 22
 Ransom of captives disapproved, 146
 Al Rass, various opinions concerning it,
 299, n
 Razeka, an idol of Ad, 122, n
 Religion, no violence to be used in it, 31
 fighting for it commanded and encour-
 aged, 22, 52, 70, 140, 149, 151, 278, 449
 divided into various sects, 283, harmony
 therein recommended, 48, whether those
 of any religion may be saved, 9, n
 Repentance, necessary to salvation, 62, a
 death bed one ineffectual, ib
 Resurrection asserted, 231, 421, 473, 485,
 described, 285, 421 the signs of its
 approach, 473, its time known to God
 alone, 339, &c
 Retaliation (the law of), 21
 Revelations in writing given to several pro-
 phets, 2, n, what are now extant
 according to the Mohammedans, ib
 Revenge allowed, 279
 Riches will not gain a man admission into
 Paradise, 355, employ a man's life, 498
 Right way, what the Mohammedans so call,
 1, n
 Righteous, their reward 168, 325, 339
 Righteousness, wherein it consists, 20
 Rites, appointed in every religion, 280
 Rock, whence Moses produced water, 8
 SAAD EBN ABI WAKKÂS, 138, 329, n
 Saad Ebn Moadh, his severity, 146, n
 dooms the Koradhites to destruction,
 345, n
 Saba, queen of, vide Balkis
 Saba, the wickedness of his posterity, and
 their punishment, 353
 Sabbath, the transgression thereof punished,
 134
 Saba and Merwa (mountains of), two mo-
 numents of God, 19
 Safiya bint Hoyai, one of Mohammed's
 wives, 419, n
 Al Sâhira, one of the names of hell, 479, n
 Saiba, 95
 Sajâ, the prophetess, 89, n
 Sâkia, an idol of Ad, 122, n
 Sakhar, a devil, gets Solomon's signet and
 reigns in his stead, 374, n, his punish-
 ment, ib
 Sâleh, the prophet his story, 123, &c 305,
 &c 313, vide Thamûd
 Salema, an ido of Ad 122, n

INDEX.

Salsabil, a fountain in paradise, 475
 Salutation, mutual recommended, 71
 Al Sâmêr, the maker of the golden calf, 7, n, 260, n
 Sarah, wife of Abraham, her laughing, 18
 Satan, his punishment for seducing our first parents, 117, believed to assist the Koreish 144
 Saul, his story, 29
 Sects and their leaders, shall quarrel at the resurrection, 20
 Sejjîn, what, 482 n.
 Sennacherib, 227, n.
 Separation (the day of), a name of the day of judgment, 403.
 Serâb, what, 292
 Serendib (the isle of), Adam cast down thereon from paradise, 5, n, the print of Adam's foot shown on a mountain there, 16
 Sergius, the monk, 223, n
 Serpent, his sentence for assisting in the seduction of man, 127, n
 Seventy Israelites demand to see God, are killed by lightning and restored to life at the prayer of Moses, 7
 Al Seyid al Najrânî, a Christian, offers to worship Mohammed, 46
 Shamhorai, a debauched angel, his penance, 14, n
 Shâs Ebn Kais, a Jew, promotes a quarrel between Aws and Khazraj, 48, n
 Shechinah, misinterpreted by the commentators, 30, n
 Sheddâd, son of Ad, makes a garden in imitation of paradise, 488, n, is destroyed in going to view it, 16
 Sheep, the prodigious weight of their tails in the east, 114, n
 Shem, raised to life by Jesus, 41, n
 Shoaib, the prophet, his story, 125, &c 184
 Signs, the meaning of the word in the Korân, 6, n
 Al Siyl, the angel who takes an account of men's actions, 272
 Sin the irremissible one, in the opinion of the Mohammedans, 11, n, the seven deadly sins, 64, n
 Sinai (mount) lifted over the Israelites, 9, 12, the souls of all the prophets present at the delivery of the law to Moses thereon, 46, n
 Simôn the Cyrenæan, supposed to be crucified instead of Jesus, 42, n
 Sirius, or the greater dog star, worshipped by the old Arabs, 429
 Slaves, how to be treated, 291, women not to be compelled to prostitute themselves, 16
 Slander forbidden, 419, the punishment of those who slander the prophets, 157, &c 499
 Sleepers (the seven), their story, 238, &c
 Smoke, which will precede the day of judgment, 402
 Sodom and Gomorrah destroyed, 183
 Sodomy, 69

Sofân
 Soheib, flies to Medina, 24, n
 Solomon, succeeds David, 310, has power over the winds, 270, 374, his and David's judgment, 270, his manner of travelling, 310, what passed between him and the queen of Saba, 311 &c, a trick of the devils to blast his character, 13, cleared by the mouth of Mohammed, 16, orders several of his horses to be killed, because they had diverted him from his prayers 374, is deprived of his signet and his kingdom for some days, 16, his death concealed for a year, and in what manner, 353, n
 Sorâka Ebn Malec, the devil appears in his form, 144
 Soul, the origin of it, 235
 Spoils, laws concerning their division, 138, 143, 444
 Stars darted at the devils, 210, n
 Stoning of adulterers, 37, n
 Striking, an epithet of the last day, 497
 Supererogation, 234
 Sura or chapter of the Korân, 156, n
 Sun and Moon, not to be worshipped, 391 are subject to God and the use of man 121, 137, &c
 Swearer (a common) not to be obeyed 460
 Swine's flesh vide Food
 Table, caused to descend from heaven by Jesus, 97, of God's decrees, 102
 Tables of the law, 131
 Tabûc, the expedition of 154, 164
 Tagât the meaning of the word 1, n
 Tâleb (Abu) Mohammed's uncle 163, n.
 Mohammed refuses to pray for him, on his dying an infidel, 16
 Talât, vide Saul
 Tasnîm a fountain 'n paradise, 483
 Tebala and Jorash, their inhabitants embrace Mohammedism, 151
 Temple of Mecca, vide Caaba of Jerusalem, built by genn, 352
 Thalaba grows suddenly rich on Mohammed's prayer for him, 158, n, refusing to pay alms is again reduced to poverty, 16
 Thakîf (the tribe of) demand terms of Mohammed, which are denied them, 233, n
 Thamûd (the tribe of) their story and destruction, 123, 278, 282, 390, vide Saleh.
 Theft, its punishment, 86
 Throne of God, 31, will be borne by eight angels on the day of judgment, 468.

INDEX

- of God, Widows, to be provided for, 29; Laws relating to them, 28
- of God, 73, n Wife ought to be used justly, 76, may be chastised, 65, the number of wives allowed by the Korân, 59, their duty to their husbands, 27, see Adultery, Divorce, and Marriage.
- the Sun and Moon, Willa, laws relating to them, 95
- the name of the person supposed to be crucified in Christ's stead, 42, n Winds, their use, 333, subject to Solomon 270, 374
- Tobba (the people of) destroyed, 403 Wine forbidden, 25, 93
- Goleihah, the false prophet, 89, n, 342, n Witnesses, laws relating to them, 76, 82, necessary in bargains, and to secure debts, 84
- Towa, the valley where Moses saw the burning bush, 479 Witchcraft used against Mohammed, 505
- Tribute, its imposition, 152 Women, ought to be respected, 59, and to have a part of their relations' inheritance, 60, not to be inherited against their will, 62, to be subject to the men, 64, unclean while they have their courses, 26, some directions for their conduct, 290, 387, the punishment of those who falsely accuse them of incontinence, 287, 289, those who come over from the enemy, how to be dealt with, 448
- Trinity, the belief thereof forbidden, 80, 92 Works of an infidel, will appear to him at the last day, 101
- True believers, who are such, 281
- Trumpet, will sound at the last day, 315, 382
- Variety of languages and complexions hard to be accounted for, 232, n
- Victory of the Greeks over the Persians foretold by Mohammed 330
- Visitation of the Caaba, 23
- Unbelievers described, 356, their sentence, 19, 67, 309, 404
- Unity of God asserted, 504
- Unrighteousness punished, 170
- Usury forbidden, 34, 333
- Al Uzza, an idol of the Meccans, 74, n, 380, 427
- Al Walid Ebn al Mogheira, a great enemy of Mohammed, was a bastard, 460, n, derides Mohammed for calling God al Rahman, 136, has his nose slit, 460, n, his prosperity and decay, 471, hires another to bear the guilt of his apostasy, 428, his death 214
- Al Walid Ebn Okba, 418, n
- War against infidels, commanded and recommended, 70, 146, 410, &c.
- Waraka Ebn Nawfal, acknowledged one God before the mission of Mohammed, 70 n
- Wasila, 95
- Water produced from the rock by Moses, 8
- Weight to be just, 126, 482
- Whoredom, laws concerning it, 61, 287 see Unbelievers.
- Wicked, their sentence, 171, 209, 476
- Al Yamama, its inhabitants a warlike people 415
- Al Yaman, the inhabitants thereof slain their prophet, 265, n, they are destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, 16
- Yathreb, the ancient name of Medina, 343
- Al Zabir, mount, 131, n
- Al Zacât, vide Alms
- Zacharias, praying for a son, is promise John, 40, 248, educates the virgin Mary 40
- Al Zakkûm, the tree of hell, 232, 367
- Al Zamharir, what, 111, n
- Zeid Ebn Amru acknowledged one God before the mission of Mohammed, 70, n
- Zeid, the husband of Zeinab, his story, 346 the only person, of Mohammed's companions, named in the Korân, 347, n
- Zeinab, her marriage with Mohammed, 347
- Zenjebil, a stream in paradise, 475
- Zoleikha, Joseph's mistress, 139

THE END

